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In This Issue

This issue contains four articles and three review essays. The articles examine a variety of topics and times. The subjects range from racial ideas among North American native peoples and early modern English beliefs about gender and genre to the experiences of United States missionaries in the nineteenth-century Levant and gendered representations in British World War I propaganda. The review essays bring together three different interpretations of a recent study of American exceptionalism. A full array of book reviews completes the number. This issue also includes changes to our editorial policy page (page ii) aimed at making it more readable and the journal's editorial offices more accessible. The page now includes our e-mail address (amhrev@indiana.edu) and our website (<http://www.indiana.edu/~amhrev/>). Detailed manuscript, book review, and film review guidelines can be found on our web page.

Articles

Nancy Shoemaker examines the origins of the idea of race among North American Indians in the eighteenth century by asking why Indians in the Southeast identified themselves as "red people" or "red men" when in diplomatic negotiation with the English and French. She offer two explanations. First, Indians might have called themselves "red" in response to meeting people who identified themselves as "white" to distinguish themselves from their "black" slaves. Second, some Indians may have had pre-contact identities as "red," which derived from or found expression in their stories of human origins. Shoemaker contends that both explanations appear to have been factors in the emergence of a "red" identity among Cherokees in the 1720s–1730s as the Cherokees adapted their traditional color symbolism to create categories of difference, which the Cherokees linked to differences in skin color. As with the development of the idea of race among Europeans, the Cherokees' main intent seems to have been to define the characteristics and obligations of the Other, the people they called "white." Shoemaker demonstrates the extent to which historians can, if they try, understand the cultures and perspectives of people who left no written records of their own. Her argument thus raises significant questions about the construction of racial beliefs and the reconstruction of past cultures.

D. R. Woolf explores the relationship between two roughly contemporary developments, the formation of modern gender identities and the establishment of genre boundaries between history and fiction, in England from 1500 to 1800. Taking women's general exclusion from historical writing as a starting point, he examines the ways in which women nevertheless participated in the emergent historical culture of early modern England from the Renaissance to the time of Mary Wollstonecraft and Jane Austen. Within this overarching theme, Woolf emphasizes several critical topics: the ways in which historical knowledge "socially circulated" among women and between women and men, the differing conceptions of history's usefulness for men versus its uses for women, the relative merits of history and fiction as sources for female conduct, and the actual reading practices of early modern women as discernible from a variety of literary and documentary evidence. In analyzing these issues through a wide variety of sources, he seeks to explain not only how the long-term exclusion of women from historical writing came about but how this very exclusion preserved a "feminine past," which in modern times has had great impact on the broadening of the discipline away from more traditional political and military history. As a result, Woolf's article offers a revealing glimpse of the social construction and social circulation of knowledge in the past.

Ussama Makdisi investigates mid-nineteenth-century United States missionary involvement in the Levant. He explains how the missionaries' ambivalent relationship to the land, the natives, and methods of access to them led to the foundation of a secular university. Makdisi contends that, until now, much of the work on Americans in the Levant, like studies of European and other North American missionaries, has either focused too narrowly on the ecclesiastical nature of the missionary movement or on a heated debate mired in a fruitless attempt to establish whether or not the missionaries were "imperialists." He seeks to reconfigure the subject by arguing that the Americans' understanding of themselves as participants in a benevolent and universal evangelism was complicated by their uneasy relationship with nineteenth-century secular technology in an age of increasing European hegemony. Makdisi labels the results "evangelical modernity" and examines its contradictions. Instead of depicting missionaries simply as purveyors of modern medicine and print technology to natives who had neither, he suggests that evangelical modernity was a far more fragile process of staking out claims of cultural and historical belonging to the biblical land, claims that were ultimately repudiated following episodes of intercommunal war in 1860 Syria. Makdisi's argument is thus an illuminating analysis of the contingent and contested nature of the missionary encounter with colonialism.

Nicoletta F. Gullace analyzes the use of gendered representations of German atrocities in Belgium by British propagandists during World War I. She demonstrates how the German actions provided an evocative set of images to explain the meaning of international law to a domestic and international public. Gullace traces changes in the language used to justify the war from expressions of horror over the German chancellor's repudiation of Belgian neutrality as a "scrap of paper" to the emergence of popular and highly sexualized depictions of the "rape" of Belgium. She chronicles how propaganda depictions of German military policy in terms of its impact on women and the family breathed new life into the Hague Convention, turning German attempts to vindicate reprisals against civilians into a public

relations disaster. Although the sentimentalization of the war severely constrained the way both German and British authorities could justify certain harsh military tactics, Gullace also argues that it empowered the British government to take sterner domestic measures than might otherwise have been possible in a liberal state. Her essay makes a significant contribution to the growing examination of the cultural manifestations of diplomacy and international affairs.

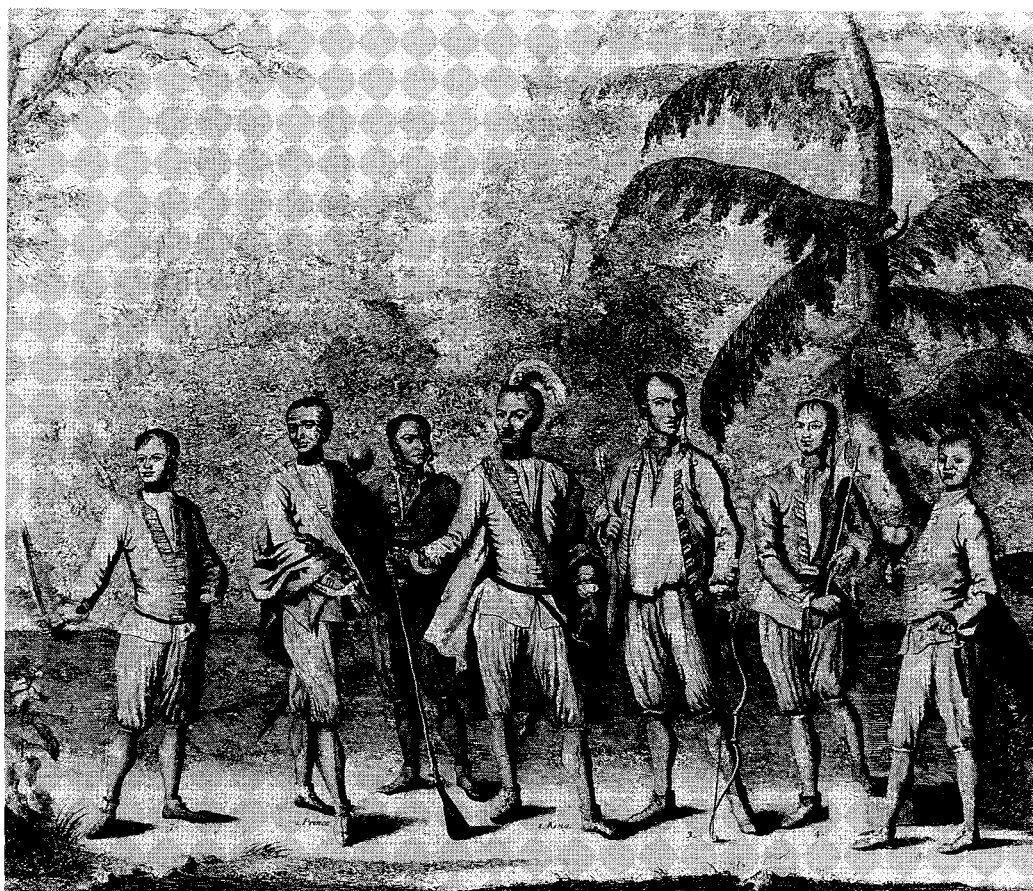
Review Essays

American Exceptionalism is the focus of these three review essays. A recent book by Seymour Martin Lipset on this persistent and critical concept provides the context. Lipset's argument about United States distinctiveness is fundamentally comparative. Historians of Canada, Japan, and Germany analyze this use of comparison.

H. V. Nelles argues that Lipset's idealist approach to American exceptionalism took shape during his early study of socialism in the notionally "unexceptional" Canadian environment and his encounters with Canadian sociologists and historians during the 1950s. He explains that Canadian scholars subsequently criticized Lipset's comparative national generalizations because they ignored internal regional differences, described a Canada that did not seem to have a Quebec, did not allow for or explain historical change, and exaggerated the Canadian commitment to socialism—the supposed test of historical normalcy. In a context where the frontier tradition has been weak and historiography has emphasized that Canada has been a society like the others, Nelles concludes, Lipset's arguments have been out of fashion for a generation.

J. Victor Koschmann calls attention to Lipset's reliance on a now largely discredited discourse on Japanese uniqueness to legitimate and reinforce his argument for American exceptionalism. He points out that not only has this discourse recently fallen decisively out of favor but that the unhistorical view of Japanese phenomena it encourages is increasingly difficult to sustain in light of recent research. Koschmann also looks critically at Lipset's contention that American identity is constituted ideologically, noting that this contention implies two nations, an America "in-itself" that is constituted nominally, on the basis of citizenship or other objective criteria, and a more authentic America "for-itself" that is based on active adherence to an individualistic American creed. He argues that the latter "America" is typified by American Jews but, on the other hand, excludes African Americans, who tend not to subscribe to the tenets of the creed. As a result, Koschmann maintains, Lipset's American exceptionalism amounts to an ethically exclusivist form of cultural nationalism.

Finally, **Mary Nolan** compares assertions of American exceptionalism with claims of German uniqueness, particularly Germany's *Sonderweg*, or special path. She notes the skepticism such claims have engendered and questions specific interpretations that Lipset offers about the meaning of comparisons such as those between German and American welfare states or between patriotism in each nation. At the same time, Nolan uses a critique of Germany's "special path" to challenge assertions of an exclusive American reliance on exceptionalist beliefs. In both nations, she insists, exceptionalist arguments have produced inadequate history, limited self-understanding, and arrogant politics. Taken together, the three essays place the debate over American exceptionalism in broad comparative context.



Detail from an engraving by Isaac Basire. The seven Cherokee Indians whom Sir Alexander Cuming brought to London in 1730. The second from right, Ukwanequa, became the great chief Attacullaculla (Little Carpenter), according to Caroline Foreman, *Indians Abroad* (1943), 51. Photo courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives, B.A.E. Neg. no. 1063-H-2.

How Indians Got to Be Red

NANCY SHOEMAKER

SCHOLARS WORKING ON THE HISTORY OF RACE AS AN IDEA assume that Europeans were the sole inventors of it.¹ Undeniably, race (the belief that people can be categorized by observable physical differences such as skin color) flourished with the early modern European slave trade. Sometime in the eighteenth century, race outpaced the older categories of Christian and pagan to become the primary justification for expropriating the land and labor of others. As a system of categorizing people, race fulfilled Europe's ideological needs by creating the illusion that human difference was biologically ordained.² But, as Europeans spun their web of racial hierarchies, what were non-Europeans thinking about race? Historians have yet to tackle this question in depth, instead focusing on how whites constructed images of others.³ This approach to the historical emergence of race as a system for categorizing people replicates what it purports to critique, since the emphasis on European image-making consigns American Indians and other non-white peoples to a passive role in the construction of knowledge. They exist only as the objects of white observation, and the power to label or name resides with Europeans.

One example of this tendency is the standard explanation for how Indians got to be "red": European explorers saw that Indians wore red paint and so called them

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¹ There are a few exceptions: Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (Stanford, Calif., 1992); Hiroshi Wagatsuma, "The Social Perception of Skin Color in Japan," in *Color and Race*, John Hope Franklin, ed. (Boston, 1968), 129-65. I am here using race in a limited sense by focusing on skin color. For other applications, see, for example, John M. Efron, *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (New Haven, Conn., 1994).

² Audrey Smedley, *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview* (Boulder, Colo., 1993); Londa Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (Boston, 1993); Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800-1960* (Hamden, Conn., 1982).

³ The scholarship on Euro-American images of Indians is vast. See, for example, the special issue "Constructing Race," *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (January 1997); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, ed., *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995); Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York, 1978); Olive Patricia Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the*

"red."⁴ In "From White Man to Redskin: Changing Anglo-American Perceptions of the American Indian," Alden Vaughan moved toward correcting this misconception when he instead credited the Swedish naturalist Carolus Linnaeus with making "red" a racial category in his 1740 edition of *Systema Naturae*.⁵ How Linnaeus arrived at "red" remains a small mystery. He may have heard of red-painted Indians, but the Greek physician Galen's medical philosophy of the four humors must also have served as inspiration, for in the 1758 edition of *Systema Naturae*, Linnaeus attached telltale descriptive labels to each color of people: red people were choleric, white sanguine, yellow melancholic, and black phlegmatic. Thus Linnaeus adapted an existing system of color-based categories to account for differences between the world's peoples.⁶

However, giving Linnaeus sole credit perpetuates another misconception. Lin-

Americas (Edmonton, 1984); Robert E. Bieder, *Science Encounters the Indian, 1820-1880: The Early Years of American Ethnology* (Norman, Okla., 1986). One of the few books to reverse the lens of observation is Keith H. Basso, *Portraits of "The Whiteman": Linguistic Play and Cultural Symbols among the Western Apache* (Cambridge, 1979), which examined Western Apaches' perceptions of white "others" as revealed through joking imitations of them. Indians' earliest ethnographic observations of Europeans are treated in James Axtell, "Through Another Glass Darkly: Early Indian Views of Europeans," in Axtell, *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York, 1988), 125-43; and in Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (New York, 1994). Indian ideas about race have been studied only in the context of Indian attitudes toward blacks; see, for example, James H. Merrell, "The Racial Education of the Catawba Indians," *Journal of Southern History* 50 (August 1984): 363-84.

⁴ James P. Howley, *The Beothucks or Red Indians: The Original Inhabitants of Newfoundland* (Toronto, 1915), 2-3, 10, appears to have made the creative leap to John and Sebastian Cabot and Jacques Cartier as the first Europeans to call Indians "red." However, Howley's own evidence does not show this. There were no red-painted Indians in the first reports of the Cabot voyages, and Richard Hakluyt's account of Cartier's first voyage described, but did not label, Indians "who paint themselves with certain roan colours." Howley's earliest source for "red" Beothuks is an Englishman who in 1768 said, "The epithet of 'red' is given to these Indians, from their universal practice of colouring their garments, their canoes, bows, arrows, and every other utensil belonging to them, with red ochre," quoted from F. D. Cartwright, *The Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright* (London, 1826), 307. The authoritative *Handbook of North American Indians* accepted Howley's claims that the Beothuks were the first "red" Indians. Barrie Reynolds, "Beothuk," in Bruce G. Trigger, volume ed., *Northeast*, vol. 15, *Handbook of North American Indians*, William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed. (Washington, D.C., 1978), 101, 107. In J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, eds., *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d edn. (Oxford, 1989), 389, 421, 429, the "red man" and "Red-skin" entries cite the Beothuks but attribute the first "Red-skin" to a 1699 letter in Helen Evertson Smith, *Colonial Days and Ways, as Gathered from Family Papers* (New York, 1900). However, "redskin" was not common usage until the nineteenth century, which as Alden T. Vaughan has pointed out raises questions about this letter's authenticity. See Vaughan, "From White Man to Redskin: Changing Anglo-American Perceptions of the American Indian," *AHR* 87 (October 1982): 948.

⁵ Vaughan, "From White Man to Redskin," 932, 946-47.

⁶ Linnaeus's most likely source for information on American Indians was a 1702 history of New Sweden, which did not describe Indians as red but as differing "in their colour; in some places being black, and in others, brown or yellow." Thomas Campanium Holm, *Description of the Province of New Sweden, Now Called, by the English, Pennsylvania, in America*, Peter S. DuPonceau, trans. (1834; rpt. edn., Millwood, N.Y., 1975), 34-35. For Linnaeus's categories, see T. Bendyshe, "The History of Anthropology," *Memoirs Read before the Anthropological Society of London* 1 (1863-64): 421-58. For more on the four humors, see the chart of medieval thought in Maurice Hussey, *Chaucer's World: A Pictorial Companion* (Cambridge, 1968); and Owsei Temkin, *Galenism: Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1973). Raymond D. Fogelson argued that Linnaeus arrived at white, black, red, and yellow because these are "basic colors," as put forth by Brent Berlin and Paul Kay in their theory of color universals, *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1969); see Fogelson's "Interpretations of the American Indian Psyche: Some Historical Notes," in *Social Contexts of American Ethnology, 1840-1984*, June Helm, ed. (Washington, D.C., 1985), 9.

naeus chose "red" as a category for Indians, but he was not the first person to do so. More than a decade before the 1740 edition of *Systema Naturae*, American Indians, particularly Indians in the Southeast, were calling themselves "red." This article discusses when, how, and why southeastern Indians introduced the term "red people," or "red men," into the language of Indian-European contact. It then explores what "red" meant to one southeastern Indian group, the Cherokees, in their initial encounters with English colonists and in their later encounters with Americans. While Linnaeus groped toward an explanation of difference embedded in the human body, eighteenth-century southeastern Indians, in dialogue with Europeans, drew on their own color symbolism to develop categories that could account for biological, cultural, and political differences.

BY THE MID-1720s, FROM LOUISIANA TO SOUTH CAROLINA, Indians were claiming the category "red" for themselves in the arena of Indian-European diplomacy. In 1725, the French asked a group of Indians in council at Mobile whether they would like to become Christian and recorded a Taensas chief's response:

Long ago . . . there were three men in a cave, one white, one red and one black. The white man went out first and he took the good road that led him into a fine hunting ground . . . The red man who is the Indian, for they call themselves in their language "Red Men," went out of the cave second. He went astray from the good road and took another which led him into a country where the hunting was less abundant. The black man, who is the negro, having been the third to go out, got entirely lost in a very bad country in which he did not find anything on which to live. Since that time the red man and the black man have been looking for the white man to restore them to the good road.⁷

This Taensas chief divided humankind into three color-based categories. Moreover, his French audience understood "Red Men" to be an Indian contribution to the lexicon of French settlement in North America.

While this story was being told to the French near the Mississippi River, Indians further to the east were introducing the term "red people" into English-Indian diplomacy. In George Chicken's journal of a 1725 delegation to the Cherokees, several Chickasaws arrived at the council and said they wanted "peace with the White people and desire[d] to have their own way and to take revenge of the red people," by which they meant the Creek Indians. Throughout the journal, Chicken himself called Indians simply "Indians."⁸ A year later, the English in South Carolina negotiated a peace between the Creeks and Cherokees. Adhering to diplomatic custom, a Creek headman, Chigilee, offered a "large white Eagle's Wing" to the Cherokees and said he wanted peace with them. The Cherokee speaker responded, "I See Your white Wing there, but Shall not receive it till I find you'l be good to the white People, nor will I till you talke further; It is now come to this. We are the Red People now mett together. Our flesh is both alike, but we must have further Talke with you." Later in the council, the Creek-allied Cowetaw Warrior called the

⁷ Father Raphael to the Abbe Raguett, May 15, 1725, in Dunbar Rowland and A. G. Sanders, eds., *Mississippi Provincial Archives: French Dominion*, 3 vols. (Jackson, Miss., 1927-32), 2: 486.

⁸ "Colonel Chicken's Journal to the Cherokees, 1725," *Travels in the American Colonies*, Newton D. Mereness, ed. (New York, 1916), 169.

Cherokees "those Red People," and another Indian speaker remarked that "the greate men of the white & Red people are now friends, and it Shall never be my ffault if this peace is broke." In the council transcript, the phrase "red people" appears only within the speeches of Indian delegates.⁹

"Red" Indians quickly became standard usage in southeastern Indian diplomacy. By the 1730s, the French in Louisiana had incorporated "red men" into the language of French-Indian diplomacy and had adopted the term as a generic label for Indians in their own correspondence.¹⁰ And by the 1750s, the English in the Southeast addressed Indians as "red people," although the English used the term less often than Indian speakers and usually only in response to an Indian speech.¹¹

In every instance, "red men" and "red people" were forms of address unaccompanied by European descriptions of Indians. Antoine Simon Le Page du Pratz, a French farmer in Louisiana who later wrote a book about his experiences, called Indians "Hommes Rouges" but believed that they were born white and then "turn[ed] brown, as they are rubbed with bear's oil and exposed to the sun."¹² Other Europeans also commented on how Indians looked and what color they were, either with paint or without paint, but rarely was that color red. Eighteenth-century accounts of Indians tended to follow the pattern set by the earliest European explorers of the Southeast, the Spanish, and described Indians as "brown of skin" but "painted and ochred, red, black, white, yellow and vermilion in stripes."¹³ The

⁹ "Generall Conference betweene the Headmen of the Cherokees and the Lower Creeke Indians in the Presence of Both Houses," January 26, 1726, British Public Record Office, C.O. 5.387.245-47, in microfilm collection indexed in William L. Anderson and James A. Lewis, *A Guide to Cherokee Documents in Foreign Archives* (Metuchen, N.J., 1983), and available from Western Carolina University, Cullowhee, North Carolina.

¹⁰ "Red men" appears in Indian and French speeches and in French writings intended for French readers in Regis du Roulet, "Journal of the Journey That I Made in the Choctaw Nation in the Year 1729"; Louboey to Maurepas (n.d., probably 1733); Louboey to Maurepas, July 11, 1738, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives: French Dominion*, 1: 30, 33, 40, 91, 92, 93, 97, 98, 105, 221, 371; Diron d'Artaguetto to Maurepas, October 24, 1737, in Patricia Kay Galloway, rev. and ed., *Mississippi Provincial Archives: French Dominion*, vol. 4, 1729-1748 (Baton Rouge, La., 1984), 149; "Journal of De Beauchamps' Journey to the Choctaws, 1746," in Mereness, *Travels*, 267, 271, 274, 276, 278, 282, 291, 294.

¹¹ In the 1750s, the governor of South Carolina called Indians "red" in speeches to them; see William L. McDowell, Jr., ed., *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, May 21, 1750-August 7, 1754* (Columbia, S.C., 1958), 445 (hereafter, *DRIA 1750-1754*); *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, 1754-1765* (Columbia, 1970), 481 (hereafter, *DRIA 1754-1765*). In "Journal of the Congress of the Four Southern Governors, and the Superintendent of That District, with the Five Nations of Indians [Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Cherokee, Catawba]" (1763), British Public Record Office, C.O. 323.17.223, 226-29, in Anderson and Lewis, *Guide to Cherokee Documents in Foreign Archives*, all the Indian speakers refer to "red people," as does the British Indian agent John Stuart. After the Seven Years' War, the English sent a "Harrangue" to Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley, addressing them as "Red Men," in Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Mississippi Provincial Archives: English Dominion, 1763-1766* (Nashville, Tenn., 1911), 80, 82, 83, 85-87. The Indian trader James Adair used "red people" to mean Indians in his important account of southeastern Indians, published in 1775; Samuel Cole Williams, ed., *Adair's History of the American Indians* (Johnson City, Tenn., 1930).

¹² Antoine Simon le Page du Pratz, *The History of Louisiana*, Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., ed. (1774; rpt. edn., Baton Rouge, La., 1975), 324. Because the English translation modified the French original extensively, I have only quoted from the English after ensuring that the quoted material adheres to the French, *Histoire de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1758).

¹³ Edward Gaylord Bourne, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto in the Conquest of Florida, as Told by a Knight of Elvas, and in a Relation by Luys Hernandez de Biedma, Factor of the Expedition*, 2 vols. (1904; rpt. edn., New York, 1922), 1: 66, 108; also see 1: 113; 2: 56, 136.

skin color Europeans most commonly attributed to Indians was "tawny."¹⁴ Thus ethnographic descriptions of Indians mentioned a multitude of colors; only in the language of eighteenth-century French-Indian and English-Indian diplomacy were Indians "red people."

There are two likely scenarios for why Indians began to identify themselves as "red." First, "red" may have been an Indian response to meeting strange new people who called themselves "white" to distinguish themselves from their "black" or "Negro" slaves. Second, some Indians may have considered themselves "red" or been called so by other Indians before the arrival of Europeans. Actually, these are not mutually exclusive scenarios but instead work in combination. In a variety of situations, "red" was a logical category for Indians to claim for themselves, and then, just as the Columbus misnomer "Indian" spread to people at great distances from Columbus, the Caribbean, and 1492, the process of Indian-European contact gradually made "red" a generic label for all Indians.

The first scenario suggests that a kind of dialectic took place: Europeans called themselves "white," and Indians responded with "red." The best evidence for this scenario is the rarity of "red" Indians in the Northeast in contrast to comparable records for the Southeast. Origin stories like the one the Taensas chief told the French must have circulated to some extent among northeastern Indians, for a baptized Delaware Indian in the Ohio area told a Jesuit in 1757 that the Trinity had created "men, as we find them upon earth, as red, black and white, and that they had destined one for praying, another for hunting, and another for war."¹⁵ Other rare uses of "Red Men" in the Northeast can be linked to Linnaeus. Pehr Kalm, a Swedish naturalist and Linnaeus protégé, mentioned "Red Men" several times in the journal of his trip from Delaware to Canada (1748–1751).¹⁶ (Kalm's visits with Benjamin Franklin may have inspired Franklin's "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind" [1851], which listed Indians among the world's "tawny" peoples but then ambiguously proposed "excluding all Blacks and Tawneys" from America so that "the lovely White and Red" could prevail.¹⁷) Despite an occasional "red" in the historical record of the Northeast, when in council with the English, northeastern Indians did not call themselves "red" and were not called "red" by

¹⁴ Vaughan, "From White Man to Redskin," 921–27; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580–1640* (Totowa, N.J., 1980), 35–37; Cornelius J. Jaenen, *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York, 1976), 22–23.

¹⁵ M. Pouchot, *Memoir upon the Late War in North America, Between the French and the English, 1755–60*, Franklin B. Hough, trans. and ed., 2 vols. (Roxbury, Mass., 1866), 1: 93. Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore, Md., 1992), deals with the role that this origin story and others played in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century pan-Indian resistance movements. Also, *peaux rouges*, precursor to the term "redskin" common to nineteenth-century English, probably originated as a self-identifier among Algonquian-speaking Indians in the Great Lakes region sometime in the eighteenth century. See the speech of Maringouin (1769), in James Sullivan, ed., *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 14 vols. (Albany, N.Y., 1921–65), 7: 133.

¹⁶ Adolph B. Benson, ed., *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America: The America of 1750; The English Version of 1770*, 2 vols. (1937; rpt. edn., New York, 1966), 2: 515, 518, 684, 686, 714.

¹⁷ In Leonard W. Labaree, ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 32 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1959–96), 4: 234. For Franklin-Kalm-Linnaeus connections, see in this collection James Logan to Benjamin Franklin, November 9, 1748, 3: 325; Peter Kalm: Conversations with Franklin, 4: 53–63; Franklin to Peter Collinson, February 4, 1750, 4: 113; Franklin to Cadwallader Colden, April 12, 1753, 4: 465.

others. What had by mid-century become commonplace in the language of southeastern Indian diplomacy was still a novelty in the Northeast.¹⁸

Indian languages provide further evidence that the idea of "red" Indians was indigenous to the Southeast. From the St. Lawrence to the Upper Mississippi, the word "Indian," when interpreted into native languages, usually came to be equated with the native word for "people," sometimes translated as "men," "real people," or "original people." The contemporary French historian Bacqueville de la Potherie observed this pattern in the Great Lakes region when he wrote of an Indian telling the fur trader Perrot "that when 'the men' arrived they would render him thanks; it is thus that all savages are designated among themselves, while they call the French, 'French,' and the [other] people from Europe by the names of their respective nations."¹⁹

In contrast, in southeastern Indian languages, the word or phrase meaning "Indian" originates in the word for the color "red." A nineteenth-century glossary of Natchez words collected by anthropologist Daniel Brinton translates "Indian, red man" into *tvmh-pakup* (man-red). In Choctaw and Chickasaw, closely related Muskogean languages, the word for Indian is *hatak api homma*, a combination of *hatak* (man) and *homma* (red). And in R. M. Loughridge's dictionary of Muskogee (Creek), "Indian" is given as *estē-cātē*, man-red.²⁰ Because Indian speeches made their way into the historical record only after being translated into a European language, it is difficult to know exactly what was said at these councils. There must have been instances when an Indian speaker said *hatak api homma* and the interpreter said in English "Indian." But when Englishmen said "Indian" and Frenchmen said *sauvage*, when and why did interpreters turn to the Choctaws or Chickasaws and say *hatak api homma*? At some point in the dialogue between Indians and Europeans, "Indians" came to mean "red men" or "red people" in the native languages of southeastern Indians.

¹⁸ "Red" Indians do not appear in any of these document collections relating to Dutch, English, and French interaction with Indians in the middle colonies: Lawrence H. Leder, ed., *The Livingston Indian Records, 1666-1723* (Gettysburg, 1956); Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent, eds., *Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1941); Donald H. Kent, ed., *Pennsylvania and Delaware Treaties, 1629-1737*, Vol. 1 of *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789*, Alden T. Vaughan, gen. ed. (Washington, D.C., 1979). E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *The Documentary History of the State of New-York*, 4 vols. (Albany, 1849), 2: 1110, has one reference to "Indians, (or what are called Redmen)" in a 1792 discussion about the Oneidas. A contingent of Iroquois visiting the Cherokees in 1751 sent a "written talk" to the governor of South Carolina, calling the Catawbas "red People," but southeastern trader Adair probably put this talk into writing, *DRIA* 1750-1754, 47.

¹⁹ Claude Charles Le Roy, Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (1716), in *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, Emma Helen Blair, ed., 2 vols. (Cleveland, Ohio, 1911), 2: 114. A 1791 word list for the same region translated "Indians" into "Ishinawbah" in Algonquian and "Nishinnorbay" in Ojibwa (Chippewa); both terms would today be written as "Anishinabeg," meaning "the people"; see J. Long, *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader* (1791; rpt. edn., Toronto, 1971), 203.

²⁰ Daniel G. Brinton, "On the Language of the Natchez," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 13 (1873): 488; Charles D. Van Tuyl, *The Natchez: Annotated Translations from Antoine Simon le Page du Pratz's Histoire de la Louisiane and A Short English-Natchez Dictionary* (Oklahoma City, 1979), 87. Cyrus Byington, *A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 46, John R. Swanton and Henry S. Halbert, eds. (Washington, D.C., 1915), 534; Pamela Munro and Catherine Willmond, *Chickasaw: An Analytical Dictionary* (Norman, Okla., 1994), 101. R. M. Loughridge and Dave M. Hodge, *English and Muskogee Dictionary: Collected from Various Sources and Revised* (Philadelphia, 1914), 41, 48, 65.

The southeastern origins of "red" Indians is good evidence for the first scenario—that Indians called themselves "red" in response to meeting people who called themselves "white"—because Europeans settling the Southeast did indeed have a "white" identity. In the early 1700s, Carolina colonists, many of whom had emigrated from Barbados, already divided their world into "white, black, & Indians."²¹ The first English colony to develop a plantation economy dependent on slave labor, Barbados may also have been the first English colony to experience the transition in identity from "Christian" to "white." One mid-seventeenth-century visitor to Barbados, who wrote of "Negroes," "Indians" and "Christians," told an anecdote that may explain why "white" replaced "Christian." A slave wished to become Christian, but the slave's master responded that "we could not make a Christian a Slave . . . [nor] a Slave a Christian . . . , [for] being once a Christian, he could no more account him a Slave, and so lose the hold they had of them as Slaves, by making them Christians."²² By the end of the seventeenth century, Barbadians who were neither black nor Indian were well on their way to becoming "white."²³ When they left Barbados for Carolina, they brought "Negroe slaves" and an emerging "white" identity with them.

"Christians" in the Northeast lagged several decades behind their southern counterparts in self-identifying as "white." The Dutch in New Netherland called themselves "Christian" for the duration of their control over the colony, and the English continued with "Christian" until about the 1730s, when the term "white people" began to appear with more frequency.²⁴ As in Barbados, black slavery seems to have caused the transition from "Christian" to "white." In the 1740s, Sir William Johnson, British superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Northeast, wrote most often about relations between "Christians and Indians." But when Johnson solicited an acquaintance to buy him some "Negroes," for Johnson did own black slaves, he also asked for an indentured servant, "a good Cliver lad of a white man."²⁵

²¹ Frank J. Klingberg, ed., *The Carolina Chronicle of Dr. Francis Le Jau, 1706–1717* (Berkeley, Calif., 1956), 22. Vaughan, "From White Man to Redskin," 932, also determined that "white," instead of "Christian," appears earliest in South Carolina records. For the Barbados-Carolina connection, see Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1972), 111–16.

²² Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes* (1673; rpt. edn., London, 1970), 50; for "Negroes and Indian slaves" versus "28 Christians," see 22.

²³ Barbados resident Henry Winthrop wrote to John Winthrop, October 15, [1627], of "3 score of christyanes and fortye slaues of negeres and Indyenes," Massachusetts Historical Society Committee on Publication, *Winthrop Papers*, 5 vols. (Boston, 1929–47), 1: 361. "An Act for the Governing of Negroes" (1688) used "Christian" and "White Man" as categories different from "Negroes or other Slaves"; similar laws regulating slavery, passed in 1692 and 1703, referred to "White Inhabitants," "the Oath of any Christian," "White Person," and "Christian Servants"; see Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, *Acts of Assembly Passed in the Island of Barbadoes, from 1648, to 1718* (London, 1732), 119, 120, 125, 137, 140, 179–81.

²⁴ Any series of colonial documents will show this shift in language. In Kent, *Pennsylvania and Delaware Treaties*, the Dutch, Swedes, and English called themselves "Christian" (as well as Dutch, Swedish, or English) in the seventeenth century; "white people" first appears in a 1758 "Account of the Walking Purchase of 1686" (p. 81), placed amid seventeenth-century documents. Then, "white pepel" (p. 283) next appears in 1728, is interspersed in later documents with an occasional "Christian," and, in the documents of the late 1730s, "Christian" refers to religious beliefs and has in other contexts been replaced by "white people."

²⁵ Compare "fifty Indians, & as Many Christians," in William Johnson to George Clinton, March 15,

When English settlers in Carolina first met Indians, they called themselves "white people," a term that could be literally translated into native languages. A different naming process must have occurred in the Northeast because "Christian" cannot be translated into native languages. Instead, the names Indians invented for Europeans predominated. The Iroquois, for example, called Europeans "hatchetmakers." In English translations of Indian speeches, Indian speakers seem to be using "Christian" in the seventeenth century and "white people" by the mid-eighteenth century, but probably it was the interpreters who changed, first interpreting the Iroquois word for "hatchetmakers" into "Christians" and later into "white people."²⁶

The Southeast also makes sense for the second component of the dialectic—why Indians responded with "red" instead of yellow, brown, or even tawny. Red and white symbols, articulating a dualism between war and peace, permeated southeastern Indian cultures. White was "their fixt emblem of peace, friendship, happiness, prosperity, purity, holiness, &c."²⁷ The "white path" meant peaceful relations between towns or nations. The "red" or "bloody" path meant war.²⁸ War chiefs "painted blood-red" and civil chiefs "painted milk white" shared political authority within towns, and towns themselves were designated "white" or "red" as a means to delegate intratribal responsibilities in times of peace and war.²⁹ "Red" and "white" were, therefore, metaphors for moieties, or complementary divisions, within southeastern Indian societies. Although northern tribes such as the Iroquois understood red and white symbols to stand for war and peace, the juxtaposition of "red" and "white" rarely figured in the discourse and ritual of Iroquois diplomacy.³⁰ For southeastern Indians, "red" would have been the logical rejoinder to "white." Indeed, at the 1725–1726 councils with the English, mentioned earlier, Indians who spoke of bringing "red people" and "white people" together may have meant people who advocated war and people who advocated peace. The English did appear as peacemakers at these councils, and the Indians may have thought that was why they were calling themselves "white people." The English, meanwhile, probably understood the Indian phrase "red people" to be only a reference to complexion.

This first scenario for how Indians got to be "red" fits the English Southeast but

1747/8, with Johnson's letter to Capt. Ross, May 30, 1749, giving instructions to purchase slaves and servants, in Sullivan, *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 1: 146, 230.

²⁶ "As soon as the Hatchet-makers (their general Name for Christians) arrived," Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada* (1747; rpt. edn., Toronto, 1972), 167. Also see Daniel K. Richter's discussion of the mistranslation of an Iroquois speech juxtaposing *Asseroenis* ("axe-makers") and *Onqwes* ("human beings") in *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992), 353–54.

²⁷ Williams, *Adair's History*, 167.

²⁸ Headmen of the Lower Towns and Warriors of Kewee to Governor Lyttelton, March 2, 1758, *DRIA 1754–1765*, 444.

²⁹ Samuel Cole Williams, ed., *Lieut. Henry Timberlake's Memoirs, 1756–1765* (Marietta, Ga., 1948), 63–64. Also see John Stuart to Board of Trade, March 9, 1764, British Public Record Office, C.O. 323.17.256–57, in Anderson and Lewis, *Guide to Cherokee Records in Foreign Archives*; Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1976), 234–39.

³⁰ The Iroquois had their own prevailing metaphors—the longhouse, the great tree, and the covenant chain—none of which made much reference to colors. Francis Jennings, ed., *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1985), see esp. 88, 122, 129.

less neatly explains why “red men” made its way into French-Indian diplomacy. The language evidence is the same. In the Mobilian trade jargon, the “vulgar tongue” in which the French and Indians communicated, the words for Indian, European, and African were rooted in words for the colors red, white, and black.³¹ And the French in Louisiana had “Nègre” slaves and a “blanc” identity. André Pénicaut, a member of Pierre Le Moyne d’Iberville’s 1698 expedition to the Lower Mississippi, explained the Indians’ curiosity about the French as caused by their being “astonished at seeing white-skinned people.” Later, when offered “as many women as there were men in our party,” Iberville held out his hand to the Indians and “made them understand that their skin—red and tanned—should not come close to that of the French, which was white.” This is, incidentally, one of the few references to Indians having red skin; elsewhere in his account, Pénicaut described Indians as having “very tawny skin.”³²

In contrast to the English in Carolina, however, the French did not so persistently refer to themselves as “white people” but self-identified more often by nationality: “les Français.”³³ The transcripts of Indian-European councils reveal another difference. When in conversation with the English, Indians usually paired “red people” with “white people” as though they were thinking of complementary moieties. In the French records, “red men” appears alone, suggesting that “red” emerged independently from French claims to the category “white.”

THE SECOND SCENARIO FOR THE ORIGINS OF “RED” fits French-Indian relations better. Early in their explorations of the Mississippi, the French encountered several Indian groups who already had “red” identities. “Red men,” once introduced into diplomatic discourse by one Indian tribe, might have spread geographically and become part of the language of people unfamiliar with its origin. The French planter Le Page du Pratz implied that this was the case. Although he sometimes called the Natchez “Hommes Rouges,” he also wrote, “When the Natchez retired to this part of America, where I saw them, they there found several nations, or rather the remains of several nations, some on the east, others on the west of the Mississippi. These are the people who are distinguished among the natives by the name of Red Men; and their origin is so much the more obscure, as they have not so distinct a tradition, as the Natchez.”³⁴

Undoubtedly, one such tribe was the Houmas, a Muskogean-speaking people in

³¹ The Mobilian trade jargon had a limited vocabulary, mostly derived from Choctaw and other Western Muskogean languages. In the vocabulary compiled by linguist James Crawford, the Mobilian words for “negroes” and “white people” derived solely from the colors black and white, but “Indian” could either be expressed as “hatak api humma” (“red man” in Western Muskogean) or as “sovaz,” a variation on the French *sauvage*. James M. Crawford, *The Mobilian Trade Language* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1978), 81–97.

³² Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams, ed., *Fleur de Lys and Calumet: Being the Pénicaut Narrative of French Adventure in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, La., 1953), 4, 24, 4.

³³ In the few French references to “whites,” the term was usually linked or juxtaposed with “blacks”: “Only two whites and five negroes escaped” or “whites, and mulattoes and blacks”; Périer to Maurepas, August 1, 1730, in Galloway, *Mississippi Provincial Archives: French Dominion*, 4: 37; Pierre Le Moyne d’Iberville, *Iberville’s Gulf Journals*, Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams, trans. and ed. (University, Ala., 1981), 154.

³⁴ Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, 298.

the Lower Mississippi Valley whose name translates into English as "red." Early French expeditions of the Southeast, headed by La Salle and Iberville in the 1680s and 1690s, encountered "Oumas" near the mouth of the Mississippi. But these exploring parties communicated with Indians largely by signs, and neither La Salle nor Iberville translated "Ouma" into "red" or seemed to be aware of what it meant.³⁵ In early meetings with Indians along the Mississippi, as the French worked to acquire the rudiments of native languages, they may have inadvertently used native ways of speaking in such a way as to popularize "red men" as a catch phrase for all Indians.

How and when certain tribes came to be called "red" is unclear, but there seems to have been some connection between a "red" identity and origin stories. According to anthropologist John R. Swanton, the Houmas and the neighboring Chakchiumas owed their tribal names to the red crawfish that created the earth.³⁶ Another "red" tribe whom the French encountered in explorations further to the north were the Mesquakies, or "red earths," whose origin story tells of how "the first men and the first women [were made] out of clay that was as red as the reddest blood."³⁷ Origin stories such as these could also be adapted to account for differences between peoples. A twentieth-century folklorist recorded that "the Saukies (Saukieock, to speak the plural as they do) say jokingly that Geechee Manito-ah made the Saukie out of yellow clay and the Squakie out of red."³⁸

Just as some Indians used animals to create metaphorical social divisions, called totems or clans, southeastern Indians may have used their variegated landscape to explain differences between peoples. European explorers of the Southeast were especially struck by the colors of the land. One trader said of Chickasaw country, "The Land here is a thinn mold on Topp of a red stiff Clay and white Marle."³⁹ Le Page du Pratz characterized lower Louisiana as abounding in red clay, although "the White Hill" near the Natchez had "several veins of an earth, that is white, greasy, and very fine, with which I have seen very good potters ware made. On the same hill there are veins of ochre, of which the Natchez had just taken some to stain their earthen ware, which looked well enough; when it was besmeared with ochre, it became red on burning."⁴⁰ An Englishman described what was probably the same hill as being made of "White Clay streaked with Red & Yellow," and later in his journey he "Remark'd a Reddish soil somewhat like Red ocre, which the Indians use instead of Vermillion when they cannot get the latter."⁴¹

³⁵ The "Oumas" are mentioned in "Narrative of the Expedition of M. Cavalier De La Salle" (1682) and "Historical Journal: or, Narrative of the Expedition Made by Order of Louis XIV., King of France, under Command of M. D'Iberville to Explore the Colbert (Mississippi) River and Establish a Colony in Louisiana" (1698), both in B. F. French, ed., *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida* (New York, 1875), 22, 93. Also see McWilliams, *Iberville's Gulf Journals*, 65.

³⁶ John R. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 43 (Washington, D.C., 1911), 29.

³⁷ This version of the Mesquakie origin story comes from a native Mesquakie ethnographer, William Jones, "Episodes in the Culture-Hero Myth of the Sauks and Foxes," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 14 (1901): 239, 237.

³⁸ Mary Alicia Owen, *Folk-lore of the Musquakie Indians of North America* (London, 1904), 18.

³⁹ Alexander Moore, ed., *Nairne's Muskhogean Journals: The 1708 Expedition to the Mississippi River* (Jackson, Miss., 1988), 59.

⁴⁰ Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, 25–26, also see 131.

⁴¹ Edward Mease, "Narrative of a Journey through Several Parts of the Province of West Florida in

Before European trade introduced vermillion, Indians made paint out of clay, and paint marked social positioning, whether one was for war or peace, for example. The colors of the land matched the color symbolism of southeastern Indians in other contexts. The Taensas, who were related to the Natchez and also lived near this white, red, and yellow clay cliff, replicated these colors in their temple, which a French Jesuit described as having on the outside "three figures of eagles made of wood, and painted red, yellow, and white." Inside the temple, shelves held baskets of "Idols," including "figures of men and women made of stone or baked clay."⁴² These "figures" might have been references to the Taensas origin story, if it resembled that of the Natchez. According to Le Page du Pratz, "The guardian of the [Natchez] temple having told me that God had made man with his own hands, I asked him if he knew how that was done. He answered, 'that God had kneaded some clay, such as that which potters use, and had made it into a little man; and that after examining it, and finding it well formed, he blew up his work, and forthwith that little man had life, grew, acted, walked, and found himself a man perfectly well shaped.'"⁴³ Le Page du Pratz did not ask whether God used red, white, or yellow clay.

Not all Indians believed that people originated in clay. H. B. Cushman, writing in the nineteenth century, recorded that

in regard to the origin of man, the one [story] generally accepted among the Choctaws, as well as many other tribes was that man and all other forms of life had originated from the common mother earth through the agency of the Great Spirit; . . . that the human race sprang from many different primeval pairs created by the Great Spirit in various parts of the earth in which man was found; and according to the different natural features of the world in which man abode, so their views varied with regard to the substance of which man was created; [whether from the trees, from the rocks, or from the earth.]⁴⁴

The stories Le Page du Pratz and Cushman heard may have been the same stories told among the Natchez and Choctaws before the arrival of Europeans, new stories created for the benefit of European listeners, or old stories adjusted to account for the existence of Europeans. Origin stories in the historical record are naturally suspect. They often appear within the accounts of missionaries, who were eager to hear native explanations of how the world was created so that they could correct them and tell how the world was really created. Anticipating what missionaries

the Years 1770 and 1771," in Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, ed., "Peter Chester: Third Governor of the Province of West Florida under British Dominion, 1770-1781," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Dunbar Rowland, ed., vol. 5 (Jackson, Miss., 1925), 76, 83.

⁴² Father Le Petit to Father d'Avaugour, 1730, in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, 73 vols. (Cleveland, Ohio, 1896-1901), 68: 123, 125. Le Petit said this was the Natchez temple, but Swanton compared the dates and other descriptions of the Natchez and Taensas temples and concluded that Le Petit confused the Taensas with the Natchez, a common mistake at the time. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley*, 4.

⁴³ Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, 330.

⁴⁴ H. B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians*, Angie Debo, ed. (1899; rpt. edn., New York, 1962), 198-99.

wanted to hear, Indians who were already acquainted with the biblical account may have recycled some version of it for the missionaries' benefit.⁴⁵

Curiously, at least one proselytizing Christian, Roger Williams of Rhode Island, faithfully translated the Hebrew word *adam*, which means red earth or soil, into an Algonquian language, consequently telling Indians that God had made the first man out of red earth. However, Williams's Indian acquaintances rejected his version, insisting that God carved the first people out of stone but, dissatisfied with the result, made them from a tree instead.⁴⁶ Since seventeenth-century New England Indians were not thought of as "red," Williams's origin story lacked the political content it could have assumed in other times and places.⁴⁷ And yet, if missionaries elsewhere followed Williams's example, some Indians might have found this origin story compatible with their own or a story worth appropriating.

Eighteenth-century Europeans were themselves engaged in a struggle to keep the truth of their origin story alive, despite the challenge to it incurred with the European "discovery" of the Americas. The rise of black slavery was just one cause behind the collapse of Christian and pagan as a system of categories and the emergence of new categories based on the science of race. A second reason for the shift to a new set of categories must have been the hard questions posed by the existence of Indians: Were Indians descended from Adam and Eve or were there separate creations? Were Indians the lost tribe of Israel? Were they on the ark with Noah?⁴⁸ As Europeans debated how to fit Native Americans into the biblical account of human origins, Indians must also have been discussing how to fit the appearance of these new people, Europeans and Africans, into their stories of human creation. Like the Genesis story, the Natchez and Choctaw stories described the divine origins of humans but could also be adapted to explain or allow for differences among humans: Indians, Europeans, and Africans "came out of the ground" in different places and thus were different peoples.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ For example, see Klingberg, *Carolina Chronicle of Dr. Francis Le Jau*, 68. Also, as William G. McLoughlin noted, some Indian origin stories derived from African folktales; see "A Note on African Sources of American Indian Racial Myths," in William G. McLoughlin with Walter H. Conser, Jr., and Virginia Duffy McLoughlin, *The Cherokee Ghost Dance: Essays on the Southeastern Indians, 1789–1861* (Macon, Ga., 1984), 253–60. For European influence on Indian origin stories, see William G. McLoughlin and Walter H. Conser, Jr., "'The First Man Was Red': Cherokee Responses to the Debates over Indian Origins, 1760–1860," *American Quarterly* 41 (June 1989): 243–64. McLoughlin and Conser say little about Cherokee influences on Cherokee origin stories, and, by focusing on "African Sources" and "Cherokee Responses," they risk giving the impression that every Cherokee origin story appearing in the historical record is derived from either blacks or whites.

⁴⁶ Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America* (London, 1643), 115.

⁴⁷ Seventeenth-century New Englanders called Indians "Indians," less often "Heathens," "Natives," "Savages" or "Salvages," and "Tawnies," but not "red." See John Mason, *A Brief History of the Pequot War* (1736; rpt. edn., Ann Arbor, Mich., 1966); Benjamin Church, *Diary of King Philip's War, 1675–76*, Alan Simpson and Mary Simpson, intro. (Chester, Conn., 1975); Samuel G. Drake, ed., *The History of the Indians Wars in New England from the First Settlement to the Termination of the War with King Philip, in 1677: From the Original Work, by the Rev. William Hubbard [1677]* (1865; rpt. edn., New York, 1969); Charles H. Lincoln, ed., *Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675–1699* (1913; rpt. edn., New York, 1959). The title of Russell Bourne's *The Red King's Rebellion: Racial Politics in New England, 1675–1678* (New York, 1990) is anachronistic.

⁴⁸ European debates on the origins of Indians are surveyed in Lee Eldridge Huddleston, *Origins of the American Indians: European Concepts, 1492–1729* (Austin, Tex., 1967).

⁴⁹ "Came out of the ground" seems to have been predominantly an Iroquois expression, but Indians from other nations also used it to refer to what part of the country they originated in. Pouchot, *Memoir upon the Late War*, 2: 233; Meeting at Philadelphia, March 31, 1755, with Scarrooyady, *et al.*; Council

BUT WERE THEY, THEN, OF A DIFFERENT RACE? The first scenario for how Indians got to be “red”—“red” as a response to “white”—suggests that “red” and “white” were metaphors for assumed positions, like school colors today, and not racial categories rooted in biological difference. The second scenario, positing a pre-contact identity as “red” based on beliefs about origins, raises the possibility that Indians came to see “red” and “white” as designating innate, divinely ordained differences between peoples. Were “white” and “red” in European-Indian diplomacy intended as symbols that could be put on and taken off or did they refer to differences thought to be embedded in the body, in skin color? Unfortunately, there is no simple answer.

James Adair certainly thought that Indians had their own racial identity. A trader who lived for many years with the Cherokees and Chickasaws, Adair later tried to prove in his *History of the American Indians* that Indians descended from Jews. Like many of his contemporaries, Adair believed that “the Indian colour is not natural” but came from their “method of living.” However, he also wrote that Indians were “of a copper or red-clay colour” and “are so strongly attached to, and prejudiced in favour of, their own colour, that they think as meanly of the whites, as we possibly can do of them.”⁵⁰ His phrasing, “red-clay colour,” is unusual and may have come from conversations with Indians, not from his own observation.

More suggestive of race were eighteenth-century Indians’ efforts to determine social identity through empirical, biological criteria. A trader to the Cherokees told of how they had killed an enemy who “was by his Confession an Over the Lake Indian, and by his Whiteness they supposed him to be a whiteman’s Son.”⁵¹ Another trader described an incident in which Twightwee (Miami) Indians visiting the Shawnees “den[ied] they had brought either Scalps or Prisoners, the *Shawnanese* suspecting them, had the Curiosity to search their Bags, and finding two Scalps in them, that by the Softness of the Hair did not feel like *Indian* Scalps, they wash’d them clean, and found them to be the Scalps of some Christians.”⁵² As the science of race emerged in Europe, Indians were similarly reading meaning into observable bodily differences as a way to find order in an increasingly complicated world.

Another kind of racialism is evident outside of the Southeast in speeches made by Indians who, even though they did not call themselves “red people,” challenged European claims to power by asserting a racial identity. In the 1740s, an Iroquois speaker in council with the English emphasized Iroquois independence by highlighting the racial divide between Europeans and Indians: “The World at the first was made on the other Side of the Great Water different from what it is on this Side, as may be known from the different Colours of our Skin, and of our Flesh, and that which you call Justice may not be so amongst us; you have your Laws and Customs, and so have we.”⁵³ And in the 1750s, Indians began promoting pan-Indian

at Philadelphia, August 22, 1755; [Samuel Hazard, ed.], *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, 10 vols. (Philadelphia and Harrisburg, 1851–52), 6: 343, 589.

⁵⁰ S. Williams, *Adair’s History*, 1, 3.

⁵¹ Ludovic Grant to Governor Glen, July 22, 1754, in *DRIA 1754–1765*, 18.

⁵² This trader’s letter was read at a Treaty with the Six Nations at Philadelphia, July 1742, in Colden, *History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada*, 51.

⁵³ Canassatego, quoted in Colden, *History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada*, 125.

resistance by evoking racial ties, as when the Delawares and Shawnees appealed to the Iroquois to "take up the Hatchet against the White People, without distinction, for all their Skin was of one Colour and the Indians of a Nother, and if the Six Nations wou'd strike the French, they wou'd strike the English."⁵⁴ Northeastern Indians may have been incorporating a concept Europeans introduced to them—that skin color was significant—or they came to this idea on their own.

Thus eighteenth-century Indians did use biology either to reveal identity or to build a common identity. However, most often, Indians used "red" and "white" for their rhetorical power as metaphors intended to capture the essence of social relationships. Closer examination of three contexts in which the Cherokee placed themselves in a "red" category shows that the Cherokee adopted color-based categories as a strategy to inform the English about social obligations. Two of these examples come from the trader Alexander Longe's 1725 "Postscript." In this document, neither Longe nor the Cherokee conjuror he spoke to referred to Indians as "red" explicitly, but the Cherokee by implication fell into a "red" category. The third example comes from a 1730 Cherokee-English council held in London.

First, however, there is a complication that requires explanation. The Cherokee language has two red colors. *Agigage* is a bright red originating in the Cherokee word for blood. *Wodige*, which usually translates as "brown," is a red-brown color derived from the Cherokee word for red paint, *wadi*, which was made out of red clay before the Cherokee acquired vermillion in trade.⁵⁵ Interpreters might have translated either word into English as "red." These two colors had strong associations because the Cherokee used red-brown face paint to evoke the blood-red natural powers of the body. Anthropologist Raymond Fogelson depicted this connection as gendered: the face paint worn by warriors and associated with death complemented the menstrual blood and life-giving powers of women.⁵⁶ A mid-eighteenth-century dictionary, compiled by the German engineer of an English fort in Cherokee country, demonstrates the obscure boundary between *agigage* and *wodige*, between the social and the biological. "Indian" is given as "Wodikéhe," suggesting that the "red people" in council transcripts came from *wodige*, but the dictionary then translates "Wodikéhe" as "Indian, painted Man," not "red man."⁵⁷ The following three Cherokee examples invoke both *agigage* and *wodige*.

In the same year as the Taensas chief told his story about the white, red, and black men emerging from a cave, Longe interviewed a Cherokee "prist," or conjuror, to gauge the Cherokee's receptivity to Christian missionaries. The

⁵⁴ [Hazard], *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, 7: 299.

⁵⁵ Janine Scancarelli, personal communication with the author, October 7, 1994. James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees*, Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report for 1897-98, no. 19 (Washington, D.C., 1900), 545. And also according to Mooney, red paint "in former days was procured from a deep red clay known as *ela-wa'ti*, or 'reddish brown clay.'" See James Mooney, *The Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees*, Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, D.C., 1891), 378-79.

⁵⁶ Mooney, *Sacred Formulas*, 378-79; Raymond D. Fogelson, "On the 'Petticoat Government' of the Eighteenth-Century Cherokee," *Personality and the Cultural Construction of Society*, David K. Jordan and Marc J. Swartz, eds. (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1990), 173-75.

⁵⁷ John Gerar William De Brahm, *Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America*, Louis De Vorse, Jr., ed. (Columbia, S.C., 1971), 122, 127.

conjurer answered Longe in much the same way as the Taensas chief, by telling an origin story. In the beginning, everything was water. The Great Man Above gave a crawfish some dirt to spread and then made the sun and moon. After he had made all living things, "he toke some white Clay and mead the white man and one white woman . . . and then he mead tow and Two of Evry nashun under the sone[,] woman and man[.] They have incresed Ever since but I think that The english are the first that he mead because he has Indued them with knowledge of meaking all things."⁵⁸ Although it is left unsaid what color clay other nations were made from, Cherokee land, lying in what is now northeastern Georgia, eastern Tennessee, and the western Carolinas, is one of the regions in North America most noted for its extensive banks of red clay.

The conjurer told another story that positioned Indians as "red," but this time he linked skin color to the abstractly colored gods of the four directions. The god in the north was

a black god colored like the negro and he is verrie cross . . . [T]hat in the Est is the couler of us Indians and hee is something beter than the other [other sources call this god in the east red/*agigage*] . . . [H]e that is in the south is a verrie good one and white as yow English are, and soe mild that we love him out of meshor . . . [Y]ow are whiter Then all other nashons or people under the sun[.] [T]he grate king of heaven has given yow the knowledge of all things[.] Shurely he has a grater love for yow then us and for us then The negrows.

It was not until Longe pressed him for more information on the fourth god that the conjurer found a color for him. He was "the Colour of the spanards."⁵⁹ In other accounts of the gods of the four directions, his color would have been "blue," but "blue" men had no parallel in the nascent racial categories of the Southeast.

The conjurer's reluctance to take the story to its implausible conclusion, blue Spaniards, reveals the reason for his storytelling. Longe thought he was gathering information on Cherokee religious beliefs, but the conjurer was tailoring his story for his audience. The origin story was probably a fabrication, too, a familiar plot with additional expository details, most notably the idea that whites were created first. In both stories, the conjurer flattered Longe with deference to white superiority, but, when asked directly about whether the Cherokees would like missionaries to come among them, he expressed doubts about their efficacy, for "these white men that Lives amonghts us a traiding are more deboched and more wicked Then the beatest of our young felows[.] is itt nott a shame for Them that has such good prists and such knowledge as they have To be worse then the Indians that are In a maner but like wolves."⁶⁰ With these narratives, the conjurer intended to instruct Longe in how white people *should* behave.

In the third example, the 1730 treaty signing in London, the Cherokee speaker claimed the category "red" in yet another context. This treaty originated in the

⁵⁸ D. H. Corkran, ed., "A Small Postscript of the Ways and Maners [sic] of the Indians called Charikees," *Southern Indian Studies* 21 (1969): 27–29.

⁵⁹ Corkran, "Small Postscript," 14. An elderly Cherokee named Sickatower told John Howard Payne that the gods of the four directions were white, black, red, and blue; see Payne Papers, vol. 2, 110, Newberry Library, Chicago. James Mooney's late nineteenth-century collection of Cherokee sacred formulas shows that *agigage*, not *wodige*, dominated in Cherokee mythology and was the color meant by the "red" of the four directions. See Mooney, *Sacred Formulas*, 342, 346.

⁶⁰ Corkran, "Small Postscript," 21.

bizarre ambitions of an English eccentric, Sir Alexander Cuming, who on his own initiative visited the Cherokees and invited seven of them to London to meet the king (see frontispiece). When they got there, the seven Cherokees found themselves part of treaty negotiations in which the English speaker said that, since the Cherokees were "now the children of the Great King of Great Britain and he their father," they "must be always ready at the Governor's command to fight against any Nation whether they be white men or Indians who shall dare to molest or hurt the English." The English also sought good trading relations, the return of escaped slaves, and legal jurisdiction in murders between Cherokees and colonists. To seal the terms of the treaty, the English distributed presents of guns, knives, kettles, wampum belts, and "a piece of Red Cloth." The Cherokee speaker, overcome by the "glittering show of the courtiers," acceded to these demands and said, "We look upon the Great King George as the Sun and as our Father and upon ourselves as his children[.] For tho' we are red and you white yet our hands and hearts are join'd together. We came hither naked and poor, as the Worm of the Earth, but you have everything: and we that have nothing must love you."⁶¹

In asserting a "red" identity, the Indian speaker at the 1730 London council treated "red" and "white" as moieties tying the Cherokees and English to an alliance in which each had a distinct, complementary role to play. During the ensuing decades, the Cherokees recalled the London treaty often to remind the English of the bargain they had made. As one Cherokee said at a 1757 council, "I remember my Father, King George, said, That the White People and we were equally his Children, And that both had an equal Right to the Land. Our Brothers, the White People, understanding making of Cloaths and other Necessaries for us, And we understood fighting; so if your People will furnish Cloaths and other Necessaries for us, We will assist you in defending the Country."⁶²

If the Cherokees were extending their conception of town politics to explain each other's role in the alliance, the English were metaphorically to assume the role of the civil or "white" chief and the Cherokees were to be the head warrior or "red" chief.⁶³ A "white" chief of a Cherokee town did not actually clothe his townspeople, but he did oversee communal resources and was responsible for the welfare of guests and town residents unable to fend for themselves. "White" chiefs also mediated and advocated peace. Although not truly seeking peace but control over who fought with whom, the English would have appeared on the ritual stage of diplomacy to be taking on the role of peacemakers.⁶⁴ Simultaneously, the Chero-

⁶¹ William L. Saunders, ed., *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 10 vols. (Raleigh, N.C., 1886–90), 3: 130–33; "Alexander Cuming Journal," in Samuel Cole Williams, ed., *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540–1800* (Johnson City, Tenn., 1928), 140; S. Williams, *Adair's History*, 53. For more on Cuming's tour through Cherokee country, see "Historical Relation of Facts Delivered by Ludovick Grant, Indian Trader, to His Excellency the Governor of South Carolina," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 10 (1909): 54–68.

⁶² Waughaughey, Conference at Fort Frederick, in [Hazard], *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, 7: 555.

⁶³ For more on eighteenth-century Cherokee leadership, see Fred Gearing, *Priests and Warriors: Social Structures for Cherokee Politics in the 18th Century*, American Anthropological Association Memoir 93 (October 1962); M. Thomas Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians through the Era of Revolution* (New York, 1993).

⁶⁴ Besides the 1725–1726 councils mentioned previously, see that described in Langdon Cheves, ed., "A Letter from Carolina in 1715, and Journal of the March of the Carolinians into the Cherokee

kees derided the English ability to make war.⁶⁵ These metaphorical positions of English/white/peace and Cherokee/red/war found confirmation in the kin terms used to explain the Cherokee-English alliance. The Cherokees willingly became “younger brothers” to English colonial governors and “children” of the English king. Within Cherokee society, “white” already had associations with old and “red” with young, as in the age structure of Cherokee politics: civil chiefs were usually a generation older than war chiefs.⁶⁶

The variety of contexts in which the Cherokees situated themselves as “red” shows that “red” did not have a definite, fixed meaning. In one context, it meant the war moiety, in another there was a hint of origins in red clay, and in a third situation, the “red” god of the east was ranked second but otherwise lacked characteristics. Whether the Cherokees meant “red people” or “painted people” is equally ambiguous. The war moiety involved both red colors. (*Wodige* paint symbolized *agigage* activities.) The god of the east was the color of *agigage*, while origins in red clay would make one the color of *wodige*. If the Cherokees had a “red” identity in 1725–1730, it was just emerging.

Most significant, these three examples show that the Cherokees became “red” as a consequence of trying to define “whiteness.” In contrast to the vagueness and contextuality of what it meant to be “red,” all three examples give the same understanding of “white.” In the two stories told by the Cherokee conjuror, whites were ranked first because they had the “knowledge of meaking all things.” Indians were ranked second. The Cherokees also accepted this ranking at the London treaty council when they allied with the English in exchange for trade goods. Superior wealth and technology justified European claims to the high-status category of “white.” Presumably, it was blacks’ status as slaves that relegated them to the lowest rank. The Taensas story about the three races leaving the cave used the same ranking based on wealth (the white man “took the good road that led him into a fine hunting ground”) and similarly grounded this ranking in an age hierarchy: the white man was the first to leave the cave. This deference to white superiority was a diplomatic pose, for among themselves the Cherokees said very different things about white people, calling them “the white nothings,” “the ugly white people,” and “white dung-hill fowls.”⁶⁷

THUS, IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, the Cherokees elaborated on their own color symbolism to create a set of categories to stand for their diplomatic relationship with the English. The rhetorical purpose of color-based categories became even more transparent after the Revolutionary War, when the Cherokees

Mountains, in the Yemassee Indian War, 1715–16, From the Original Ms.,” in *Year Book—1894, City of Charleston, South Carolina* (Charleston, 1894), 314–54.

⁶⁵ S. Williams, *Adair's History*, 463; Charles Town Council, January 24, 1726/7, British Public Record Office, C.O. 5.387.237, in Anderson and Lewis, *Guide to Cherokee Records in Foreign Archives*.

⁶⁶ Payne Papers, 3: 65; Gearing, *Priests and Warriors*; Raymond D. Fogelson, “The Cherokee Ballgame Cycle: An Ethnographer's View,” *Ethnomusicology* 15 (1971): 327–39; and Fogelson, “Cherokee Notions of Power,” in *The Anthropology of Power: Ethnographic Studies from Asia, Oceania, and the New World*, Fogelson and Richard N. Adams, eds. (New York, 1977), 185–94.

⁶⁷ S. Williams, *Adair's History*, 97, 115, 242, 263.

rejected the former meanings of "red" and "white" and attempted to negotiate new meanings to counter American assumptions of conquest. As in the early eighteenth century, Cherokee speakers used their origin story as a base to explain social positioning, but they recast the origin story to assert precedence. At the 1785 treaty council at Hopewell, Cherokee chief Old Tassel said, "I am made of this earth, on which the great man above placed me, to possess it . . . You must know the red people are the aborigines of this land, and that it is but a few years since the white people found it out. I am of the first stock, as the commissioners know, and a native of this land; and the white people are now living on it as our friends."⁶⁸

Old Tassel's reminder to U.S. treaty commissioners that the "red people" were the original occupants of the land constituted a Cherokee challenge to U.S. hegemony that endured into the 1790s and early 1800s. After complaining in 1792 that "we are bound up all round with white people, that we have not room to hunt," the Little Nephew said, "though we are red, you must know one person made us both. The red people were made first . . . Our great father above made us both; and, if he was to take it into his head that the whites had injured the reds, he would certainly punish them for it."⁶⁹ In the 1790s, another Cherokee told some missionaries, "The Great Father of all breathing things, in the beginning created all men, the white, the red and the black . . . The whites are now called the older brothers and the red the younger. I do not object to this and will call them so though really the naming should have been reversed, for the red people dwelt here first."⁷⁰ And in the 1830s, a Cherokee man told of how God had made the first man out of red clay. Because Indians were red, they had obviously been made first: "The Red people therefore are the real people, as their name *yuwiya*, indicates."⁷¹ Thus, after the revolution, the Cherokees abandoned the mutually agreed-upon racial hierarchy that had granted whites a higher status in exchange for trade goods. Emphasizing their age and precedence as a people, they defined "red" differently to neutralize the hierarchy Americans thought they had inherited from Britain.

Cherokee insistence that the red people were made first was partly a response to how whites regarded them. At Hopewell, U.S. treaty commissioners claimed that they only wanted to make the Cherokees happy, "regardless of any distinction of color, or of any difference in our customs, our manners, or particular situation."⁷² The Cherokees were skeptical. One Cherokee complained to Moravian missionaries in the 1790s, "but many people think that we Indians are too evil and bad to become good people, and that we are too unclean and brown [probably *wodige*]."⁷³ The Cherokees saw that skin-color categories had become the predominant

⁶⁸ United States, *American State Papers, Indian Affairs* (hereafter, *ASP*), 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1832), 1: 41.

⁶⁹ *ASP*, 1: 288.

⁷⁰ "Report of the Journey of the Brethren Abraham Steiner and Frederick C. De Schweinitz to the Cherokees and the Cumberland Settlements (1799)," in S. Williams, *Early Travels in Tennessee Country*, 496–97.

⁷¹ Nutsawi of Pinelog, *Payne Papers*, 4: 572. At about the same time, a Cherokee who had migrated to the west (Arkansas) told another missionary that the "first human pair were red" and then proceeded to give the story of Adam and Eve. Cephas Washburn, *Reminiscences of the Indians*, J. W. Moore, ed. (Richmond, 1869), 155.

⁷² *ASP*, 1: 40.

⁷³ "Report of the Journey of . . . Steiner and Schweinitz," 488.

indicator of status in the American South, and "black" labor and "red" land the two most marketable commodities. English trade goods justified the Cherokees' deference in the early eighteenth century, but now they were unlikely to gain anything in a racial hierarchy that was pushing the category "red" closer to the category "black."

The wordplay and invention surrounding Cherokee uses of "red" and "white" give the illusion of complete plasticity, but it was only the meanings of "red" and "white" that changed with the situation. The Cherokees never claimed to be any other color than "red," and the English, even when being insulted, were always "white." By the end of the century, the color-based categories that grew out of Cherokee color symbolism had become racial categories because the Cherokees described the origins of difference as being innate, the product of separate creations, and they spoke of skin color as if it were a meaningful index of difference. But they persistently molded what race meant to fit particular contexts.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY INDIANS AND EUROPEANS were engaged in the same mental processes. They experimented with notions of biological difference in an attempt to develop methods for discerning individual allegiances. They adapted origin beliefs to come up with divine explanations for political, cultural, and social divisions. They dealt with the sudden diversity of people by creating new knowledge out of old knowledge, new color-based categories derived from their traditional color symbolism. Thus the Cherokee conjuror in Longe's account and Linnaeus were compatriots in the same intellectual enterprise. The two groups also spent most of the eighteenth century expressing confusion and disagreement about the origins of human difference, the significance of bodily variation, and how and why God, or the Great Man Above, had created such different people. It would take another century for the science of race to reach its full height and then one more century for the idea of race to be seriously questioned. Perhaps we are now at the brink of the apocalypse, when the idea of race will be abandoned entirely and another system of categories will emerge to take its place.

In the meantime, "red" continues to be contested. Indians may have named themselves "red," but they could not prevent whites from making it a derogatory term. By the nineteenth century, whites had appropriated "red man" and put it to their own uses. Appearing in the novels of James Fenimore Cooper, captivity narratives, and dime novels, ultimately to be taken up by tobacco advertisers and national sports teams, the noble "Red Man" and the brutal "Redskin" evolved into demeaning and dehumanizing racial epithets. But, at the same time, Indians could always use "red" to claim a positive identity and to make a statement about difference, to build pan-Indian alliances as in the native women's organization Women of All Red Nations, or to articulate American Indian grievances as in Vine Deloria, Jr.'s critique of Euroamerican ethnocentrism, *God Is Red* (1973).

The adaptability of racial categories to fit particular political and social alignments illuminates critical features of the idea of race in general. People do not believe in race abstractly but instead manipulate racial categories to suit contextu-

alized objectives. Yet scholars seeking to understand race as a cultural construction should exercise care not to dismiss physical differences between peoples as pure figments of imagination. Why did Indians begin to see in skin color the potential for categorizing themselves, Europeans, and Africans but not use skin color to distinguish among Indians? Is it because there was indeed greater observable, biological difference between the peoples of Europe, Africa, and America than among them? There are physical differences; our collective imaginations organize these differences to make meaning of them and are constantly at work altering those meanings.

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A Feminine Past? Gender, Genre, and Historical Knowledge in England, 1500–1800

D. R. WOOLF

THE LITERARY AND INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITIES OF EARLY MODERN ENGLISHWOMEN have received much attention. Yet we still know very little about their relationship to the study of history.¹ This neglect is understandable, since the world of the published historian remained, for all but a few, well out of reach until the nineteenth century.² Catharine Sawbridge Macaulay, the first woman to write a full-length history of England (and that limited to the seventeenth century), remained for a long time a lonely example of a female political historian. After hers, there is but one case before the nineteenth century of a full-dress history by a woman, Charlotte Cowley; unlike Macaulay's book, it was intended specifically for women rather than for the reading public at large.³

It is not my intention to dwell on this paucity, although a lengthier treatment of the questions raised herein would surely deepen our understanding of how women

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¹ The subject of women and history comes up in passing in Dorothy Gardiner's classic, *English Girlhood at School: A Study of Women's Education through Twelve Centuries* (Oxford, 1929); and in Myra Reynolds, *The Learned Lady in England, 1650–1760* (Boston, 1920).

² Early exceptions are Anne Edgecombe Dowriche's brief verse account of three French atrocities against Protestants, *The French Historie* (London, 1589); and an anonymous *History of the Life, Reign and Death of Edward II* (London, 1680) sometimes ascribed to Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland, but by no means certainly her work. For the fullest recent lists of early published works by women, see Patricia Crawford, "Women's Published Writings 1600–1700," in Mary Prior, ed., *Women in English Society, 1500–1800* (London, 1985), 211–82; Hilda L. Smith and Susan Cardinale, *Women and the Literature of the Seventeenth Century: An Annotated Bibliography Based on Wing's Short-title Catalogue* (New York, 1990).

³ Bridget Hill, *The Republican Virago: The Life and Times of Catharine Macaulay, Historian* (Oxford, 1992); Charlotte Cowley, *The Ladies History of England: From the Descent of Julius Caesar, to the Summer of 1780, Calculated for the use of the Ladies of Great-Britain and Ireland; and Likewise adapted to General Use, Entertainment, and Instruction* (London, 1780).

came to be excluded from participation in "mainstream" historical writing, which through much of this period meant political or military history. It would also, however, accentuate the ways in which this exclusion was regularly subverted through writing in other genres, among them autobiography and biography, two literary forms within which women could, to paraphrase a recent essay, write themselves into history at the very time that they were still being written out of it by men.⁴ This in turn would help us to comprehend a puzzling anomaly—why women are even less evident as historians in early modern England than in some other parts of Europe. The narrow but bright continental string connecting Christine de Pizan in the early fifteenth century to Germaine de Staël in the early nineteenth is only faintly replicated in England by a short and slender thread stretched from the biographers Margaret Cavendish and Lucy Hutchinson to the "republican virago" Macaulay barely a century later.⁵

There are, naturally, limits to what an inquiry focused on England alone or even Europe can achieve, since other societies have developed distinctive historical cultures of their own, and since one cannot simply take evidence found in one place and time and use it to generalize, *mutatis mutandis*, about the case of another. On the other hand, such questions are hardly unique to the West. An international perspective on the history of women in history would contextualize the Anglo-European experience through cross-cultural comparison with women who at various periods have engaged in analogous pursuits elsewhere. One thinks, for instance, of Pan Chao, a Chinese woman of the late first century, who undertook with Imperial approval the completion of the *Hanshu* (the official history of the Western Han dynasty) begun by her father and brother, but who rarely rates more than a footnote in histories of Chinese historical writing.⁶ The historical memoirs of various French aristocratic women in the age of Louis XIV, examples of which will figure below, can certainly be placed side by side with the smaller number of such works by English counterparts such as the duchess of Marlborough.⁷ However, they also share some narrative features with the works of Japanese noblewomen of seven centuries earlier, most notably the Heian aristocrat Murasaki Shikibu (*circa* 975–1014), who joined her brother in studying revered Chinese histories before

⁴ "Introduction," in Isobel Grundy and Susan Wiseman, eds., *Women, Writing, History: 1640–1740* (London, 1992), 11. Several of the essays in this volume deal with related questions such as the hostility toward women taking up the pen: see especially the chapters by Catherine Sharrock (on Mary Astell) and Valerie Rumbold (on Mary Caesar). For female autobiography, see Estelle C. Jelinek, *The Tradition of Women's Autobiography from Antiquity to the Present* (Boston, 1986), 23–40. Well-known seventeenth-century examples of biography crossing into history, not directly discussed in this essay, include the lives of their husbands by Margaret Cavendish and Lucy Hutchinson.

⁵ Natalie Zemon Davis, "Gender and Genre: Women as Historical Writers, 1400–1820," in Patricia H. Labalme, ed., *Beyond Their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past* (New York, 1980), 153–82; Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women and the World of the Annales," *History Workshop Journal* 33 (Spring 1992): 121–37; Bonnie G. Smith, "The Contribution of Women to Modern Historiography in Great Britain, France, and the United States, 1750–1940," *AHR* 89 (June 1984): 709–32; Bonnie G. Smith, "History and Genius: The Narcotic, Erotic, and Baroque Life of Germaine de Staël," *French Historical Studies* 19 (1996): 1059–81.

⁶ Charles S. Gardner, *Chinese Traditional Historiography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), does not mention Pan Chao at all; W. G. Beasley and E. G. Pulleyblank, eds., *Historians of China and Japan* (London, 1961), contains a passing reference at p. 39. See, however, Nancy Lee Swann, *Pan Chao: Foremost Woman Scholar of China* (New York, 1932), 61–69.

⁷ *Memoirs of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, Together with Her Characters of Her Contemporaries and Her Opinions*, William King, ed. (London, 1930).

writing her *Genji Monogatari*, a celebrated tale of court life that mimics the style and content of male chroniclers. As we will see further on, Murasaki shared something else with many Englishwomen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, an inclination toward self-censorship: she worried about being thought an erudite pedant (her own father wished she had been born a man), and for a time she disguised her abilities by feigning illiteracy.⁸

Globalizing these questions will be a monumental task, and one best not undertaken until there has been close examination of a number of national cases. The purpose of this essay is to offer one such study. Its scope is explicitly Anglocentric, though with occasional glances across the English Channel, and it uses evidence derived mainly from the nobility, gentry, and literate middling sort. I wish in particular to demonstrate two related points. The first is that, despite their lack of authorship of works of history, women were very much interested in the past and contributed in several ways to what may be called the "social circulation" of historical knowledge by reading history, by acquiring familiarity with its details and certain documentary sources, and by discussing this knowledge conversationally or in private writings. The second is that a distinction between the lessons and values women could take from the pages of history and those that men might derive therefrom was recognized as early as the Restoration (1660) and further developed over the next 150 years. By providing the realist bedrock for the eighteenth-century novel (which in turn would lead to history's eventual mass appeal to the expanded literary public of the nineteenth century), the acknowledgement of gender contributed to history's emergence as both a major branch of literature and a field of knowledge prior to 1800. The making of modern genres is thus intimately bound up with the making of modern gender—that is, with the replacement of Renaissance notions of cosmic hierarchy and male superiority by an ideology of learned and socially constructed sexual difference that conceived of the masculine and the feminine as complementary qualities rather than opposed essences.⁹

As models and generic boundaries were established for history, so history also found a place in the education and socialization of girls and women that differed from its analogous role for boys and men. Consequently, eighteenth-century prescriptions on history are much more strongly marked by gender than those of their Renaissance and early seventeenth-century predecessors.¹⁰ I attempt to explain this development by examining two types of interaction between gender and genre. One took place while stereotypically "female" literary forms such as romance

⁸ Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, Arthur Waley, trans., 2 vols. (Boston, 1934); Richard Bowring, *Murasaki Shikibu, Her Diary and Poetic Memoirs: A Translation and Study* (Princeton, N.J., 1982), 15, 19–21, 139; Ivan Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince: Court Life in Ancient Japan* (New York, 1964), 199–200, 251–64.

⁹ For a recent study of this in the context of eighteenth-century England, see G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago, 1992), 1–36.

¹⁰ On the mental and intellectual aspects of early modern women's lives, see especially Sara Heller Mendelson, *The Mental World of Stuart Women: Three Studies* (Amherst, Mass., 1987); and Hilda Smith, *Reason's Disciples: Seventeenth-Century English Feminists* (Urbana, Ill., 1982). On social and legal aspects, see Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1988); and Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800* (New Haven, Conn., 1995). None of these deals in any direct way with the issue of history, nor, despite its title, does Beth Fowkes Tobin, ed., *History, Gender and Eighteenth-Century Literature* (Athens, Ga., 1994).

and the novel accommodated themselves to a cognitive universe increasingly dominated by the "real" historical past¹¹ and a moral universe ruled by clear understandings of desirable masculine and feminine traits. The other occurred as writers on pedagogy and manners, male and female, attempted to win back women from the seductive powers of fiction. They did so by stressing history's equal capacity to entertain and amuse, its superiority as a font of material for social conversation, and its utility as a source of examples of properly feminine behavior. This gendering of genre is itself one episode in a longer-standing and specifically English contest between reality and imagination, fact and fiction, which—unlike the pan-European Woman Question—was not fought very strenuously on other continental fronts.¹² In the last section, I will measure and qualify the influence of such prescriptive recommendations with reference to evidence of the actual practice of female reading and history-book ownership.

THERE IS NO NEED FOR A REVIEW OF THE RISE OF HISTORY as a genre from 1500 to 1800, but the following points should be briefly noted. Firstly, the number of historical works available in print increased gradually in the sixteenth, more rapidly in the seventeenth, and very quickly indeed in the eighteenth century, when the word "history" pops up in book titles almost indiscriminately. Secondly, one consequence of this was an attempt to work out generic definitions, beginning in the late sixteenth century with Sir Philip Sidney's comparison between the limited, contingent, and particular truths of history and the deeper general truths illustrated in poetry. Subsequent genre-sorting exercises concentrated less on defending history against poetry than on distinguishing among historical discourses of various kinds (sacred and profane, general histories and epitomes, true histories and fictional ones), marking out appropriate territory for the historian as opposed to the author of "lives," and separating the functions and sphere of interest occupied by history proper from those occupied by related but distinct scholarly genres such as genealogy, chronology, natural history, and antiquarian topography.¹³

¹¹ This theme connects the otherwise varying accounts in Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding* (Berkeley, Calif., 1957); Lennard J. Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (New York, 1983); Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740* (Baltimore, Md., 1987). In the most recent treatment of the novel's origins, J. Paul Hunter observes, "Conceptually, the writing of history had an impact on the context in which novels began to be written and read, and as an enabling force on the scope of novels it would be hard to overestimate its importance." Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New York, 1990), 341.

¹² One has only to consider the contributions to both history and literature of Voltaire, Friedrich Schiller, Johann Gottfried Herder, and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe as illustration, for which see the classic account in Friedrich Meinecke, *Historicism: The Rise of a New Historical Outlook*, J. E. Anderson, trans., rev. edn. (New York, 1972). The absence in Germany especially of a protracted struggle between history and literature may be attributable in part to the underdeveloped nature of German cultural life, itself heavily influenced by French models, from the Thirty Years' War to the advent of Romanticism. I am grateful to Peter Paret for suggesting the differences and to Harry Liebersohn and Henning Köhler for discussing them with me.

¹³ Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, Geoffrey Shepherd, ed. (Manchester, 1973), 105; F. Smith Fussner, *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought, 1580–1640* (London, 1962); F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, Calif., 1967); Arthur B. Ferguson, *Clio Unbound: Perception of the Social and Cultural Past in Renaissance England* (Durham, N.C., 1979). For

These rhetorical negotiations required more or less continuous diplomatic intervention from abroad. Before the writings of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, and David Hume in the middle of the eighteenth century, English theoretical literature on history's nature and scope was poorly developed and derivative in comparison with the long tradition of continental *artes historicae*. It was largely to these *artes* that English writers and readers would turn for guidance in delimiting history, with French manuals proving especially popular in the second half of the seventeenth century.¹⁴ Early on, the French also established gender lines within historical genres, identifying biographical texts authored by women as "particular history," distinguishable from the "general history" written by men, and thereby excluded "lives" from the rubric of history proper.¹⁵

By about 1660, these generic frontiers had been set, even if they could be crossed periodically within a single work or by the same author. History had come to occupy a higher position in the hierarchy of intellectual pursuits than it had ever held before, and among its subtypes, the political narrative had a special seat of honor. This type of history was characterized by a focus on great events and personalities and the exclusion of the trivial or anecdotal,¹⁶ thus a stress on public career rather than private life; a critical skepticism toward myth, legend, and rumor; and the conscious emulation of famous historians of antiquity (Polybius, Sallust, Caesar, Livy, and especially Tacitus and Thucydides), and to a lesser degree of some of their admirable sixteenth and early seventeenth-century successors, especially the Italians Francesco Guicciardini, Enrico Caterino Davila, and Paolo Sarpi, the Spaniard Juan de Mariana, and the Frenchman Jacques-Auguste de Thou.

History was also characteristically associated with male authors only, with those who made events through participation in war or government especially entitled to write about those events. The pacesetter for the first half of the eighteenth century fit the bill perfectly. A work by Edward Hyde, the earl of Clarendon—*The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*—was widely read after its posthumous publication in 1702 and gained admirers for its author's shrewd analysis of historical cause, his deft selection of raw evidence, and his judicious assessments of individual

antiquarianism, see Joseph M. Levine, *Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987); Stan A. E. Mendyk, "*Speculum Britanniae*": *Regional Study, Antiquarianism, and Science in Britain to 1700* (Toronto, 1989); Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1995).

¹⁴ René Rapin, *Instructions for History*, John Davies, trans. (London, 1680); Pierre Le Moyne, *Of the Art Both of Writing & Judging of History with Reflections upon Ancient as Well as Modern Historians* (London, 1695); Nicolas Lenglet du Fresnoy, *New Method of Studying History*, Richard Rawlinson, trans., 2 vols. (London, 1728).

¹⁵ Faith Beasley, *Revising Memory: Women's Fiction and Memoirs in Seventeenth-Century France* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1990), 31; for contemporary mainstream historical writing, see Orest Ranum, *Artisans of Glory: Writers and Historical Thought in Seventeenth-Century France* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989). On the *ars historica* in England, the most recent study is J. H. M. Salmon, "Precept, Example, and Truth: Degory Wheare and the *Ars Historica*," in Donald R. Kelley and David H. Sacks, eds., *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric, and Fiction, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1997), 11–36.

¹⁶ On the exclusion by humanist historians of several different modes of historical experience previously included in chronicles, among them women's history, see Annabel Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (Chicago, 1994), 215–33; and Richard Helgerson, "Murder in Faversham: Holinshed's Impertinent History," in Kelley and Sacks, *Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain*, 133–58.

character.¹⁷ Clarendon's occasional biographical and anecdotal passages revealed the intimate side of court and parliamentary personalities under Charles I and seemed to readers more like enriching insights into character in the fashion of Tacitus than lurid lapses into the inferior and licentious "secret history" genre of Suetonius and Procopius. Clarendon's combination of his own autobiography with an older manuscript of the history (a blending criticized by many modern scholars) and his use of first-person narration appeared to early readers as an artful fusion of the political with the personal. And Clarendon explicitly aimed at the "pleasure" as much as the edification of his readers.¹⁸ These features may help to account for the popularity of the *History of the Rebellion* among eighteenth-century women such as the aging Whig matriarch, Lady Sarah Cowper, who thought highly of its character sketches, or the Jacobite Mary Caesar, who found memoirs like Clarendon's more believable than other forms of history (and at one point aspired to write a history of her own times), or, forty years later still, the young Caroline Lennox, who read Clarendon for recreation while vacationing in Bath.¹⁹ Later historians in the same "neoclassical" mold, most notably Hume himself, William Robertson, and Edward Gibbon, were frequently measured against Clarendon's standards of style and impartiality.²⁰

Meanwhile, the audience for history was expanding and changing. There were many more readers for history books by 1660 than there had been a century earlier, and the numbers would continue to rise, further driving the production of abridgements, digests, and epitomes. Women were reading history books in increasing numbers, but it is not clear that they were especially interested in the political and military events that dominated most of them. The classical humanist construction of history as a truthful narrative of kings, statesmen, and battles best told by those with an insider's view and intended for the instruction of effective political action by morally autonomous citizens would, perhaps, have had limited appeal to a gender largely prevented from turning its examples into practice.

IF HISTORY PROPER WAS LARGELY CONCERNED WITH matters of marginal interest to females, the same was not true of other varieties of learning about the past. The very interest in domestic and familial affairs that induced women to keep diaries

¹⁷ Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England Begun in the Year 1641*, W. Dunn Macray, ed., 6 vols. (Oxford, 1888).

¹⁸ Several of these points are made persuasively in the most recent account of the *History* and the literary problems Clarendon faced in writing it, Martine Watson Brownley, *Clarendon and the Rhetoric of Historical Form* (Philadelphia, 1985), 20, 30, 62, 146–58. This departs from the more critical view of the *History*'s success in blending history and autobiography in B. H. G. Wormald, *Clarendon: Politics, Historiography, and Religion, 1640–1660* (Cambridge, 1964), x.

¹⁹ Hertfordshire Record Office, Hertford, England (hereafter, Herts RO), Penshanger MSS, D/EP.F.29–35 (Diary of Sarah Cowper, 1700 to 1716), vol. 3, pp. 10–37 (January–March 1705); Valerie Rumbold, "The Jacobite Vision of Mary Caesar," in Grundy and Wiseman, *Women, Writing, History*, 196–97; Stella Tillyard, *Aristocrats: Caroline, Emily, Louisa, and Sarah Lennox, 1740–1832* (London, 1994), 39. I owe this last reference to David Brewer.

²⁰ Philip Hicks, *Neoclassical History and English Culture: From Clarendon to Hume* (New York, 1996); James W. Johnson, *The Formation of English Neo-Classical Thought* (Princeton, N.J., 1967), 31–68; Leo Braudy, *Narrative Form in History and Fiction: Hume, Fielding, and Gibbon* (Princeton, 1970), 14–30.

also led them to assist in the work of antiquaries, whose focus on genealogy, topography, and architecture more closely accorded with female concerns than did the writings of historians. This is not to say that antiquarianism was any less blind to gender than history. The skills that it required included a high level of proficiency in ancient and medieval tongues that only rare women like the Anglo-Saxonist Elizabeth Elstob managed to achieve, and even she was spoken of in rather patronizing terms as a "Saxon nymph" by her male admirers.²¹ Yet women's interests in such matters were acknowledged by men. Indeed, wits even poked fun at the figure of the female antiquary unable to understand the objects in her possession. Lewis Theobald mocked the wife of a coffeehouse owner who laid claim to her husband's virtuoso knowledge but showed so little "judgment as an antiquary" that he expected her to bring forth a splinter of the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife had been turned or "a piece of the ruins of old Troy." He also made fun of "she-pedants" and recommended that a wife who venerated antiquity should be subjugated by telling her that "the Antediluvian Ladies were great Housewives, and that Sappho herself kept a Dairy."²²

Such satires distort and exaggerate rather than invent. A variety of evidence suggests that women were indeed drawn to participate informally in certain types of antiquarian activity, that even if most could not handle the languages of antiquity, they were at least well acquainted with the vernacular family documents of the more recent past (pedigrees, conveyances, and the like), and that they helped to preserve and circulate this sort of antiquarian knowledge while maintaining a familiarity with such sources that would permit their more direct involvement in local and medieval historical scholarship from the late nineteenth century onward. Moreover, women's knowledge was not limited to the documentary, for they were clearly part of the gender-neutral "they" or "local people" often mentioned by visiting scholars as the sources for the anecdotes and historical explanations repeated in works such as William Camden's *Britannia* (1586).²³ Englishwomen appear to have retained a more acute sense of the traditional, oral past than men well into the nineteenth century—so much so that one proponent of Catholic emancipation believed that the tales of papist atrocities that continued to circulate had been handed down from one old woman to another.²⁴ Again, this is not an exclusively English phenomenon. Female storytelling is to be found in the *veillées*, or evening gatherings of rural France during the same period, where village women were less likely than men to

²¹ One recalls the condescension toward learned Renaissance women by male admirers such as Angelo Poliziano three centuries earlier. Margaret L. King, *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1993); Lisa Jardine, "'O decus Italiae virgo,' or the Myth of the Learned Lady in the Renaissance," *Historical Journal* 28 (1985): 799–819. For Elstob's career, see Reynolds, *Learned Lady*, 169–85; S. F. D. Hughes, "Mrs. Elstob's Defense of Antiquarian Learning in Her Rudiments of Grammar for the English-Saxon Tongue (1715)," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 27 (1979): 172–91.

²² Lewis Theobald, *The Censor*, 3 vols. (London, 1717), 1: 149–50; 2: 156, 160.

²³ John Aubrey, for one, specified "old woemen and children" as the source of some traditional verses about "Rattle-Bone," a local hero who had fought the Danes at Sherston Magna in Wiltshire; the verses have little to do with his military exploits, which are not specifically mentioned, being principally a recitation of all the land he acquired thereby. *Wiltshire: The Topographical Collections of John Aubrey*, F.R.S., J. E. Jackson, ed. (Devizes, 1862), 107.

²⁴ D. R. Woolf, "The 'Common Voice': History, Folklore, and Oral Tradition in Early Modern England," *Past and Present* 120 (August 1988): 26–52; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., 1992), 332.

be able to draw on books and depended instead on oral tradition for many of their tales.²⁵ Recent scholarship presents modern evidence of an even sharper gender division in oral/folkloric cultures outside Europe, especially in South Asia. Velcheau Narayana Rao, for instance, has argued that the *Ramayana* provides a flexible language used by women to “say what they wish to say as women” in a “distinctly female way,” its songs, when recounted and performed by women, stressing episodes of pregnancy, birth, and child-rearing.²⁶

It is difficult to make such claims for early modern Englishwomen, since we do not know enough of the content of what they recounted. But because a significant proportion of their rights under the law continued to rest on custom rather than statute, it is not unreasonable to assume a similar reliance on mnemonic recollection and oral transmission of facts about the past—familial, local, or even national.²⁷ The seventeenth-century antiquary John Aubrey saw this sort of traditional knowledge in decline, and he explicitly connected its marginalization from history proper with rising literacy, especially among women who had allowed book learning to interfere with their memories. Aubrey himself had received his earliest lessons in history “from the Conquest down to [Charles] I in ballad” from his nurse, and he rather wistfully recalled that “in the old, ignorant times, before women were readers . . . the history was handed downe from mother to daughter.”²⁸ Aubrey had in mind the common folk, but elite women, who were much less dependent on oral transmission, were also concerned with some of the same issues. Their relations to the past were shaped by a familiarity with their ancestry and their location, and by a sense of historical continuity that encompassed both. A good example can be found in Anne Clifford (1590–1676), successively countess of Dorset and Pembroke, whose diaries brim full of interest in her forebears. A precise knowledge of her family history was wrapped up in an equally strong sense of location. She repeatedly associates her properties, and particular rooms in those properties, with events or characters from history. Sections of her Westmorland home, Brough Castle, were familiarly known as “Clifford’s Tower,” “Caesar’s Tower,” and “the Roman Tower.” Clifford could also put her understanding of place in a wider context with reference to the history of the realm. After she made extensive repairs to one of her properties, Pendragon Castle, Clifford remarked that “it had layen desolate ever since the 15th yeare of Edward the third in 1341,

²⁵ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford, Calif., 1975), 201–02.

²⁶ Velcheau Narayana Rao, “A Ramayana of Their Own: Women’s Oral Tradition in Telugu,” in Paula Richman, ed., *Many Ramayanas: The Diversity of a Narrative Tradition in South Asia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 114, 118. A. K. Ramanujan similarly proposes a distinction between “domestic” versus “public” tales in Kannada folklore: “Two Problems of Kannada Folklore,” in S. H. Blackburn and A. K. Ramanujan, eds., *Another Harmony: New Essays on the Folklore of India* (Berkeley, 1986), 41–75. I owe these two references to Emily Kearns. See also Joyce Burkhalter Flueckiger, *Gender and Genre in the Folklore of Middle India* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1996), 148–50.

²⁷ Tim Stretton, “Women, Custom and Equity in the Court of Requests,” in Jennifer Kermode and Garthine Walker, eds., *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England* (London, 1994), 170–89; Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London, 1993), 6, 23.

²⁸ John Aubrey, *The Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey* (written 1673–92), 5 vols. (1719; facs. edn., Dorking, 1975), 1: 93, 99, 102, 106, 115–16; Aubrey, *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, James Britten, ed. (London, 1881), 67–68. Like his contemporary John Locke, however (for whom see below), Aubrey did not think history itself a suitable study for women: John Aubrey, *Aubrey on Education*, J. E. Stephens, ed. (London, 1972), 71, 75.

which is 320 yeares agoe"; she knew the cause of the ruin as well as the date, "for then (as [in] old Records and Chronicles it appears) the Scotts made an inroad into the West of England totally destroying it and pulling downe all the timber and a greate parte of the Stone building of it."²⁹

Women were directly involved in the gathering of information that concerned the antiquaries. Early in the seventeenth century, Anne Blundell, the elderly dowager of Little Crosby, Lancashire, accompanied her son William on a leisurely afternoon search for Anglo-Saxon coins buried on their land during the Viking invasions.³⁰ A hundred years later, the Cheshire diarist Henry Prescott records a rainy day when two young ladies came to see his collection of Roman coins and were "well entertaind."³¹ Women included "historic sites" on their tours, as the journals of the late seventeenth-century aristocratic traveler Celia Fiennes abundantly illustrate.³² The travels of Edward Harley, second earl of Oxford, through Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire in 1738, described in letters to his wife, reveal a shared interest in local antiquities. On one occasion, Oxford reminded the countess to take note of a church monument, and on another he expressed his skepticism about the origins of King Arthur's Hall at Winchester. Lady Oxford was no bored female humoring her husband's antiquarian fetish. Her own journeys through Yorkshire and Durham in 1745, four years after her husband's death, took in Clifford's Tower, "which is a very fine ruin," and collections of Roman coins and medieval manuscripts. She expressed outright disappointment at Durham Cathedral because, in her judgment, it was "very small and in bad repair and affords very few antiquities."³³ The letters of Mary Wortley Montagu at about the same time attest to her similar interest in curiosities from the past, and other examples can be found up to 1800, in the letters of Lady Mary Coke and in the journals of Mary Berry and Mary Anne Flaxman.³⁴

For many women, antiquarian and especially genealogical pursuits were less a matter of amassing superfluous erudition than of constructing a personal historical domain by applying imagination and feeling to documentary and material evidence. The discovery of both the correspondence and the Elizabethan clothing of one of her female ancestors, for instance, encouraged Cassandra Willoughby to embark on

²⁹ *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, D. J. H. Clifford, ed. (Wolfeboro Falls, N.H., 1991), 56, 154, 224.

³⁰ Lancashire Record Office, Preston, Blundell of Little Crosby Papers, DDBI 24/12; D. R. Woolf, "Little Crosby and the Horizons of Early Modern Historical Culture," in Kelley and Sacks, *Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain*, 93–132.

³¹ *Diary of Henry Prescott, Deputy Registrar of Chester Diocese*, J. Addy and P. McNiven, eds., 2 vols., Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 132 (1994), 2: 364. In 1717, the Sussex barrister Timothy Burrell left his "curious collection of gold coins" to his infant grand-daughter: R. W. Blencowe, "Extracts from the Journal and Account-Book of Timothy Burrell, Esq. . . . from 1683 to 1714," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 3 (1850): 172.

³² *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, Christopher Morris, ed. (London, 1982), 48. Fiennes' comments on local and national history were not always accurate, but she had done advance reading in preparation for her visits, citing works like Camden's *Britannia* periodically.

³³ Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland, Preserved at Welbeck Abbey* 6 (1901): 173, 174, 182–90.

³⁴ *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, W. Moy Thomas, ed., rev. edn., 2 vols. (London, 1887), 1: 205, 272; 2: 187; *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke*, 4 vols. (London, 1888–96), 3: 223; British Library (hereafter, BL), MS Add 37729, fols. 13r, 34v, 126v (Berry); BL MS Add. 39792, vol. A (Flaxman).

a family history in which she also consulted William Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, Robert Thoroton's *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, and Richard Baker's *Chronicle*.³⁵ Genealogical pursuits also provided a means for women to counteract the anomaly in the English legal system that acknowledged them as kin for purposes of inheritance but overlooked them in the written record of descents, which stressed the male line. Consequently, women were sometimes the principal source of basic information about land, estates, and buildings whose histories had been complicated through marriage and alienation. When the Jacobean knight Sir Edward Rodney wrote a family history for his daughters, he owed to his own mother information about the family's origins in the time of King Stephen, which she recalled from a brass plaque no longer extant by the time her son wrote. Elizabeth Pepys, who at other times accompanied her husband on visits to historic sites, took refuge from Samuel's philandering in the pursuit of her family's history and in particular its coats of arms. The Pepyses discussed this subject on several occasions, and in 1667 Samuel bought his wife a copy of John Guillim's *Display of Heraldry*, a Jacobean heraldic manual that had been reprinted in 1664.³⁶ Outside London, William Holman's investigations of Essex family origins, conducted during the 1720s, provides important evidence of extensive female participation in the informal preservation of family lineage. At several points in his correspondence, Holman, a nonconformist cleric, was referred by local gentry, and even fellow antiquaries, to their wives, mothers, and sisters as sources for reliable genealogical information.³⁷

The strong interest of women in genealogy did not escape notice, especially when public display of such knowledge transgressed the rules of humility and modesty laid out in such books as *The Ladies Calling*, by Richard Allestree.³⁸ Like Theobald's imagined female antiquary, those who turned erudition into conversation were given short shrift by many male observers. One of Joseph Addison's mock correspondents, Sir John Enville, complains of his wife, who uses her own family's pedigree to subjugate him. "Our children have been trained up from their infancy with so many accounts of their mother's family, that they know the stories of all the great men and women it has produced. Their mother tells them, that such an one

³⁵ Cassandra Willoughby, "An Account of the Willoughby's of Wollaton, taken out of the Pedigree, old Letters, and old Books of Accounts, in my Brother Sir Thomas Willoughby's study, Dec., A.D. 1702," calendared in Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton* (London, 1911), 504–609.

³⁶ *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, Robert Latham and William Matthews, eds., 11 vols. (Berkeley, Calif., 1970–83), 2: 93 (May 2, 1661); 8: 422 (September 6, 1667).

³⁷ Elizabeth Cressener, for example, searched on Holman's behalf "over all our writings" for such evidence, although she could not answer his particular query. Essex Record Office, Chelmsford, D/Y/1/1/95, Holman Letters [1723]. For other examples from Holman's incoming correspondence, see Essex Record Office D/Y/1/1/55, Elizabeth Bassett Goffen to Holman, September 11, 1720; Essex Record Office D/Y/1/1/12, William Ashby to Holman, August 8, 1720; Philip Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, 2 vols. (London, 1768), 2: 449.

³⁸ Richard Allestree, *The Ladies Calling*, 2 parts in 1 vol. (London, 1673); Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 384–92, points out that this is the first manual on manners thoroughly devoted to establishing learned gender identities distinct from biological sexual differences. Compare Michael McKeon, "Historicizing Patriarchy: The Emergence of Gender Difference in England, 1660–1760," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28 (1995): 295–322; Fenela A. Childs, "Prescriptions for Manners in English Courtesy Literature, 1690–1760, and Their Social Implications" (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1984).

commanded in such a sea engagement, that their great grandfather had a horse shot under him at Edgehill, that their uncle [sic] was at the siege of Buda, and that her mother danced in a ball at court with the duke of Monmouth." Enville is most vexed by the fact that his daughter has asked why he never tells tales about the generals and admirals in *his* family. Elsewhere, in a description of a ladies' meeting, Addison describes "one of those female historians that upon all occasions enters into pedigrees and descents, and finds herself related, by some offshoot or other, to almost every great family in England: for which reason she jars and is out of tune very often in conversation, for the company's want of due attention and respect for her."³⁹

The family therefore lay at the heart of the female understanding of the past; affective ties in the present provided a lens through which history could be "domesticated." This same perspective was applied to episodes from history proper when women read about them. The commonplace book of the Jacobean gentlewoman Lady Anne Southwell, for example, contains verses on Julius Caesar that highlight the private and emotive, stressing matters such as Brutus's bastardy, his unfilial betrayal of his benefactor, and the love between Cleopatra and Caesar. This is not unlike the displacement of classical military and political concerns for eroticism and chivalric courtesy that Gabrielle M. Spiegel has noted in thirteenth-century prose chronicle treatments of Caesar's career.⁴⁰ It even more closely resembles the efforts of Southwell's early seventeenth-century contemporaries, Samuel Daniel, Michael Drayton, and Thomas Heywood, to trim a course between poetry and history by stressing the sentimental and romantic lives of the female characters in their historical verse and prose.⁴¹ This focus on private comportment and the observation of "family values" can still be found a century later, when Princess Caroline gave her favorite, Mary, Countess Cowper, a copy of the works of Madame Desboulrière. The account of Caesar's assassination contained therein elicited ruminations on friendship and loyalty that transcended Whig principles of resistance to tyranny. Brutus's tyrannicide was also a patricide and something "which, as much a Whig as I am, I cannot come up to," the countess recorded, "for I think Brutus should either have been faithful to Caesar, or he should have refused his favours; the baseness of his ingratitude blackening, in my opinion, all that could

³⁹ *The Spectator*, no. 299 (February 12, 1712), Donald F. Bond, ed., 5 vols. (Oxford, 1965), 3: 70–71; *The Tatler* 157 (April 11, 1710), George Aitken, ed., 4 vols. (London, 1898–99), 3: 230–31.

⁴⁰ "An abstract of the lives of the Romaine Empouers as the [sic] have bin relded [sic] unto us by Plinie Plutarch; and Suetonius and first of the first," commonplace book of Lady Anne Southwell, fl. 1588–1636, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C. (hereafter, Folger), MS B.b.198, fols. 30v, 59r–v, 64v–65r; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 202–13.

⁴¹ For instance, Thomas Heywood, *England's Elizabeth* (London, 1631); *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women of the World* (London, 1640); and, most interesting of all, *Gynaekeion: or, Nine Books of Various History Concerning Women* (London, 1624). Heywood was also the founder in England of a "history of famous women" genre that would achieve greater prominence in eighteenth-century works such as William Alexander, *The History of Women, from the Earliest Antiquity to the Present Time*, 2 vols. (London, 1779), and George Ballard, *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain Who Have Been Celebrated for Their Writings or Skill in the Learned Languages, Arts and Sciences* (1755), Ruth Perry, ed. (Detroit, Mich., 1985). The idea for writing this last work, interestingly, came from Elizabeth Elstob.

be said for his zeal for his country." Her comments occasioned vigorous discussion among her friends as to Brutus's character.⁴²

By MARY COWPER'S TIME, the old Renaissance trope that the historian ought to be a man of *affairs* had become the axiom that he must be a *man* of affairs. Periodicals like *The Guardian* and *The Tatler* stressed the reasons why women ought not to attempt to write history themselves.⁴³ Their apparent preoccupation with the domestic and emotional provided further argument for this exclusion: that females were simply unable to distinguish the important from the trivial, the extraordinary from the mundane, the public from the private. Sir Richard Steele ventured the thought that "history . . . written by a woman, you will easily imagine to consist of love in all its forms."⁴⁴

Reading, however, was another matter. Commentators universally recognized that female readers would not have the chance to put the lessons of history into practice, exceptions like the "not very amiably feminine" Queen Elizabeth notwithstanding.⁴⁵ Yet history had long been acknowledged as suitable for girls and young women.⁴⁶ Leonardo Bruni's letter to Baptista di Montefeltro (*circa* 1405) put it first among those studies a woman ought to pursue after religion and morality. The Florentine statesman saw such historians as Sallust, Livy, and Caesar as "fully within the comprehension of a studious lady. *For, after all, History is an easy subject: there is nothing in its study subtle or complex.* It consists in the narration of the simplest matters of fact which, once grasped, are readily retained in the memory."⁴⁷ Bruni was prepared to concede that women could learn from history, albeit stressing its apparent simplicity and making no allowance for the fact that some women might wish to read an account of the past that referred to matters other than

⁴² *Diary of Mary Countess Cowper*, S. Cowper, ed. (London, 1864), 115 (July 1716).

⁴³ *The Guardian* 25 (April 9, 1713), in John Calhoun Stephens, ed. (Lexington, Ky., 1982), 114.

⁴⁴ *The Tatler* 36 (July 2, 1709), 1: 292; cited in Isobel Grundy, "Women's History? Writings by English Nuns," in Grundy and Wiseman, *Women, Writing, History*, 126–38, n. 2. There is a parallel to the exclusion of women from history writing in the visual arts. Through most of the period, women were deemed unqualified to work in history painting (traditionally the highest form of art) and confined to work in portraiture and still-life, on the grounds that their male figures might be effeminate or anatomically incorrect; one or two notable exceptions such as Angelica Kauffman managed, however, to overcome this stricture: Wendy W. Roworth, "Anatomy in Destiny: Regarding the Body in the Art of Angelica Kauffman," in Gill Perry and Michael Rossington, eds., *Femininity and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Art and Culture* (Manchester, 1994), 41–62; the point is made for other parts of Europe in the essay by Gen Doy, "Women and the Bourgeois Revolution of 1789: Artists, Mothers and Makers of (Art) History," in Perry and Rossington, *Femininity and Masculinity*, 184–203, at 188.

⁴⁵ The quotation comes from the Rev. James Fordyce's popular *Addresses to Young Men*, 2 vols. (London, 1777), 2: 136.

⁴⁶ This is not a prominent fact in accounts of women's education, for instance Norma McMullen, "The Education of English Gentlewomen 1540–1640," *History of Education* 6 (1977): 87–101; or Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 364–75, the fullest recent summary of the literature.

⁴⁷ Leonardo Bruni d'Arezzo, "Concerning the Study of Literature," rpt. in William Harrison Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators* (New York, 1963), 127–28, my emphasis, text discussed in Ruth Kelso, *Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance* (Urbana, Ill., 1956), 70–71. For Renaissance women and study in general, see Margaret L. King, "Book-Lined Cells: Women and Humanism in the Early Italian Renaissance," in Albert Rabil, Jr., ed., *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1988), 1: 435–53; and King, *Women of the Renaissance*, 172–82; Joan Kelly, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" in Kelly, *Women, History, and Theory* (Chicago, 1984).

Julius Caesar's Gaul-bashing. His is, however, among the earliest attempts to promote history as specifically suited to female understanding.

In this regard, Bruni had few imitators among English Renaissance educational writers, who either ignored history or saw it as equally well fitted to both sexes.⁴⁸ Richard Brathwait omitted history altogether from a work written for women in 1631. In a companion volume directed at men, however, he declaimed at great length on the merits of "our owne moderne chronicles" as the highest guide to things that really mattered: "the revolution of times, the mutation of states, the natures and dispositions of persons, the issues and events of things."⁴⁹ Others failed to consider the problem of history's greater appeal to men or the question of precisely what women should do with their historical knowledge, once attained. When, in the 1570s, the clergyman William Harrison had commented approvingly on the "antient ladies" of Elizabeth's court who avoided idleness "in continual reading either of the Holy Scriptures or histories," he probably had in mind the usefulness of keeping them occupied and free from natural female "vices" such as sinful sloth, sexual license, and gossip. There is no mention of which histories should be read or of how they might be effective in inculcating specific virtues.⁵⁰ The puritan Lady Grace Mildmay similarly urged "understanding and knowledge of the chronicles of the land" on young women simply as an exemplary encouragement to obedience.⁵¹ They were in this sense preferable to chivalric romances, which, according to one Jacobean writer, might make women "idle sisters of Don Quixote" while leading to mannish fantasies, cross-dressing, and the loss of their "naturall perfections."⁵²

It is only in the second half of the seventeenth century—not coincidentally, after a brief period during which women had been active and outspoken as petitioners, writers, organizers, ecstatic visionaries, and prophets⁵³—that discussions of the uses

⁴⁸ An exception, again continental, is Juan-Luis Vives, *A Very Frutefull and Pleasant Boke Called the Instruction of a Christen Woman*, R. Hyrde, trans. (London, 1529), who recommended ancient history both to Princess Mary Tudor and Lord Mountjoy but was careful to prescribe only "easy" historians like Justin, Florus, and Valerius Maximus to the former, while also making clear that a male tutor should provide the guide through such material; compare discussion in Kelso, *Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance*, 73–74.

⁴⁹ Richard Brathwait, *The English Gentlewoman* (London, 1631), 183; *The English Gentleman* (London, 1631), 211–20; Richard Mulcaster is similarly silent in the earlier *Positions Concerning the Training up of Children*, William Barker, ed. (Toronto, 1994), 169–84, 265–66. One recalls Virginia Woolf's comment that the "important" and the "trivial" were nearly always defined with respect to masculine and feminine values. "This is an important book, the critic assumes, because it deals with war. This is an insignificant book because it deals with the feelings of women in a drawing-room. A scene in a battlefield is more important than a scene in a shop." *A Room of One's Own* (London, 1929), 128.

⁵⁰ William Harrison, *Description of England* (London, 1577, expanded 1587), cited by Retha M. Warnicke, "Women and Humanism in England," in Rabil, *Renaissance Humanism*, 2: 49.

⁵¹ This was a sensible recommendation, given that several prominent women had been executed in recent decades and given also the well-established patriarchal connection between royal and husbandly authority: autobiography of Grace Mildmay, rpt. in Linda Pollock, *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman, Lady Grace Mildmay, 1552–1620* (London, 1993), 23; also printed, with some errors, in Rachel Weigall, "An Elizabethan Gentlewoman: The Journal of Lady Mildmay," *Quarterly Review* 215 (1911): 127.

⁵² Anon., *Hic Mulier: or, The Man-Woman; being a Medicine to Cure the Staggers in the Masculine-Feminines of our Times* (London, 1620), sig. B3r–v.

⁵³ Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), esp. 45–124; Patricia Crawford, *Women and Religion in England, 1500–1720* (London,

of history begin to treat women as a distinct category of reader. Contemporary treatises on history writing and early research manuals on erudite skills like numismatics and philology sought to evaluate suitable historians for men to read and, if so inclined, to imitate. In contrast, advice on history aimed at females is contained almost exclusively in courtesy literature and pedagogical tracts. These concentrate on making a case for why their readers should be interested in history at all and only secondarily on recommending particular authors, in part because literary miscellanies and periodicals were at the same time removing the need for making such choices by preselecting materials for their female audiences.

Educational writings from about 1660 become more sensitive to the sexes. John Locke's discussions of history and chronology are thoroughly gendered, a feature that is all the more striking when one considers that, in contrast to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile* a century later, his general precepts are not. Locke found history's potential as a moral educator wanting—it offered “nothing almost but Fighting and Killing”; accordingly, he suggested that it was best left “to the study of Grown Men,” or at least to “young lad[s],” who could profit from its political or military lessons.⁵⁴ As for moral guidance, he echoed Sidney a century earlier in finding fiction just as useful as history, stories of Caesar and Alexander being “not one jot to be preferred to the history of Robin Hood or the seven wise masters.”⁵⁵ Mary Astell argued Locke's point from the opposite perspective in 1705, putting the disjunction between study and practice with much greater force and expressing an even stronger skepticism toward history's claim to teach morality to women:

They allow us Poetry, Plays, and Romances, to divert us and themselves, and when they would express particular esteem for a woman's sense, they recommend history; tho' with submission, history can only serve us for amusement and a subject of discourse. For tho' it may be of use to the men who govern affairs, to know how their fore-fathers acted, yet what is this to us, who have nothing to do with such business? Some good examples indeed are to be found in history, tho' generally the bad are ten for one; but how will this help our conduct, or excite in us a generous emulation? Since the men being the historians, they seldom condescend to record the great and good actions of women.⁵⁶

Astell's objections, like Locke's, are entirely in keeping with the emergent understanding of historical knowledge as in itself masculine, taken either as a classroom for political action or, alternatively (in the case of natural history and antiquarian topography), as a field of knowledge to be invaded, conquered, and

1993), 160–82; Keith Thomas, “Women and the Civil War Sects,” *Past and Present* 13 (1958): 42–62; Bernard Capp, “Separate Domains? Women and Authority in Early Modern England,” in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, and Steve Hindle, eds., *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (London, 1996), 117–45.

⁵⁴ John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, John W. Yolton and Jean S. Yolton, eds. (Oxford, 1989), 181, 238. For Locke's particular prescriptions, which are similarly gendered, see 322–23.

⁵⁵ John Locke, “Of Study,” in *The Educational Writings of John Locke*, James L. Axtell, ed. (Cambridge, 1968), 409.

⁵⁶ Mary Astell, *The Christian Religion* (London, 1705), 202, passage rpt. in *The First English Feminist: Reflections upon Marriage and Other Writings by Mary Astell*, Bridget Hill, ed. (Aldershot, 1986), 201; also cited in Ruth Perry, *The Celebrated Mary Astell: An Early English Feminist* (Chicago, 1986), 9. Given this comment, it is not surprising that Astell's more widely cited *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* (London, 1697) has nothing to say on the subject of history.

"mastered." It was no accident that Francis Bacon had entitled one of his programmatic works *The Masculine Birth of Time* nor that his later admirers in the Royal Society dedicated themselves "to raise a masculine philosophy," devoid of passion, misunderstanding, and mercurial imagination.⁵⁷ Clío's femininity aside, true history acquired in the violent seventeenth century a male rigor, an authoritative forcefulness that contrasted with the unreliability of tales and traditions associated with old wives. Worthy women like Elizabeth Walker—who banished "foolish stories" and "idle songs" from her household, while having "usefull histories" such as John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* and "abbreviations of our English chronicles" read aloud to her children and servants—were praised by their husbands and biographers for acquiring knowledge that was "clear, solid and indeed masculine."⁵⁸

Under such circumstances, one might expect Augustan and Georgian women to show little interest in history at all, or to be told that its masculine spin made it unsuitable. But this is not what happened, and most prescriptions followed neither Locke nor Astell. The very definition of masculinity was itself softened during the eighteenth century, moving toward a middle ground between harshness and effeminacy. The third earl of Shaftesbury had stressed the "Oeconomy of Passions" in his writings on virtue and pointed out the importance of emotions such as affection to men and women alike. Various other male and female writers up to the Rev. James Fordyce in 1781 discussed the need to engender both "men of feeling" and women who could balance passion with common sense, severity with delicacy.⁵⁹

One approach to the problem of history's suitability acknowledged that women might be able to make use of it in ways not open to the less sensitive males. The French advocate of female access to political and military office, François Poullain de La Barre, who was read in England, thought women not only good readers of history but capable of bringing something to it that men could not. Acquired familiarity with "the transactions of men in general" would make a woman a superior interpreter of the lessons of history, bringing her "into the Mystery of Policy, Interest and Passions," and helping her to "discover the moving wheele, and spring, of enterprizes, the fountain and source of revolutions." Most interesting, she would be able to add something to what she read, "to supply in great Undertakings the lesser things which have made them prosper, which have escaped Histories," and her superior sense of vice and virtue will preserve her "from the Corruption,

⁵⁷ Genevieve Lloyd, *The Man of Reason: "Male" and "Female" in Western Philosophy* (Minneapolis, 1984), 10–17. The tradition into which Bacon falls differs from an older, medieval tradition that made science or knowledge (*scientia*) itself, rather than nature, into a feminine icon: Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 122–44; Evelyn Fox Keller, *Reflections on Gender and Science* (New Haven, Conn., 1985), 33–42.

⁵⁸ Anthony Walker, *The Holy Life of Mrs Elizabeth Walker* (London, 1696), 11, 69, 71, my emphasis. The major English historical thinker of the first half of the eighteenth century, Bolingbroke, implicitly endorsed the view of historical knowledge as male by speaking consistently of the history reader as "he": *Letters on the Study and Use of History*, 2 vols. (London, 1752).

⁵⁹ Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *An Inquiry Concerning Virtue, or Merit*, D. Walford, ed. (Manchester, 1977), 57, 78; James Fordyce, "On a Manly Spirit, as Opposed to Effeminacy," in *Addresses to Young Men*, 2: 129–78; James Fordyce, *The Character and Conduct of the Female Sex, and the Advantages to be Derived by Young Men from the Society of Virtuous Women*, 3d edn. (Boston, 1781), 24–25, 42; Barker-Benfield, *Culture of Sensibility*, 37–103; Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 297–321, 364–75.

which infect[s] men in reading of Histories.”⁶⁰ Poullain’s views on the equality of the sexes would not be endorsed before Mary Wollstonecraft’s writings over a century later, but many English writers were at least prepared to contemplate a middle ground in which history could be somehow rendered both appealing and useful to women. Daniel Defoe, for instance, defended the female sex as naturally “quick and sharp” and advocated the establishment of a female academy where young women could study free of men. In addition to the “breeding” that they could acquire in music and dancing, Defoe was explicit in arguing the cause of Clio for women. “They should be brought to read books, and especially history,” he proposed, and not merely because it would bestow “the necessary air of conversation” but because it would “make them understand the world” and render this knowledge socially useful beyond their closets.⁶¹

Prescriptions for historical reading were beginning to recognize a need to fit it into a carefully crafted educational curriculum designed to promote feminine social traits. The century and a half after 1660 witnessed many further attempts in this direction. The literary diet of elite men and women had expanded considerably during the seventeenth century as literacy rates and the volume of printed books increased. This development occasioned an expansion and further confusion of genre, as newer literary forms borrowed piecemeal from older ones and as the “main” stream of political history written on classical models had to fight off competition from epitomes, abridgements, almanacs, and chapbooks.⁶² Consequently, both male and female writers on education and manners were required to validate entire branches of literature as more or less suitable for certain categories of reader.

History was consistently and sharply distinguished during this period from various forms of fiction, and in most instances it was allotted a higher rank in the literary kingdom. It had now been established that the public lessons of the past were to be enacted only by men, that the stories of the past should be written only by men, and that the sorts of informal antiquarian and erudite pursuits in which women had long participated were much too complicated for them to read about in detail, much less write about.⁶³ Some effort therefore had to go into preventing women from taking up Locke’s and Astell’s advice and abandoning history altogether, since it could be positively useful to their formation as wives and

⁶⁰ François Poullain de La Barre, *The Woman as Good as the Man, or, The Equality of Both Sexes*, A. L., trans. (1677), Gerald MacLean, ed. (Detroit, 1988), 110–12, my emphasis.

⁶¹ Daniel Defoe, “Of Academies,” in *The Earlier Life and the Chief Earlier Works of Daniel Defoe*, H. Morley, ed. (London, 1889), 148, 152.

⁶² Hicks, *Neoclassical History and English Culture*, 41–42.

⁶³ Some of the criticism, naturally, emanated from other women. Aphra Behn created her Lady Knowall as a classicizing, Tacitus-spouting caricature in *Sir Patient Fancy* (London, 1678), cited by Antonia Fraser in *The Weaker Vessel: Woman’s Lot in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1984), 377. A century later, Isabella Howard, the countess of Carlisle, warned women to be careful about speaking publicly with regard to history and geography, since a male audience would expect them to get their facts wrong: Howard, *Thoughts in the Form of Maxims*, 2d edn. (London, 1790), 123, 128, quoted in Alice Browne, *The Eighteenth Century Feminist Mind* (London, 1987), 117. Internalized knowledge and understanding in a female might veer toward masculine firmness, but outward manners and comportment—including the display of such knowledge publicly—ought not to follow suit; see Barker-Benfield, *Culture of Sensibility*, 293, 357, 365, and (for the specter of the learned “Amazon”) 352.

mothers, and since, too, it was morally and intellectually preferable to other forms of literature, especially romances and novels.

The Restoration herald Sir Edward Walker, reacting to a new genre he disliked (but of which his friends Samuel and Elizabeth Pepys were dismayingly fond) warned in 1664 against prose romances. Because they have the look of verisimilitude and are "wrote of matters in general true," he believed that they would hopelessly confuse readers five centuries in the future as to "which is the true and which the false."⁶⁴ Walker was not simply crying wolf. Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quixote* had already established a vogue for "realist" fiction a few decades earlier; now, prominent French aristocratic women such as the duchess of Montpensier (who had been politically active during the Fronde) were challenging head-on the boundaries of history, writing historical memoirs and *chroniques scandaleuses* in which women were often at center stage. Others such as Madame de Villedieu took advantage of a nascent salon culture to produce and disseminate historical romances or "novels."⁶⁵ Both secret histories and historical romances would find imitators among English writers such as Mary de la Rivière Manley and, a generation later, Eliza Haywood, but both genres would also be regarded with suspicion by the arbiters of sensibility and morality.

Among the romances of the mid to late seventeenth century, Madeleine de Scudéry's *Artamenes, or the Grand Cyrus* was especially popular with women; it was among the books that the well-read Dorothy Osborne sent to her future husband, Sir William Temple.⁶⁶ *Artamenes* presents a powerful defense of fiction dressed up as history. In Scudéry's judgment, "the intrigues of war and peace are better, many times, laid open and satyri'd in a Romance, than in a downright History, which being oblig'd to name the persons, is often forc'd for several reasons and motives to be too partial and sparing." Scudéry included in her pastiche of antiquity all the rhetorical elements of humanist history, such as lengthy correspondence between major characters (soon to play a major part in the epistolary novel) and eloquent set speeches. The preface to another of Scudéry's romances, *Ibrahim*, defended the use of historical settings to supply plausibility but criticized as an "old chronicle" any work that did not employ style and invention to stir the passions.⁶⁷ Several other French romance writers did much the same in treating sixteenth-century English history, while, in England, Aphra Behn mimicked the veracity claims of historians in the "true historie" of *Oroonoko* and used real historical events in her pro-Tory play, *The Roundheads*.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 5: 319 (November 11, 1664).

⁶⁵ F. Beasley, *Revising Memory*, 31–42, 53. As Beasley also points out (p. 131), the fictional aspects of such works rather than the factual ones were sometimes emphasized in English translations: Ann Floyd translated the comtesse de Lafayette's *Histoire de Madame Henriette d'Angleterre* (Amsterdam, 1720) as if it were a novel under the title *Fatal Gallantry: or, The Secret History of Henrietta Princess of England* (London, 1722).

⁶⁶ *The Letters of Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple 1652–54*, K. Hart, ed. (London, 1968), 58.

⁶⁷ Madeleine de Scudéry, *Artamenes, or, The Grand Cyrus*, E. S., trans., 5 vols. (London, 1691 [first English edition, 1653–55]); Georges de Scudéry, preface to *Ibrahim*, H. Cogan, trans. (London, 1652), sigs. A3v–A4v; F. Beasley, *Revising Memory*, 35.

⁶⁸ Marie Madeline Pioche de la Vergne, Comtesse de Lafayette, *The Princess of Montpensier* (London, 1666), is set amid the French wars of religion; Marie Catherine Hortense Desjardins, *The Annals of Love* (London, 1672), consists of assorted "histories" of royal courtships, including that of Catherine of Aragon; Marie Catherine Jumelle de Berneville, Comtesse d'Aulnoy, *The Novels of*

The salient difference between the prose romances of the seventeenth century and their Renaissance predecessors lies in the later fictions' abandoning of Sidneyesque Arcadian and Utopian settings (themselves remnants of Greek and medieval models) for the verisimilitude of false stories told about real historical persons, ancient or modern. Their authors thereby accommodated their tales to a post-Baconian epistemic universe over which history, science, and other empirical studies increasingly reigned supreme. They had little choice, because, as early as the middle of the seventeenth century, other female writers, as well as males, were beginning to take the side of history against poetry and prose fiction. The duchess of Newcastle, though admitting to a personal preference for poetry (whose practitioners, she felt, had "quicker" brains), nevertheless recognized a clear distinction between its fictions and the "truth" of history. "Poesy is most fiction, and history should be truth; poesy may be phantastical, History must be grave, Poesy is to move passions, History is to confirm truth . . . Poesy is simulising, History is repetition; Poesy is beautiful and spritely, History is brown and lovely." As for romances, they were "an adulterate issue, begot betwixt History and Poetry."⁶⁹

In *The Excellent Woman*, published in English in 1656 and again in 1692, Jacques du Bosc drew a sharp distinction between history and fiction. "The historians recount successes; poets invent them." Romance he deemed a genre unrivaled for its pernicious effect on morals and its heating up of the passions—which Scudéry had seen as among its greatest virtues. Besides, he asked, "what satisfaction can any seek in Romances, which may not found in History?" For du Bosc, romance represented a deformed and emotive reality, to be contrasted with bare truth, which could be found "with all her purity among the historians . . . not disorder'd by passions."⁷⁰ Male and female pedagogues put such arguments into practice when laying out courses of education. Bathsua Makin, a disciple of the influential Jan Amos Comenius, took the hard line, banishing all romance from her school for girls and promoting the reading of history to an advanced level in its curriculum.⁷¹ Half a century later, John Essex proved slightly less rigid. By way of urging reading upon women, he referred them to historical examples of chastity, fortitude, and constancy and concluded with instructions to parents, guardians, and governesses that

Elizabeth Queen of England, containing the History of Queen Ann of Bullen, S[pencer] H[ickman], trans. (London, 1680), 2. Aulnoy also wrote *The History of the Earl of Warwick, Sirnam'd the King-maker: Containing His Amours, and Other Memorable Transactions* (London, 1708); the translator's preface to this proclaims that it shows how "at last, love exerts her utmost charms, and gives us undeniable proofs of the absolute sway she bares even in the most memorable actions of the greatest of men, and the most stupendous events in the world" (sig. A2r); Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko, or, The Royal Slave: A True History* (London, 1688); Aphra Behn, *The Roundheads; or, The Good Old Cause* (London, 1682). I thank Ruth McClelland-Nugent for several discussions of Behn.

⁶⁹ Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *The Worlds Olio* (London, 1655), 6–7.

⁷⁰ Jacques du Bosc, *The Excellent Woman* (London, 1692), 5, 14–15, 17, 24.

⁷¹ Bathsua Pell Makin, *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen, in Religion, Manners, Arts and Tongues* (London, 1673), 9, 21, 28, 43; Gardiner, *English Girlhood at School*, 225, 250; J. R. Brink, "Bathsua Makin: 'Most Learned Matron,'" *Huntington Library Quarterly* 54 (1991): 313–26. For a similar argument, which also lists history as a subject suitable for young ladies, see Anna Maria van Schurman, *The Learned Maid; or, Whether a Maid May Be a Scholar?* (London, 1659). The ascription of the liberal arts, including history, to the Muses, the nine daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne (memory), was a *topos* often repeated by defenders of women, for instance Ester Sowernam, *Ester Hath Hang'd Haman* (London, 1617), 18. For a discussion of Clio relevant here, see Natalie Zemon Davis, "History's Two Bodies," *AHR* 93 (February 1988): 1–30.

explicitly repudiated romances and ghost stories but allowed verisimilar fictions as well as “real histories.”⁷²

The early eighteenth-century miscellanists who prescribed and printed extracts for their readers also made a persuasive argument in support of history, sometimes including selections from historians.⁷³ Lady Mary Wray, the probable author of a highly successful Augustan miscellany (seven editions by 1772) aimed specifically at women, suggested that “the means of diverting their relish from the frivolous fictions of romances, is to give them a true taste of useful and delightful histories.” A lengthier passage at the beginning of her first volume prescribed a course in Greek, Roman, and British history reading as essential in the development of good taste and the preparation of young women for adult life, because of the “illustrious patterns of virtue” that they can find therein “which will make the stronger impression on their minds.” Wray thought the histories of other nations and the lives of heroes and philosophers “both a pleasant and instructive entertainment. The reading [of] the best authors on these subjects, will enlarge and elevate their souls, and give them a contempt for the common amusements of the sex.” She enjoined her female readers to avoid vanity and affectation but to have confidence in their own educability. “There’s no lady, let the measure of her understanding be what it will, but may benefit by them; it will add a lustre to her other shining qualities, and help to supply the place of ’em where such qualities are wanting.” The critical point, however, is the end to which this historical knowledge is to be put: in this instance, the cultivation of feminine sociability.

To our reading must be added conversation, which are together absolutely necessary to form a sound understanding and an agreeable temper. No reading better qualifies a person to converse well in the world than that of history, which is here especially recommended, because most of the other parts of learning are clogg’d with terms that are not easily intelligible. Reason speaks in all languages, and there is no part of learning but may be exprest in English, as well as in Greek and Latin.⁷⁴

Reading about the past will, as Wray puts it, add a “lustre” and endow a female with an “agreeable temper.” Her contemporary, Judith Drake (who thought that if any “histories were anciently written by women” they had most likely been destroyed by men to support their title to superiority), makes the same point about the usefulness of history. “For conversation, it is not requisite we should be philologists, rhetoricians, historians, or poets.” Since a man who knew the histories of European countries but had no Greek and Latin would not be deemed unlearned, Drake writes, women, too, could acquire sufficient knowledge of modern history and other

⁷² John Essex, *The Young Ladies Conduct, or, Rules for Education* (London, 1722), 60, 129–33.

⁷³ For example, *An Historical Miscellany* (London, 1771); *The Historical Mirror, or Biographical Miscellany, for the Instruction and Entertainment of Youth* (London, 1775); Barbara M. Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader: Cultural Mediation in Early Modern Literary Anthologies* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), 45, 166–70, 183.

⁷⁴ *The Ladies Library*, anonymous but attributed to Lady Mary Wray (d. 1745), and published by Richard Steele in collaboration with Jacob Tonson, 3 vols. (London, 1714), 1: 20–22; 2: 172, my emphasis. For rules of conversation in this period, see Peter Burke, *The Art of Conversation* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993), esp. 108–17.

subjects from books in English and take their ancient history from summaries such as her personal favorite, Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*.⁷⁵

The somewhat matronizing tone of Wray's comments with regard to women and books "clogg'd with terms" suggests that, by the end of Queen Anne's reign, history was still seen as an easily understood and morally sound genre that would neither muddle nor corrupt women's minds. Male and female writers stretching half a century in either direction concurred in Wray's gendered justification, where history fit easily between mathematics, theology, and philosophy, which were too difficult, and romance, which was frivolously simple. As Mark Salber Phillips writes in a different context, history was well on its way to becoming a kind of "middle term against which other genres positioned themselves."⁷⁶ Henry More regularly made allusions to Herodotus and to episodes in ancient history in his letters to Viscountess Conway, who was well read in natural philosophy and had opinions on the great attainments of antiquity, but he was concerned that reading Descartes would produce one of her frequent headaches.⁷⁷ Mary Lady Chudleigh thought history, enriched by chronology and geography, a suitable subject, especially "when we are tir'd with more intricate Studies."⁷⁸ The negative side of this "easy history" argument can be seen in the preface to the English edition of the abbé d'Ancourt's *The Lady's Preceptor*, whose translator backhandedly minimizes the depth of knowledge to which the woman should aspire. "I think, Madam, a competent knowledge in that of your country and of a few of her neighbours . . . is quite sufficient for a young lady; not that there could be any harm . . . in knowing that Achilles was a Grecian, Pompey a Roman and the celebrated Cleopatra no more than a crafty Gipsy."⁷⁹ It can be seen, too, in the pages of periodicals intended specifically for women such as the *Ladies Magazine*, which again followed French models in digesting histories into excerpts or into question and answer form.⁸⁰

THROUGHOUT THE FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, continued efforts were made to impress upon women the superiority of history to the romance and then the novel, while writers of fiction answered back by adopting the title and narrative realism of "histories" without abandoning sentiment or ornament.⁸¹ But the in-

⁷⁵ Judith Drake, *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex* (London, 1696), 23, 27, 37–38, 45, 53. The former ascription of this work to Mary Astell is no longer accepted: see Perry, *Celebrated Mary Astell*, 106 and note.

⁷⁶ Mark Salber Phillips, "Adam Smith and the History of Private Life: Social and Sentimental Narratives in Eighteenth-Century Historiography," in Kelley and Sacks, *Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain*, 318.

⁷⁷ *Conway Letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and Their Friends, 1642–1684*, Marjorie Hope Nicolson, ed., rev. edn., Sarah Hutton (Oxford, 1992), 36 (Anne Conway to Viscount Conway, October 2, 1651); 145 (More to Anne Conway, February 8, 1658); 183 (same to same, December 27, 1660).

⁷⁸ Mary, Lady Chudleigh, "Of Knowledge," from *Essays of Several Subjects in Prose and Verse* (1710), in *The Poems and Prose of Mary, Lady Chudleigh*, Margaret J. M. Ezell, ed. (New York, 1993), 257–58; Ballard, *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain*, 353.

⁷⁹ *The Lady's Preceptor*, 4th edn. (London, 1752), quoted in Gardiner, *English Girlhood at School*, 403.

⁸⁰ Davis, "Gender and Genre," 155.

⁸¹ In a famous chapter of *Tom Jones* entitled "Of those who lawfully may, and of those who may not write such Histories as this," Henry Fielding distinguished his work from the older romances, cognizant

fluences between history and fiction ultimately flowed in both directions. So far as attracting a mass female readership away from the novel, the historians were fighting a losing battle. Augustan historical works by Paul de Rapin-Thoyras, John Oldmixon, and Thomas Carte sold well, but none achieved the literary appeal that Clarendon had enjoyed at the beginning of the century, the historic battles they recounted being described with less passion than they injected into their polemical attacks on each other. By 1750, the novel had firmly established itself as successor to the prose romance and as an even more potent threat to the position of history, since its fictive "contemporary history," presented in settings domestic and present rather than past and foreign, could provide many of the same benefits. If Henry Fielding and Laurence Sterne could be charged with indelicacy and roughness, other novelists such as Samuel Richardson were notable in their encouragement of morality and virtue. Half a century later still, the genre had become so appealing that more women than men were writing novels, something else that was likely to detract from their attention to history: Fanny Burney had to work late into the night on her novel *Evelina* because her daytime hours were consumed with the transcription of her father's *General History of Music*.⁸² A discerning commentator such as the bookseller James Lackington commented that though women were reading much else besides novels, the latter offered "a more genuine history of man . . . than is sometimes to be found under the more respectable title of History, Biography, etc." It is not surprising therefore to find that a few historians in the second half of the century, Hume, Adam Smith, Robertson, and Gibbon among them, were adopting some of the novel's sentimental techniques in order to make their own factual truths more stirring and were even experimenting with generic boundaries in order to encompass aspects of private life.⁸³

It was in this context that Hume inverted the traditional subordination of passions to reason, thereby repudiating any implicit link between these and the differences between male and female qualities. Hume, who thought women possessed of both a superior sensibility in the "ornaments of life" and an ability to reform the social manners of men, was consequently able to contemplate a history that appealed to passion, or at least to sentiment. "There is nothing which I would recommend more earnestly to my female readers than the study of history, as an occupation, of all others, the best suited both to their sex and education, much more instructive than their ordinary books of amusement, and more entertaining than those serious compositions, which are usually to be found in their closets."

of the inferior status they occupied, by asserting that his labors "have sufficient title to History" because extracted, if not from "records," then from "the vast authentic Doomsday-Book of Nature." Fielding, *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling*, Book 9, chap. 1, Fredson Bowers, ed., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1974), 1: 489; Jerry C. Beasley, *Novels of the 1740s* (Athens, Ga., 1982), 74–84.

⁸² Katharine M. Rogers, *Feminism in Eighteenth-Century England* (Urbana, Ill., 1982), 25.

⁸³ James Lackington, cited in Barker-Benfield, *Culture of Sensibility*, 168; J. Beasley, *Novels of the 1740s*, 23–42; Phillips, "Adam Smith and the History of Private Life," 321. Gibbon, much influenced in early life by both his aunt and his stepmother, deals with questions of masculinity and effeminacy explicitly in *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* and may have written with a female audience in mind as well as the historians such as Hume, a generation his senior, whose approbation he wished: Lionel Gossman, *The Empire Unpossess'd: An Essay on Gibbon's Decline and Fall* (Cambridge, 1981); Patricia Craddock, "Contemplative Heroes and Gibbon's Historical Imagination," in Kelley and Sacks, *Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain*, 348, n. 10.

Influenced by the *histoire des mœurs* approach pioneered by Voltaire, Hume also recognized that the political aspects of history would fall flat with many female readers. His injection of love and "a thousand other passions" into the matter covered by the historian therefore marks an important attempt to re-gender history itself and make it more appealing to precisely those feminine feelings that it had supposedly been nurturing all along.

It was not only from reason but from the passions and sentiments, properly directed, Hume suggested, that a sense of morality could spring.⁸⁴ A man acquainted with history may "be said to have lived from the beginning of the world" and will be better fitted to enter into "life and action." As for a woman, history will give her a commonplace familiarity with her nation's past and that of Greece and Rome, without which "it is impossible her conversation can afford any entertainment to men of sense and reflection." If such a history be dry, however, it is unpalatable, and if it is left on the plate, then no nourishment is to be had. "If Mrs Mure be not sorry for poor King Charles," he told his friend William Mure in 1754, "I shall burn all my papers, & return to philosophy." Writing to the historian William Robertson in 1759, Hume attempted to dissuade him from attempting his history of Charles V. "That subject is disjointed; & your hero, who is the sole connexion, is not very interesting . . . And tho' some parts of the story may be entertaining, there would be many dry & barren, and the whole seems not to have any great charms."⁸⁵

This reassertion of the entertainment value of history and the legitimacy of its dealing with human emotions points ahead, in one direction, to the even closer reconciliation of history and fiction in the nineteenth-century historical novel.⁸⁶ But while Hume recognized that history had to be made more woman-friendly, he continued to insist on women's lack of intellectual capacity to study the past "straight up" and to assume their reluctance to read it unless suitably enlivened by dramatic narrative and sentimental language. Hume's view has a female counterpart in Hester Chapone, whose *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind*, first published in 1773, advised young women not to bother with "learned languages." To read works in English or in another modern tongue was suitable to a lady; to attempt higher learning would put her in danger of pedantry, of "exchanging the graces of imagination for the severity and preciseness of a scholar." Her comments on the superiority of history to other genres are worth quoting for their proximity to Hume's:

⁸⁴ Lloyd, *Man of Reason*, 50–56; Barker-Benfield, *Culture of Sensibility*, 134; Mark Salber Phillips, "If Mrs Mure be not Sorry for Poor King Charles': History, the Novel, and the Sentimental Reader," *History Workshop Journal* 43 (1997), in press. I am very grateful to Mark Phillips for allowing me to see his article well in advance of publication, for several discussions of matters raised in the present essay, and especially for steering me toward the late eighteenth-century exchanges treated more fully by him. My analysis is similar to his but is based on my own somewhat different reading of the texts cited below.

⁸⁵ "Of the Study of History" (1741), in *The Philosophical Works of David Hume*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1854), 4: 508–13; also rpt. in *David Hume: Philosophical Historian*, Richard H. Popkin and David Fate Norton, eds. (Indianapolis, 1965), 35–50; *The Letters of David Hume*, J. Y. T. Greig, ed., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1932), 1: 210 (Hume to Mure, October 1754); *New Letters of David Hume*, Raymond Klibansky and Ernest C. Mossner, eds. (Oxford, 1954), 48 (Hume to Robertson, April 1759).

⁸⁶ Braudy, *Narrative Form in History and Fiction*, 144–80.

The principal study I would recommend, is *history*. I know of nothing equally proper to *entertain and improve at the same time*, or that is so likely to form and strengthen your judgment, and, by giving you a liberal and comprehensive view of human nature, in some measure to supply the defect of that experience, which is usually attained too late to be of much service to us. Let me add, that more materials for conversation are supplied by this kind of knowledge, than by almost any other.

More striking, however, is Chapone's distinction between a woman's purpose in reading history and a man's. Even though English historians are susceptible to partisan influences, and male readers were preoccupied by this problem throughout the century, this need not vex the female reader. "As you will not read with a critical view, nor enter deeply into politics, I think you may be allowed to choose that which is most entertaining."⁸⁷ Chapone shared with Hume an interest in cultivating a broader philosophical understanding of history rather than the amassing of mere erudition, but unlike Hume, she placed the assessment of truth and impartiality behind the freedom to select reading material on the basis of interest.⁸⁸

Debates over history's proper relation to fiction and the status of each in female education engaged several women of differing political hues at the very end of the eighteenth century, none of them adopting the position of Hume or Chapone. Mary Wollstonecraft was not a writer especially interested in history as such, but in the *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), she discussed it in the context of her attack on the separation of male and female educational curricula. Wollstonecraft supported her own case for female rationality and her opposition to the exclusion of women from public life with recommendations for a largely genderless education in which girls and boys, studying together, could learn "religion, history, the history of man, and politics."⁸⁹ Wollstonecraft's opinions were, as is well known, exceptional in their radicalism, and, despite the initial positive reception of the *Vindication*, the combination of anti-Jacobin hysteria and her own controversial private life had, within five years, muted its impact. But the critical point is that, while Wollstonecraft's attack on ignorant readers of novels who slight "the sober dignity and *matron graces* of history" in some ways resembles the denigration of romance a century earlier, it was a position advanced for entirely different reasons.⁹⁰ For Restoration and Augustan writers, male and female, history had been simply a safer and more useful genre than those of fiction. In Wollstonecraft's view, women could and should read history rather than fiction, but they should read it in the same way that men did, as a serious challenge to the intellect and a

⁸⁷ Hester Chapone, *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, Addressed to a Young Lady* (London, 1801), 158, 202, my emphasis. Elizabeth Carter's judgment on several historians, in particular the highly valued Caesar and Francesco Guicciardini, and Catharine Macaulay, similarly suggests that entertainment, as much as scholarship, was what appealed even to learned female readers: *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs Elizabeth Carter*, Montagu Pennington, ed. (London, 1807), 466.

⁸⁸ "The first quality of an historian is to be true and impartial; the next to be interesting." *Letters of David Hume*, 1: 210 (Hume to Mure, October 1754). On the question of impartiality, see Hicks, *Neoclassical History and English Culture*, 13–14, 177–78, 194–95; J. H. Preston, "English Ecclesiastical Historians and the Problem of Bias, 1559–1742," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 32 (1971): 203–20.

⁸⁹ *A Critical Edition of Mary Wollstonecraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Ulrich H. Hardt, ed. (Troy, N.Y., 1982), 356.

⁹⁰ Wollstonecraft, *Vindication*, 392, my emphasis; for the influence on manners of conservative and evangelical reaction to the French Revolution, especially to the Terror, see Maurice J. Quinlan, *Victorian Prelude: A History of English Manners, 1700–1830* (New York, 1951), 68–100.

preparation for public life. Her opinion is thus directly opposed to Hume's attempt at mediation between the genres according to gender.

There are glimmers of both Hume and Wollstonecraft in Mary Hays's nearly contemporaneous recommendation of historical biography as a middle step on the ascent of female understanding to equality with males. Hays believed that Voltaire's *Charles XII* and the duke of Sully's *Memoirs of Henry IV* were among those works that could bridge the pedagogical space between *Clarissa* and true history by their ability to "excite our sympathy, engage our affections, and awaken our curiosity," thereby generating "a taste for historical reading."⁹¹ Although Hays shared many of her friend Wollstonecraft's political opinions, the latter's position on the equal suitability of history for women and men is, paradoxically, more clearly articulated by two writers at the conservative end of the political spectrum. The anti-Jacobin Elizabeth Hamilton, who believed conventional female education to be a recipe for "beautiful imbecility," dealt with history largely without reference to sex in her *Letters on the Elementary Principles of Education* (1801). She would later illustrate these principles in an 1804 biography of the Roman noblewoman Agrippina, digested from translated Roman historians, although this was intended less for the learned than for "readers of her own sex, who are only acquainted with the outline of Roman history." For Hamilton, biography offered a truer, safer mode of representing human behavior than novels, since "the emotions produced will . . . probably be less vivid, but the interest will be deeper."⁹² Before either of these more serious works appeared, however, Hamilton had published a satirical novel of her own, the *Memoirs of Modern Philosophers* (1800), in which the dangers of fiction were highlighted even more boldly and with particular reference to females. Here, the "active and judicious" Harriet Orwell, having attended to her proper household duties, passes her leisure hours usefully, "quietly seated at her work with her aunt and sister, listening to Hume's History of England as it was read to them by a little orphan girl she had herself instructed." Meanwhile, the ill-fated Julia Delmond ignores the history she reads to her military father, while privately devouring novels and romances in her own room, free of the restraining hand of a tutor or parent. Aroused by these fictions, "Imagination, wild and ungoverned imagination reigned paramount in her breast," and Julia's poor judgment makes of her a "dupe."⁹³

⁹¹ Mary Hays, *Letters and Essays, Moral and Miscellaneous* (London, 1793), facs. rpt., Gina Luria, intro. (New York, 1974), 97. In a work now attributed to Hays, the *Appeal to the Men of Great Britain in Behalf of Women* (London, 1798), facs. rpt., Gina Luria, intro. (New York, 1974), esp. 152, 170–72, Hays repeatedly appeals to history to construct her own vindication of women, and she repeats Wollstonecraft's denunciation of sex-divided education.

⁹² Elizabeth Hamilton, *Letters on the Elementary Principles of Education*, 2 vols. (Bath, 1801–02), 2: 224–29, 230–44; Hamilton, *Memoirs of the Life of Agrippina, Wife of Germanicus*, 2d edn., 2 vols. (London, 1811), 1: xiv. In *Letters*, 2: 226, 230, 235, Hamilton discusses the need to strike a balance in history between two extremes: on the one hand, "cold" histories and bare abridgements, which cannot promote moral development (she excepts "nursery catalogues of kings and queens," which she sees as useful primers but does not consider to be history); on the other, she dismisses "those fictions which stimulate the imagination, while they retard the operation of judgment," a category that did not, however, include all novelists. Hamilton warned also that the power of the historian to sway the passions needed to be carefully checked by an already well-developed "judgment" on the part of the reader.

⁹³ Elizabeth Hamilton, *Memoirs of Modern Philosophers*, 3 vols. (Bath, 1800), 1: 107–08, 146; 2: 170. For a much fuller discussion of Hamilton's views on history than can be offered here, see Phillips, "If Mrs Mure."

Hannah More had listened to her father read Plutarch as a child, and she, too, preferred history to fiction. But despite her own considerable learning, she was no apologist for female equality, educational or political, and her pedagogical writings are devoted to the preservation of traditional female roles. More's own discussion of history and fiction anticipate by a year Hamilton's concerns about unbridled imagination but take them in a slightly different direction, substituting for the former's concern with "judgment" a renewed emphasis on religion. Education for women had once, More conceded, narrowly stressed "what was merely useful" (crafts such as spinning and needlework, and the keeping of accounts), but it now veered too far toward "what is merely ornamental." More especially feared the imperialist expansion of fiction's dominion. Novels, "which chiefly used to be dangerous in one respect, are now become dangerous in a thousand," she wrote. "They are continually shifting their ground, and enlarging their sphere, and are daily becoming vehicles of wider mischief." As an alternative, she highlights history's religious and moral effectiveness. In a chapter of her *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (1799), devoted to "the religious and moral use of history and geography," she made clear that the fundamental purpose of history was the inculcation of religious values. This was not, however, quite what sixteenth-century commentators, with their similarly pious preoccupations, had had in mind. More, fully a product of the eighteenth century, believed less in suppressing innate female vices than in shaping positive feminine virtues; these were to be adorned with an evangelical glow atop Mary Wray's earlier decorative "lustre." For More, proper religious understanding of the workings of providence and the cultivation of a quiet, respectful piety, rather than social grace and entertainment, were history's principal good. Most of these lessons can be derived by "youths" of both sexes, together with the truth that "they will not inevitably meet in this world with reward and success according to their merit." When More's discussion returned specifically to girls, the emphasis shifted to the promotion of self-knowledge and to the imitation, on the narrower stage of private life, of the sacrifices made in the public by great historical figures. "It will be to no purpose that the reader weeps over the fortitude of the Christian hero, or the constancy of the martyr, if she do not bear in mind that she herself is called to endure her own common trials with something of the same temper." A public act of martyrdom is no longer, as it might have been for a sixteenth-century woman, the sort of sacrifice envisaged, but the female reader "applauding the self-denying saint" should at least ask herself if she is prepared to give up her company or alter her dinner hour to enable her family to attend public worship in the afternoon.⁹⁴

We are not quite done with these matters. Aside from Hume's *via media* and the differing responses of Wollstonecraft, Hays, Hamilton, and More, there was one other position, harking back to Mary Astell: the rejection of history altogether. This was no longer an opinion easily voiced in public, and the only thorough-going denunciation of history to appear at the end of the eighteenth century is uttered by a fictional character, Catherine Morland, in Jane Austen's Gothic spoof, *Northanger Abbey*. In a familiar but widely misinterpreted passage, Catherine stridently asserts

⁹⁴ Hannah More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*, 3d edn., 2 vols. (1799), 1: 32, 115, 203, 204.

her preference for romantic novels such as Ann Radcliffe's *Mysteries of Udolpho* over "real, solemn history." Catherine is a more subtly drawn and sympathetic version of Hamilton's Julia Delmond, a few years earlier. Like Julia, she consumes the very miscellanies and Gothic fiction that More had so recently condemned, but her dislike of history is even fiercer. "I read it [history] a little as a duty, but it tells me nothing that does not either vex or weary me. The quarrels of popes and kings, with wars or pestilences, in every page; the men all so good for nothing, and hardly any women at all."⁹⁵ Even interesting wars and sorrowful pestilences after Hume are apparently insufficient to balance history's continued marginalization of women as subjects, and Catherine also believes most of it to be made up, as much a fiction as her novels and considerably less entertaining. Jane Austen's last heroine, *Persuasion*'s Anne Elliot, is scarcely more positive. When debating the subject of female constancy with an argumentative Captain Harville, she is told that "all histories are against you" and he anticipates her objection: "But perhaps you will say, these were all written by men." Anne's rejoinder recalls Judith Drake a century earlier. "Men have had every advantage to us in telling their own story. Education has been theirs in so much higher a degree; the pen has been in their hands. I will not allow books to prove anything."⁹⁶

Anne Elliot may be more in her brilliant maker's image than was Austen's earlier protagonist Catherine Morland, but neither can be taken as indicative of late eighteenth-century female attitudes to history. Catherine's own views are in fact convincingly challenged by her friend Eleanor Tilney, who claims to be "fond of history" because it provides a rattling good yarn and has enough weight of evidence to approximate truth. In Austen's "education" novel, *Mansfield Park*, eighteenth-century principles of female pedagogy, including supervised reading in history, are applied to the thoroughly moldable Fanny Price with happy results for her character and fortune. (The rote memorization of the facts of history, however, is savaged in Fanny's indiscriminating cousins, the Miss Bertrams.) Fanny later declares her own intellectual independence by selecting histories and biographies from a circulating library in order to educate her less privileged younger sister. And one should not forget that the novelist herself, as a fifteen-year-old, knew enough of England's past history to parody it in a work focusing on the Stuarts, one with a great many women thrown in and the promise of "very few dates."⁹⁷ Whatever the complexities of her disposition toward historians, Jane Austen knew them well enough.

⁹⁵ Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey* (completed by 1803), Margaret Drabble, intro. (1818; London, 1989), 109–11. The antihistorical position in this scene is oversimplified by Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven, Conn., 1979), 132–33; it is persuasively challenged in Christopher Kent, "Learning History with, and from, Jane Austen," in J. D. Grey, ed., *Jane Austen's Beginnings* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1989), 59–71 (for which reference I am grateful to Ian Dyck). Other useful treatments of Jane Austen's reactions to and treatment of history include Christopher Kent, "'Real Solemn History' and Social History," in David Monaghan, ed., *Jane Austen in a Social Context* (London, 1981), 86–104; Warren Roberts, *Jane Austen and the French Revolution* (New York, 1979); and Brigid Brophy, "Jane Austen and the Stuarts," in B. C. Southam, ed., *Critical Essays on Jane Austen* (London, 1968), 21–38.

⁹⁶ Jane Austen, *Persuasion*, Margaret Drabble, intro. (1818; London, 1996), 264.

⁹⁷ Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park*, Margaret Drabble, intro. (1814; London, 1996), 35–36, 363. Compare More, *Strictures on . . . Female Education*, 1: 175: "The names of the renowned characters in history thus become familiar in the mouths of those who can neither attach to the ideas of the person, the series of his actions nor the peculiarities of his character." Jane Austen, *The History of England*,

NOVELS, LIKE PRESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE, tell us what was thought, expected, or imagined rather than what was done. There is separate evidence that suggests Hume was wrong and Wollstonecraft and Hamilton right on the matter of women being prepared to read dry, masculine history without any concessions in the direction of sentiment. If we turn from theoretical recommendations to actual instances of real history readers, we can learn a great deal to reinforce and add some nuance to the connections suggested above.

Although the surviving documents come once again principally from the elite and middling ranks, it is clear that women were both buying and reading historical works in progressively greater numbers. References to reading or ownership increase most strikingly after 1660, even if the figures remain low compared to their purchases of other genres.⁹⁸ Yet if library lists, diaries, and account books are to be believed, we can push the beginnings of a female market for history books back at least to the middle of the sixteenth century. The countess of Rutland's personal expenses for 1550 show an edition of Thucydides and the then-new *Hall's Chronicle*.⁹⁹ The library of Mary Queen of Scots included an extraordinary number and variety of historical works, among them a number of vernacular chronicles, several of the romance "histories," Livy, Plutarch, and other ancient authors. William Cecil (whose own queen, Elizabeth I, also read Tacitus and Livy) was told by a correspondent that the Scottish queen read every day after dinner "instructed by a learned man, Mr George Buchanan, somewhat of Livy."¹⁰⁰

It is in the seventeenth century, however, that instances of women owning history books occur with greater frequency, many of the examples preceding the prescriptions of the later period by several decades: Anne Clifford had a history of the Netherlands read to her in 1616, while the following year, she read for herself "the Turkish History and Chaucer." Elsewhere, she records reading in the chronicles about such events as the fourteenth-century wars with Scotland and the Wars of the Roses.¹⁰¹ Many further examples can be found, and considerably lower down the social ladder than Clifford or Mary Stuart. Anne Southwell owned a number of

Deidre Le Faye, ed., A. S. Byatt, intro. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993); Kent, "Learning History with, and from, Jane Austen," 63–64.

⁹⁸ In comparison, medieval women seem to have had little interest in history, works on that subject being not well represented in a recent study of female wills before 1500, though one or two exceptions are noted, one man having left his wife a copy of the *Brut* (a popular vernacular chronicle of ancient Britain), in 1398. Carol M. Meale, "... Alle the Bokes that I have of Latyn, Englisch, and Frensch": Laywomen and Their Books in Late Medieval England," in Meale, ed., *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150–1500* (Cambridge, 1993), 142. See also Mary C. Erler, "Exchange of Books between Nuns and Laywomen: Three Surviving Examples," in Richard Beadle and A. J. Piper, eds., *New Science out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscript and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle* (Aldershot, 1995), 360–73.

⁹⁹ Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, G.C.B., Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, 4 vols. (London, 1888–1905), 4: 369.

¹⁰⁰ Julian Sharman, *The Library of Mary Queen of Scots* (London, 1889), 30 and throughout; *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1561–1562*, no. 985(4), p. 584 (April 7, 1562); Ballard, *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain*, 218. Over a century later, another Queen Mary, the co-regent of William III, who believed that "women should not meddle in government," records that she "set my self to the reading our English history with attention." *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England, 1689–1693*, R. Doebner, ed. (Leipzig, 1886), 23, 44.

¹⁰¹ *Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, 41, 54. The two histories in question were almost certainly Edward Grimeston, *The Generall History of the Netherlands* (London, 1608), and Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London, 1610).

histories along with her Bible and *Faerie Queene*.¹⁰² Elizabeth Josselyn, a London stationer's wife, possessed a small library that she shared with her mother; she loaned a "History of the Queen of Scots" to her melancholic neighbor John Felton in 1628, which he inconveniently failed to return before it helped inspire him to assassinate the duke of Buckingham. The inventory of Frances Jodrell, a Stockport spinster who died in 1639, lists two boxes of books among her possessions, one of which had fifty-three volumes, "most of them ould historie bookes," valued at four shillings.¹⁰³ Frances Wolfreston (d. 1677) of Tamworth, Staffordshire, assembled a personal library of verse, drama, and moral theological writings, which also included a significant number of histories and a standard antiquarian treatise, Camden's *Britannia*.¹⁰⁴ When the cantankerous widow Elizabeth Freke made an inventory of her own belongings in 1711, she included her collection of well over a hundred books, kept in various trunks and chests, of which a significant number were histories, among them Clarendon, a history of China, histories of Richard III and Henry VII, and three volumes of John Rushworth's *Historical Collections*.¹⁰⁵

The reading of history, like the reading of novels and devotional works, was not yet, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a solitary affair, although there are cases like Sarah Cowper, whose massive diaries and commonplace books show her retreating into histories from a world she distrusted and a husband she despised (and writing an abridged history of the world for her daughter-in-law, Judith). Her above-mentioned readings of Clarendon, however, took place in the company of a literate female servant, on whom she was increasingly dependent owing to blindness.¹⁰⁶ Reading typically took place in groups, especially between husbands and wives and, later, male and female friends (often, as with the bluestockings of

¹⁰² Folger MS B.b.198, fols. 59r-v, 64v-65r; J. C. Cavanaugh, "The Library of Lady Southwell and Captain Sibthorpe," *Studies in Bibliography* 20 (1967): 243-54. Southwell's historical titles include (among others) Edward Grimeston, *The Generall History of the Netherlands* (London, 1608); Sallust's histories in English; Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*; Suetonius, *The Historie of Twelve Caesars*; William Camden's antiquarian work, *Reges, reginae, nobiles, & alii in ecclesia collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterij sepulti*, (London, 1600); and Samuel Daniel's *Collection of the Historie of England* (London, 1618).

¹⁰³ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1628-29*, 343, examination of Elizabeth Josselyn (October 3, 1628); *Stockport Probate Records 1620-1650*, C. B. Phillips and J. H. Smith, eds., Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 131 (1992): 319.

¹⁰⁴ P. Morgan, "Frances Wolfreston and 'Hor Bouks': A Seventeenth-Century Woman Book-Collector," *The Library*, 6th ser., 11, no. 3 (1989): 198-219; the list of "historical" books still extant and located by Morgan includes mainly historical drama and verse (some in chapbook format), such as Robert Chester, *Love's Martyr, or Rosalins Complaint* (1601); Emmanuel Forde, *The Famous Historie of Montelyon* (1640); *A Pleasant History of the Life and Death of Will Summers* (1637); and anon., *The Life and Death of the Famous Champion of England, S. George* (circa 1660); but this does not include all the works in an 1856 sale catalogue, among which was the *Britannia*.

¹⁰⁵ "Mrs Elizabeth Freke, Her Diary, 1671-1714," *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 2d ser., 18, nos. 16-19 (1910-13), 205-06; Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, 8 vols. (London, 1901-14), 8: 182. That the books were kept in chests does not mean that they were unread: many people who could afford books stored them in this way rather than investing money in expensive presses.

¹⁰⁶ Herts RO, Penshanger MSS, D/EP.F.29-35 (Diary of Sarah Cowper, 1700 to 1716), 3: 56 (April 12, 1705); Herts RO, Penshanger MSS, D/EP.F.36 (commonplace books of Sarah Cowper), 1: 97; Cowper, "Collections of Several Things out of History, Began about the Year 1670," in commonplace books, vol. 1, unpaginated leaf at end of volume; Herts RO, Penshanger MSS, D/EP.F.41, Cowper, "History of the World" (1686), derived from William Howell, *An Institution of General History* (London, 1661); Anne Kugler, "Prescription, Culture, and Shaping Identity: Lady Sarah Cowper (1644-1720)" (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1994). I am indebted to Dr. Kugler for a copy of her important study.

the later eighteenth century, through correspondence as well as in person). Mary Coke, for instance, writes of her objections to Mrs. Macaulay's "partiality" and tells us of her conversations with David Hume on the character and religious views of Cromwell.¹⁰⁷ Such interaction was not always by choice. We do not know the reactions of Sir Thomas Browne's daughter, Betty, who read to her aged father from Paul Rycaut's newly published *History of the Turkish Empire*, but the diary of the pious Mary Rich, countess of Warwick, shows her frequently reading history to her ailing husband without much interest. Only Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, much read by seventeenth-century women, aroused the countess's spirits.¹⁰⁸ In contrast, the diary of Lady East of Hall Place, Hurley, a century later, records its author's pleasure in repeated readings of Gibbon, almost always in the company of her own sick spouse.¹⁰⁹ Intrafamilial reading interests suggest that gender lines were far from hard. We have already seen Elizabeth Pepys showing an interest in genealogy. Her husband's diary also reveals the two of them sharing both history and romance; for, though Elizabeth was inordinately fond of the writings of Scudéry, Samuel often read to her from historical works such as Thomas Fuller's *Church-History* and *Worthies*, and the couple took turns reading to each other from an ex-slave's history of North Africa, even though Elizabeth was suffering from toothache at the time.¹¹⁰

There are also examples of women inheriting and giving away history books. The Coventry School donors' book, detailing bequests or gifts of volumes to its library through the seventeenth century, records the donation by a widow, Margaret Porteman, of a folio "Historie of the World," probably an edition of the famous work by Sir Walter Raleigh; it was unquestionably Raleigh's *History* that Lady Susannah Hopton, a devotional writer, gave to the Lady Hawkins School in Kington at her death in 1709.¹¹¹ Wills and the accompanying probate inventories that

¹⁰⁷ *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke*, 3: 4–6, 18, 19, 51. The discussions of history and historians by such notable literary women as Fanny Burney, Elizabeth Carter, Elizabeth Montagu, and others require extensive treatment of their own, there being insufficient space herein: see, for example, *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, Volume 3: *The Streatham Years, Part I, 1778–1779*, Lars E. Troide and Stewart J. Cooke, eds. (Oxford, 1994); *The Letters of Mrs Elizabeth Montagu, with Some of the Letters of Her Correspondents*, Matthew Montagu, ed., 2 pts. in 4 vols. (London, 1809–13); *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs Elizabeth Carter*, Montagu Pennington, ed. (London, 1807); *Letters from Mrs Elizabeth Carter, to Mrs Montagu, between the Years 1755 and 1800*, Montagu Pennington, ed., 3 vols. (London, 1817). All of these have a great deal to say about history and particular historians.

¹⁰⁸ *Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, G. L. Keynes, ed., 2d edn., 4 vols. (Chicago, 1964), 4: 145 (Browne to Edward Browne, December 22, 1679); BL MS Add. 27351 (diary of Mary Rich), fol. 297r (February 25, 1669); Add. 27352, Diary vol. 2, fol. 5v (November 26, 1669). For an explicit complaint of the time taken attending her husband and the brief moments seized for personal reading and meditation, see vol. 2, fols. 87r and 229v. For Foxe and the female literary diet, see Gardiner, *English Girlhood at School*, 269, 373. In the following century, Gilbert Burnet seems to have been, like Foxe, another ecclesiastical historian deemed appropriate to read to women. Dudley Ryder, then a young law student anxious to make and please female acquaintances, read "[Burnet's] *History of the Reformation to the women*" one day in 1715, despite his dislike for Burnet's style as "too stiff and formal." *The Diary of Dudley Ryder 1715–1716*, W. Matthews, ed. (London, 1939), 111.

¹⁰⁹ Berkshire Record Office, Reading, D/EX 1306/1, diary of Lady East, 1791–92, unfoliated. The relevant entries begin with that of February 7, 1791. "I was very ill all day & did not go out. [I] began to read the 4th Vol. of Gibbon Roman History." Her readings, together with her husband and sometimes others, continued to February 20, 1791.

¹¹⁰ *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 7: 302 (September 30, 1666); 8: 582, 585 (December 18, 21, 1667); *The History of Algiers and Its Slavery*, John Davies of Kidwelly, trans. (London, 1666).

¹¹¹ Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 4467, Coventry School donors' book, undated (but late seventeenth century) entry at fol. 23r; P. E. Morgan, "The Library of Lady Hawkins' School, Kington, Herefordshire," *National Library of Wales Journal* 24 (1985): 53.

frequently list books sometimes itemize histories and assign them to female relations. When Henry Stringer, the warden of New College, left his cousin Anne Daston a copy of "Sir Walter Rawleys History in folio" along with a book on theology, it is difficult to tell which of those most appealed to her, or why Stringer left this to her as opposed to his copy of John Stow's *Chronicles*, which went to a male cousin.¹¹² In this instance, it is possible that Daston had a particular interest in Raleigh's book, but just as likely that her learned cousin had decided to cater to her familiarity with history, which probably included a smattering of the ancients but very little on the medieval English period covered by Stow.¹¹³

One must obviously be careful with many of these documents, since they record possession rather than firm interest, but there is no reason to assume that every history in a woman's library was put there by a man to the indifference of his female beneficiary. The book bills for the countess of Rutland, cited above, tell us otherwise. It should also be pointed out that the ownership and acquisition of history books (and, for that matter, books of any other kind) is often hidden by the nature of the evidence, since many bought or otherwise acquired books through their husbands or other family members. In a copy of Robert Peirce's *History and Memoirs of the Bath* (1713), the first name in the Latin inscription "Jacobi Joye" has been crossed out and the name "Jane" written above it in English. Although women's names appear much more rarely than those of men in book inscriptions, there are other examples, like the copy of a French history of the Roman emperors that belonged in the seventeenth century to one Mary Gaude, or the seven volumes of Archibald Bower's *History of the Popes*, in all of which the eighteenth-century owner Elizabeth Norris inscribed her name.¹¹⁴ Henry Prescott picked up a copy of Raleigh's *History of the World* at his bookseller's because he saw the name "Lydia" written on the title page and thought it might have belonged to his favorite daughter. (To his irritation, he discovered on taking it home that it belonged to another woman altogether.)¹¹⁵ At the still-preserved library of the Bar Convent school in York, established in the 1680s for the clandestine education of Catholic girls, one finds an English translation of a multi-volume history of the church in Japan that bears the signature of a pupil, Elizabeth Tuite. Another volume of the

¹¹² Herts RO, Wills 147 70c (will of Henry Stringer, January 14, 1657/8).

¹¹³ In contrast to their interest in relatively recent familial history, women's taste for history reading generally inclined, until the Gothic Revival and the early Romantic period, toward the modern, classical, and scriptural pasts rather than the medieval period, which was doubly suspect as both barbarous and superstitious. The Whig icon Lady Rachel Russell, for instance, took notes on Roman history, for which she had acquired a taste early in life: Lois G. Schwoerer, *Lady Rachel Russell: "One of the Best of Women"* (Baltimore, 1988), 16, 253 n. 77. Caroline Lennox, the mother of Charles James Fox, had similar inclinations: Tillyard, *Aristocrats*, 16.

¹¹⁴ Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas, Austin, shelfmark QUA/RA 850 B3 P45 1713 HRC (Peirce volume); Jacques Esprinchaud, Sieur du Plom, *L'histoire auguste, en II volumes, contenant les vies des empereurs romains depuis Iules Caesar iusques a Rodolphe II*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1610), Durham University Library, Cosin Library S.5.8-9 (name on flyleaf of vol. 2); Archibald Bower, *The History of the Popes, from the Foundation of the See of Rome, to the Present Time*, 7 vols. (London, 1748-[66]), Cosin Library Z.3.1-7. I am grateful to Miss Beth Rainey and Dr. A. I. Doyle of the Durham University Library for making available to me a computer printout of the provenance list of the Cosin collection.

¹¹⁵ *Diary of Henry Prescott*, 2: 482, December 22, 1715.

same work has the names of several girls and the dated phrase "Mary Cook reeds in this book" in the margins of the preface.¹¹⁶

Loans between friends and family are a better guide since they generally involve a specific request for a book. Examples can once again be found of females seeking out history books from family and friends. On the last day of a five-week trip to London in 1639, Humphrey Mildmay "lent to Mrs James 2 booke thone Cornelius Tacitus & thother Mr Sandis his Ovids Metamorphosis." Among the many books loaned by William Blundell to relatives was his copy of the Byzantine historian Nicetas, borrowed by Blundell's sister Winifred in 1676.¹¹⁷ In 1714, Henry Prescott borrowed from a female neighbor two volumes of the *Complete History of England* (1706) while lending her his own copy of White Kennett's brief history of the origins of the civil war, packaged as a sermon on the meaning of the Fifth of November.¹¹⁸ The circulation of books through loan and bequest within the Baker family of Penn, Buckinghamshire, around 1700, provides several examples of historical interests crossing genders and generations, as history books were borrowed by boys from their mother and bequeathed by their father to daughters.¹¹⁹

Finally, the book subscription lists offer some indication of discrimination among historical subgenres by subject, language, and period. This evidence requires closer scrutiny than can be offered here, but analysis of a sample of fifteen history books of various kinds, published between 1680 and 1730, demonstrates considerable variation. Far fewer women were prepared to pay for John Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* (10 of 1,333) than were willing to order narrative histories like Nicholas Rowe's translation of Lucan (28 of 387) or a late throwback to the romance of medieval history, Aaron Thompson's new edition of Geoffrey of Monmouth (53 of 326, a striking 17.5 percent). A new edition of Philippe de Commynes' *Memoirs* (11 of 520) was more attractive to females than a Latin edition of Asser's *Life of Alfred* (none of 346) or the deep philological learning to be had from Edward Lhwyd's *Archaeologica Britannica* (none of 203).¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ L'Abbé de T., *The History of the Church of Japan Written Originally in French by Monsieur l'Abbé de T.*, N. N., trans., 3 vols. (London, 1707), copy in Bar Convent Library, York. Identifications of owners and readers whose signatures appear to derive from Mother Mary Davies (1701–60), "Anecdotes of the Bar from the Year 1735," Bar Convent Archives 3/B/4, unfoliated; from H. J. Coleridge, *St Mary's Convent Micklegate Bar York* (London, 1887), 406, 415; and from a card index of members of the order graciously supplied to me by the current librarian, Sister Gregory IBVM. I am grateful to Sara and Bill Shiels for directing me to this library.

¹¹⁷ Folger MS W.b. 600 (Diary of Humphrey Mildmay, 1633–47, a typescript transcript of BL MS Harl. 454), pp. 101–02 (May 30, 1639); Lancashire Record Office, DDBI Acc. 6121, uncatalogued volume of accounts entitled "Hodge Podge the third," fol. 42v; this William Blundell was the grandson of the same-named Jacobean antiquary mentioned above, p. 653.

¹¹⁸ *Diary of Henry Prescott*, 2: 480 (December 15, 1715); 2: 490 (February 3, 1716).

¹¹⁹ Buckinghamshire Record Office, Aylesbury, D/X 1069/2/23 (March 24, 1706/7), Samuel Baker's book list endorsed by his mother, Martha Baker, April 6, 1707; D/X 1069/3/6, p. 21, for her own borrowed books; D/X 1069/3/6, pp. 12–20, for history books chosen by his daughters under the bequest of Daniel Baker.

¹²⁰ This analysis is based on tabulation of subscription list data that I have assembled for another work in progress. I have used the following lists: Robert Plot, *The Natural History of Staffordshire* (Oxford, 1686); William Camden, *Annales*, Thomas Hearne, ed. (Oxford, 1717–18); John de Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, Thomas Hearne, ed. (Oxford, 1722); John Leland, *Itinerary*, Thomas Hearne, ed., vol. 3 (Oxford, 1711); *Memorials of Affairs of State*, Edmund Sawyer, ed. (London, 1725); Louis Moréri, *The Great Historical, Geographical and Poetical Dictionary* (London, 1694); John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, 2d edn. (London, 1725), vol. 1; Edward Lhwyd, *Archaeologica Britannica* (London, 1707); John Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy* (London, 1714); Jeremy Collier, *Ecclesiastical History* (London,

More research of this sort needs to be done in order to develop a clearer picture of male and female readership patterns; a similar survey of late eighteenth-century subscriptions might well reveal some interesting changes. All in all, the evidence of women's reading and owning history books suggests that the eighteenth century's hard-selling of history may have been less essential than its authors thought. Women were already reading it regularly by 1700; the prescriptions simply provided reinforcement for this behavior in the face of mounting competition from fiction and ensured that it led in the right direction.

HISTORIOGRAPHICALLY SPEAKING, the nineteenth century opened for women with the novels of Maria Edgeworth and Sir Walter Scott, and with the first publication of a variety of biographical works, of which we may mention three: Mary Hays's *Female Biography* (1803), Elizabeth Hamilton's *Memoirs of the Life of Agrippina* (1804), and Lucy Hutchinson's life of her parliamentarian husband. Hutchinson's book, composed a century and a half previously, was retitled *Memoirs* by her descendant, Julius Hutchinson, who believed that "the most numerous class of readers are the lovers of biography." Her book would appeal equally to men and women: the former would profit from intimate familiarity with its hero, while the latter would "feel that it carries with it all the interest of a novel, strengthened with the authenticity of real history." As a bonus, women would experience an "additional satisfaction" in the author's "descent" from her lofty erudition to perform her duties as wife and mother.¹²¹ As to the two newer titles, Hays's was a six-volume alphabetical dictionary of nearly three hundred lives of worthy women from antiquity to recent times and something of a retreat for this erstwhile radical; Hamilton's, we have seen, was a detailed single life intended to illustrate the workings of the passions through the concrete example of a historical heroine. These works would set the tone for female historical interests in the first half of the new century, and the tensions signaled in them between the political and social, the public and the private, would continue to mark the "golden age" of historical writing and the great age of the Victorian novel.¹²² The best-selling history of the middle years of the century, Thomas Babington Macaulay's *History of England from the Accession of James II* (1848–1855), paid close attention to customs and manners and was well received by female readers. Its author was an admirer of Scott. As a younger man, Macaulay believed that "a truly great historian would reclaim those

1708), vol. 1; *Lucan's Pharsalia*, Nicholas Rowe, trans. (London, 1718 [actually 1719; simultaneously published at Dublin with a different subscription list]); Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The British History*, A. Thompson, trans. (London, 1718); Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Time* (London, 1724), vol. 1; Philippe de Commines, *The Memoirs of Philip de Comines*, T. Uvedale, trans. (London, 1712); Nathaniel Salmon, *The History of Hertfordshire* (London, 1728); Asser, *Annales rerum gestarum Aelfredi magni*, F. Wise, ed. (London, 1722); Robert Castell, *The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated* (London, 1728). They reveal a strong variance in female subscription patterns among different types of history.

¹²¹ Julius Hutchinson, preface to Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, 3d edn., 2 vols. (London, 1810), 1: xxiv–xxviii, also discussed in Phillips, "Adam Smith and the History of Private Life," 339–40.

¹²² Mary Hays, *Female Biography; or, Memoirs of Illustrious and Celebrated Women, of All Ages and Countries*, 6 vols. (London, 1803); Hamilton, *Memoirs of the Life of Agrippina*.

materials which the novelist has appropriated.”¹²³ It is worth noting that when a child he had received his first books from Hannah More, who might by then have reluctantly agreed.

The increasing importance of German-style archival scholarship in the second half of the nineteenth century modified but certainly did not remove the gender gap in historiography. An increasing number of women followed Catharine Macaulay's lead but Mary Hays's example, streaming themselves away from political history in the direction of historical biography (as most famously did Agnes and Elizabeth Strickland). Others, however, began to turn again to the non-narrative past, to the editing of documents and to the emerging inquiry into the material world of economic and social history. As illustrations, one need only consider the many contributions by female medievalists to the early volumes of the *Victoria History of the Counties of England*, the scholarly works of individual women such as Alice Stopford Green, Alice Clark, Mary Bateson, and the American Lucy Maynard Salmon, and the brief but remarkable career of Eileen Power during the interwar years.¹²⁴ It is true that many of these women were assisted in this streaming by contemporary male hostility to their involvement in “real, solemn” history. Yet, just as one wishes to avoid essentializing women's historical tastes and talents on the one hand, or giving such patterns the appearance of inevitability, so on the other we need to avoid slipping into a rhetoric of subjection. To assume that female achievements resulted purely from male exclusion is not accurate, nor should we suppose that nineteenth-century women would really much rather have been imitating political historians such as Samuel Rawson Gardiner, Edward Augustus Freeman, and James Anthony Froude—or even that other Macaulay.

A middle road between these positions will lie open once the experiences of women with history during the past hundred years have themselves been more thoroughly historicized.¹²⁵ Both the female interest in history and the creation of gender distinctions in its study have their origins in the early modern period. Much of what made up the “feminine past,” as I have termed it, the past of place, family, and material environment, was deemed through most of this period to be a past unworthy of the title of true history. The success of social and family history in the last thirty years suggests that the broader types of knowledge which this feminine past included, marginalized for several centuries, have regained their vigor, but the divisions have still not been resolved, as is evident in the frequently observed

¹²³ Stephen Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History* (New York, 1995), 23.

¹²⁴ Joan Thirsk, “The History Women,” in Mary O'Dowd and Sabine Wichert, eds., *Chattel, Servant or Citizen* (Belfast, 1995), 1–11; Joan Thirsk, “Women Local and Family Historians,” in David Hey, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Local and Family History* (Oxford, 1996), 498–504; Rohan Maitzen, “‘This Feminine Preserve’: Historical Biographies by Victorian Women,” *Victorian Studies* 38 (1995): 371–93; Joan Wallach Scott, “American Women Historians, 1884–1984,” in her *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), 178–231; Judith P. Zinsser, *History and Feminism: A Glass Half Full* (New York, 1993), 64, 113–20; Maxine Berg, *A Woman in History: Eileen Power, 1889–1940* (Cambridge, 1996), 6, 55–82, 246–62. Power commented in 1920, concerning one senior male academic, “One of his obiter dicta was ‘I have often been amused at women historians; so many of the springs of human action must be hidden from them.’” Power to G. G. Coulton, April 27, 1920, quoted in Berg, *Woman in History*, 83.

¹²⁵ Although I cannot agree with all of its conclusions, Billie Melman's essay “Gender, History and Memory: The Invention of Women's Past in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” *History and Memory* 5 (1993): 5–41, provides a suggestive start in this direction.

tendency of female graduate students to steer clear of political, diplomatic, and military history.¹²⁶

Once again, there are both parallels and variations to be found abroad. The German organization of archival training around young male apprentice-historians in the nineteenth century, adopted with some modification by the French, marks an interesting reversal of the private and public. It trivialized the public sphere of the lecture hall or salon, to which women were admitted for readings by famous historians, while elevating the masculine activity of research in the secretive belly of remote archives and the discussion of documents within the almost masonically private space of the "seminar"—itself a procreatively loaded term, as Bonnie G. Smith has recently noted.¹²⁷ The United States quickly snapped up the Rankean culture of the *Doktorvater*, while France concentrated advanced source-criticism in schools such as the *Ecole des Chartes*. England, in contrast, adopted archival scholarship principally through reforms to the preservation and publication of records, while its universities by and large remained conservative, undergraduate lecture-tutorial institutions. It is worth wondering whether the failure of the universities to embrace anything approximating the German system may paradoxically have allowed late Victorian women, many of whom were now students in female-only colleges, the opportunity actually to do historical research and get it published. Their high level of participation in several historical societies and frequency of periodical contributions suggests this.¹²⁸ Further afield, as Western conventions of historical writing spread to other parts of the world, they brought with them not only their teaching methods but their limited horizons. This is evident in the curricula of African secondary schools and colleges until recent times. In both Africa and Asia, Western influence for a long time confined the scope of historical inquiry to offshoots of politics such as diplomacy and the machinery of imperial administration, inhibiting the development of social and women's history.¹²⁹

The encounter of early modern Englishwomen with the past forms only one strand in a larger tapestry, but there is something to be learned from the ways in which their very outsider status ultimately helped to broaden the modern discipline. For if women did not write history, they certainly read it, thought about it, and discussed it, and their participation in the social circulation of historical knowledge of different sorts had effects that were long lasting. From a literary perspective, the emerging differences between what men and women sought in reading history

¹²⁶ Maria Grever, "Scolding Old Bags and Whining Hags': Women's History and the Myth of Compatible Paradigms in History," in O'Dowd and Wichert, *Chattel, Servant or Citizen*, 22–33.

¹²⁷ Bonnie G. Smith, "Gender and the Practices of Scientific History: The Seminar and Archival Research in the Nineteenth Century," *AHR* 100 (October 1995): 1150–76. Smith's forthcoming book *The Gender of History* should answer many of these and other questions in more detail.

¹²⁸ Melman, "Gender, History, and Memory," 18; on the universities' history teaching versus research, see Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838–1886* (Cambridge, 1986), 135–63.

¹²⁹ Aparna Basu, "Women's History in India: An Historiographical Survey," in Karen Offen, Ruth Roach Pierson, and Jane Rendall, eds., *Writing Women's History: International Perspectives* (Bloomington, Ind., 1991), 181–209; Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, "Women's History in Brazil: Production and Perspectives," in *Writing Women's History*, 369–80. In Africa, a region once thought to have no history to speak of, a kind of double exclusion has been at work until very recent years: Bolanle Awe, "Writing Women into History: The Nigerian Experience," in *Writing Women's History*, 211–20.

played no small part in establishing the rapprochement between narrative history and fiction that is a feature of the nineteenth-century novel. From the historian's viewpoint, those same differences also preserved over the *longue durée* an alternative sense of what is important and useful in the past and an attentiveness to the material and documentary sources from which such information could be drawn. When the Anglo-American historical profession was finally, grudgingly, ready to admit women to its "ranks," they had been prepared to join it for quite some time. Perhaps more important, they brought something new with them.

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Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism, and Evangelical Modernity

USSAMA MAKDISI

The thief cometh not, but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy: I am come
that they may have life, and have it more abundantly.

John 10:10

"THAT THEY MAY HAVE LIFE, and have it more abundantly," reads the plaque on the main gate of the American University of Beirut, immortalizing biblical words that have spoken to many generations of Arabs seeking a modern education at that institution. Less noticed has been another sentiment expressed by the founder of the university, Daniel Bliss, that "we open its doors to the members of the most advanced and most backward of races . . . I would admit the Pigmies of Central Africa in the hope that after a lapse of a few thousand years some of them might become leaders in Church and State."¹ The implicit comparison between the Syrians and Pygmies rested on the notion that both were pre-modern communities and hence equally deserving objects of a universal and modern mission mandated by God and effected by his missionaries, the men and women of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.²

This essay seeks to elaborate certain themes of the American missionary involvement in the Levant during the middle of the nineteenth century.³ It aims to illustrate how the mission's ambivalent relationship to the land, the natives, and methods of access to them led to the foundation of a secular university. Until now, much of the work on American missionaries in the Levant, like studies of European and North American missionaries elsewhere, has either focused too narrowly on the

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¹ F. J. Bliss, ed., *The Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss* (New York, 1920), 213.

² The American Board was founded in 1810. It included both Congregationalist and Presbyterian members and had, according to the *Encyclopedia of Missions*, a "vision of a reconquered Jerusalem." The daily affairs of the board were carried out by a Prudential committee, based in Boston. For more information, see Edwin Munsell Bliss, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Missions*, 2 vols. (New York, 1891), 1: 66–68.

³ For a more comprehensive, chronological narrative that takes up many details of the Syria Mission that this article perforce overlooks, see A. L. Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria 1800–1901: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work* (Oxford, 1966); and also Samir Khalaf, *New England Puritans and Cultural Change in the Arab World* (forthcoming).

ecclesiastical nature of the missionary movement or on a heated debate mired in a fruitless endeavor to establish whether or not the missionaries were "imperialist." Some authors have described mission work in the Arab world "as a medium of cultural expansion and a preparation for political intervention."⁴ Others have denied any connection between American missionary work and imperialism and have suggested that, if anything, missionaries acted to save a "rapidly vanishing Arab culture."⁵

I would like to pursue another track by following along the lines that Jean and John Comaroff have suggested; rather than vindicating or vilifying the missionaries' relationship to colonial power, my goal is to suggest that the American missionaries' understanding of themselves as participants in a benevolent and universal evangelism was complicated by their uneasy relationship with nineteenth-century secular technology in an age of increasing European hegemony.⁶ This article explores the contradictions of what I call evangelical modernity. Instead of seeing missionaries simply as purveyors of modern medicine and print technology to natives who had neither, the aim here is to suggest that evangelical modernity was a far more fragile process of staking out claims of cultural and historical belonging to the biblical land, claims that were ultimately repudiated following episodes of intercommunal war in 1860 Syria.

In *Time and the Other*, JOHANNES FABIAN made a persuasive argument for a historical shift in the understanding of space and time as a result of the Enlightenment. He associated religious time with a form of pre-modern travel, from peripheral areas of the world to centers of religion (for instance, to Canterbury, to Rome, and to Jerusalem). Accompanying this shift is a notion of return to a common point of origin. Secularized time, according to Fabian, involved travel from centers of learning and power, such as the European capitals of the nineteenth century, to peripheral areas of the world, "to places where man was to find nothing but himself."⁷ In this process, modern European man placed himself in a different "space-time" from the colonized person, for whom secular time was supposedly

⁴ Mustafa Khalid and Omar Farrukh, *Al-Tabshir wa al-isf'amar fi al-bilad al-'arabiyya* [Missionaries and Imperialism in the Arab World] (Beirut, 1957), make an explicit connection between missionaries and imperialism. On the other hand, Habib Badr's dissertation, "Mission to 'Nominal Christians': The Policy and Practice of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and Its Missionaries Concerning the Eastern Churches Which Led to the Organization of a Protestant Church in Beirut (1819-1842)" (PhD, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1992), and Tibawi's account in *American Interests in Syria* both deny any intrinsic connection between the missionaries and American expansionism. William Hutchison declared that American missionary activity may be interpreted as a "moral equivalent for imperialism." See *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, 1987), 92-95. Stephen Neill for his part maintained that "missionaries in the nineteenth century had to some extent yielded to the colonial complex." *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth, 1964), 259.

⁵ Stephen B. L. Penrose, Jr., *That They May Have Life: The Story of the American University of Beirut, 1866-1941* (1941; Beirut, 1970), 6.

⁶ The Comaroffs describe Nonconformist British missionaries as the "conscience of the British colonialism" in that they advocated a civilizing colonialism that contrasted with the detested settler colonialism favored by the Boers. See John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder, Colo., 1992), 184.

⁷ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York, 1983), 6.

juxtaposed with a more primordial and stagnant time. Fabian has called this process of “temporal distancing” an instance of the “denial of co-evalness,” in which the colonizer and the colonized, the actors and the acted upon, the modern and the pre-modern, existed according to the logic of colonial rule in two different times.⁸ The specific experience of the American missionaries in nineteenth-century Syria allows for an elaboration of Fabian’s concept, for the missionaries were involved simultaneously with secularized and sacred conceptions of time and space. Rather than accepting an absolute distinction between pre-modern and modern forms of time and identity, or indeed an unmitigated “denial of co-evalness” on the part of the nineteenth-century missionaries, I would like to suggest that the missionaries’ involvement in Syria may be read as a struggle between two overlapping notions of religious and secular time and, following 1860, as the reconfiguration of evangelical modernity into a more overtly secular and worldly, hierarchical and discriminatory modernity that William Hutchison has described as “a moral equivalent for imperialism.”⁹

The mission to Syria was undertaken by American missionaries at a time when such activity was spreading across the world. Missions to India had already been launched; in 1819, it was the Levant’s turn, an area that, in the words of one missionary, “would be all our own,” free of British dominion.¹⁰ Missionary activity did not so much follow in the footsteps of imperial activity as adopt or extend a universal vision of its efficacy and veracity at the same time as it competed with more secular empire-building. Both Protestant missionaries and European colonial administrators thought of themselves as representing modernity in the periphery of the civilized and Christian world. The crucial difference for the missionaries between the evangelical task in China or India, where it had been necessarily implicated within a wider colonial project, and their efforts in the Levant lay in the fact that in Syria they proselytized without a colonial apparatus.¹¹ In other words, it was their ability to borrow and build on certain constructions of imperial ideology without being burdened by the exigencies and compromises inherent in colonial rule that gave evangelical modernity the currency it enjoyed among the missionaries. Despite the fact that they had some protection from colonial powers, introduced modern medicine, and brought with them printing presses (which they described as “a very valuable and indispensable [auxiliary]” to the mission), the missionaries insisted that the “governing object of every mission and of every missionary should not be to liberate, to educate, to enlighten, to polish, but to convert men.”¹²

⁸ Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 26–31.

⁹ Hutchison, *Errand to the World*, 91.

¹⁰ Quoted in Badr, “Mission to ‘Nominal Christians,’” 65.

¹¹ “Remarks upon the Turks and the Nominal Christians,” *The Missionary Herald: Reports from Ottoman Syria 1819–1870*, Kamal Salibi and Yusuf Khoury, eds., 5 vols. (Amman, 1995), 1: 429; hereafter, *MHROS*, although I have also consulted original copies of the journal, the official monthly publication of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions meant to acquaint the general Christian readership with the nature and progress of missions as well as to raise funds for them, which I will simply refer to as the *Missionary Herald*.

¹² *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Syrian Mission held in September and October 1855 on the Occasion of the Visit of One of the Secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston, 1856), 2.

Nevertheless, their return brought full circle a cycle of knowledge that had spread Christianity from the Holy Land to Europe. Now, in the early nineteenth century, the missionaries came to the Eastern Mediterranean bearing with them the gifts of "true" Christianity and of science in an effort to answer Samuel Hopkins' call for "disinterested benevolence" toward the unevangelized world.¹³ Their goal was a Christian brotherhood in which they (as missionaries) would serve as "living exemplifications of the gospel."¹⁴ Their task would be to *revive* Christianity, which suggested a hewing away at an edifice of accumulated local traditions to revitalize a common historical origin. Unlike the Jesuits, who were seen by the American missionaries to be mired in the "corruption" of the detested papacy, the Americans as evangelical Protestants celebrated their freedom from "worldly mindedness."¹⁵ The Americans presented themselves as alternatives to what they saw as the domineering and unspiritual materialism that threatened to overwhelm the world.¹⁶ To them, evangelical modernity implied offering the unevangelized world the fruits of secular modernity, especially medicine, tempered by spiritual reform and salvation. At the same time, however, the American missionaries also believed they were a cathartic force that could forcibly relocate unevangelized Asiatic societies along a continuum of progressive history. In this sense, their mission of return was marked by a profound tension as they sought to negotiate their way as "christian citizens of the world." They implicitly recognized the natives as equals on some level, but a distancing process whereby they separated themselves from the "nominal" native Christians began as soon as the missionaries arrived in nineteenth-century Syria.¹⁷

American missionaries first arrived in the Levant in 1820. They landed on the shores of an Ottoman Empire in transition, literally reinventing itself as a modern state. The reform process culminated in the edicts of 1839 and 1856, which articulated a new sense of nationhood, of *Osmanlılık*, treating all imperial subjects equally regardless of religious background.¹⁸ Traditionally, the Ottomans preferred to rule directly urban centers such as Damascus and Aleppo.¹⁹ In the outlying

¹³ James Field, *America and the Mediterranean World, 1776–1882* (Princeton, N.J., 1969), 71–74.

¹⁴ Quoted in Badr, "Mission to 'Nominal Christians,'" 164.

¹⁵ "Extracts from a Communication of Messrs. Bird, Smith, and Thomson," *MHROS*, 2: 394. In addition to the Jesuits, there were several other Catholic missions operating in Syria and Palestine, including a Lazarist mission in Mount Lebanon. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, the Jesuit missionaries were perceived to be the greatest of all the Catholic threats to the American Board's evangelical mission.

¹⁶ Hutchison, *Errand to the World*, 9.

¹⁷ "Fraternal Advice to Missionaries about to Enter on Their Work," *Missionary Herald* 31 (1835): 277. In this piece, the missionaries were warned: "With real Christians, of whatever name, nation, or country, you will meet on the broad basis of a common Christianity . . . Be no sticklers for American peculiarities. While you manifest that you love your native country (and let not one cord which she has bound round your heart ever be broken), show that you can embrace other lands, also, in your affections, and that you are above the petty vanity of thinking that all excellency is confined to the spot where you were born. Consider yourselves, in short, christian citizens of the world."

¹⁸ This process has received considerable attention. See, for example, Selim Deringil, "The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35 (1993): 3–29. See also Moshe Maoz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine 1840–1861: The Impact of the Tanzimat on Politics and Society* (Oxford, 1968).

¹⁹ See, for example, Karl Barbir, *Ottoman Rule in Damascus, 1708–1758* (Princeton, N.J., 1980); and Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1989).

provinces and in those that drained manpower and resources, the Ottomans relied on indirect rule. In return for submission, loyalty, and taxes, the inhabitants were left to administer themselves. Although the Ottoman Empire was theoretically a Muslim empire, Christians and Jews were allowed to maintain and openly practice their faith. In rural areas such as Mount Lebanon, Ottoman disdain for the local communities as well as a tradition of tolerance effectively meant that the Lebanese communities, including the heterodox Druze and Shi'a, were left unmolested. The Christian communities in Mount Lebanon, in particular the Maronites, thrived in this environment, and missionaries were given a free hand to proselytize among what Ottoman statesmen considered to be marginal communities.²⁰

A combination of factors, including the rebellion of vassals like Muhammad Ali of Egypt and the economic and cultural penetration of Europe, put Ottoman rule under great pressure in nineteenth-century Mount Lebanon.²¹ The two principal communities were the Druzes and the Maronites. With the growth of European influence, each community tried to align itself with one or the other of the Great Powers. The Maronites, drawing on longstanding connections to the Catholic world, cultivated a relationship with France. The Druzes turned to the British. Both sects realized that in the turbulent era of the mid-nineteenth century, in which Mount Lebanon had been occupied by several different armies, foreign patronage was essential to survival. Other factors aggravated the Eastern Question: scarcity of land and population growth drove Maronite peasants into Druze areas. For a number of reasons, the communal balance began to give way, and social tensions mounted.²²

It was during these transitional times that the American missionaries made their first appearance on the Middle Eastern stage. In 1819, Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk left the United States for the Levant.²³ They belonged to the Boston-based nondenominational American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), which was composed of both Congregationalist and Presbyterian missionaries. In an America caught up in the passions of the Great Revival, the men who became missionaries were fully convinced of the need to evangelize the world in order to facilitate the Second Coming of Christ.²⁴ Concentrated in New England, those who formed the nucleus of the American mission abroad came from such

²⁰ Ilya Harik, *Politics and Change in a Traditional Society* (Princeton, N.J., 1968). Harik described the growth of the Maronite church in Mount Lebanon; by the nineteenth century, Maronite nationalism had successfully been inculcated by church leaders in an area where Ottoman control waned as European involvement increased.

²¹ When I refer to Mount Lebanon, I specifically mean the area that was known in the nineteenth century as Jabal Lubnan in Arabic and Cebel-i Lübnan in Ottoman, which refers to the region that lay between the Barid and the Zahrani rivers in what is today the republic of Lebanon. The littoral, including Beirut, as well as the Bekaa and the outlying districts, were not strictly speaking part of Mount Lebanon. All areas were nevertheless integrated through economic, political, and social factors. See Kamal Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions: The History of Lebanon Reconsidered* (London, 1988); and Leila Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Beirut* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), for more details on the politics and economy of the region.

²² Dominique Chevallier, "Aux origines des troubles agraires libanais en 1858," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 14 (1959): 35–64.

²³ Field, *America and the Mediterranean World*, 93.

²⁴ Charles I. Foster, *An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical Front, 1790–1837* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1960), 208. See also Field, *America and the Mediterranean World*, 78; Badr, "Mission to 'Nominal Christians,'" 25; Hutchison, *Errand to the World*, 45.

communities as Tolland in Connecticut, from Boston, and from Montrose in Pennsylvania. Unlike the case of the British Church Missionary Society members, their experience arose not from the crucible of industrial transformation.²⁵ The Americans of the Syria Mission, as it was called, the Jessups, the Blisses, and the Bentons, hailed from prestigious backgrounds of higher education. Harvard, Yale, Williams, Amherst, and Andover Theological Seminary, as well as Princeton Theological Seminary, furnished the mission with capable and confident men. They had a sense of the world; they thought—especially after their educational experiences—in global terms.

Inheritors of the Puritan “errand into the wilderness,” which had set out to reclaim America from “Heathenism” by converting Indians, the missionaries had chosen far more ambitious goals by the nineteenth century.²⁶ Compelled by evangelical zeal, they offered what they reckoned to be disinterested and compassionate service “to the millions of ignorant savages in Africa, the millions of depressed classes in India and China.”²⁷ No peoples were too numerous, no land too large for the American missionaries. From their vantage point of the Second Great Awakening, the cities of earth were akin to vast “citadels” awaiting conquest. The “Prince of Darkness” had to be flushed out of China, India, the Levant, and Africa.²⁸

The missionaries’ original plan was to secure themselves in Jerusalem and to evangelize the Jews and the Muslims. After a few years, some of the original missionaries died and others returned to the United States. For several reasons, Jerusalem did not work out, and the American missionaries settled instead for Beirut.²⁹ As the first generation began to falter, “reinforcements” appeared, accompanied by their wives, who were fellow missionaries.³⁰ In 1834, a missionary press had been set up in Beirut, and in 1843, a school was opened in the village of Abeih in Mount Lebanon. A year later, Eli Smith began his project to translate the Bible into Arabic. By 1860, the missionaries were well established in Syria.³¹ Having

²⁵ Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago, 1991), 75. Hutchison claims it was New England’s “relative affluence” that, in part, compelled mission centers there to embark on foreign missions; see *Errand to the World*, 56–57.

²⁶ Hutchison, *Errand to the World*, 58.

²⁷ *Methods of Mission Work among the Moslems: Being Those Papers Read at the First Mission Conference on Behalf of the Mohammedan World Held at Cairo April 4th–9th, 1906* (New York, 1906), 10.

²⁸ James L. Barton, *The Unfinished Task of the Christian Church: Introductory Studies in the Problem of the World’s Evangelization* (New York, 1908), 133; See also Fred W. Drake, “Protestant Geography in China: E. C. Bridgman’s Portrayal of the West,” in Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John King Fairbank, eds., *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 91.

²⁹ A. L. Tibawi’s concise history of the mission, “The Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College,” in Fuad Sarruf and Suha Tamim, eds., *American University of Beirut Festival Book (Festschrift)* (Beirut, 1967), 258–59, explains the reasons why the mission abandoned Jerusalem, including an Ottoman restriction on “franks” settling in Jerusalem, the death of Levi Parsons, and the lack of consular protection.

³⁰ Kamal Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon* (Delmar, N.Y., 1977), 132.

³¹ By 1855, the printing press in Beirut had three fonts of Arabic type, and since the commencement of the press it had printed more than a million and a half pages in Arabic under the supervision of an “Arab corrector,” who rewrote nearly all the translations attempted by the missionaries. The property owned by the board in connection with the Syria Mission amounted to just over \$20,000, according to an estimate made that same year.

arrived in 1834, William Thomson was the oldest. He served as a link between the older generation of missionaries and the new generation that began appearing in the 1840s and 1850s. George Hurter came in 1841, Simeon Calhoun in 1844, the Bentons in 1847, William Eddy in 1852, William Bird in 1853, and finally the Aikens, Blisses, and Jessups in 1856. Most had to learn Arabic on the spot and had had no previous contact with the Levant. They formed the bulk of the American expatriate community in Beirut, brought together by their unfamiliarity with local customs and manners.

"IT SEEMED STRANGE," confided Abby Bliss, wife of missionary Daniel Bliss, in 1856, "to be near the land again and everything looks so unlike our own America, we began fully to realize we had left behind that blessed land."³² The feeling that they had crossed the frontier of an unfamiliar world had a deep resonance with the American missionaries. Twenty-three years earlier in 1832, Eli Smith had delivered a sermon at the Park-Street Church in Boston to make the missionary purpose clear. "You go *not* to study ancient Greece and Palestine, nor present workings of human nature," said Smith. Around him sat four young men about to embark as missionaries to the Mediterranean. "You go," he continued, "to reform and save the degenerate and perishing people who now dwell there; and your tour is your life." Smith outlined what he called the inevitable "trials of missionaries." He informed his compatriots of his recent experiences in the field, his encounters with disease and with the unfamiliar world they were about to encounter, beginning in British-controlled Malta, which was their staging point for missionary work in the East.³³ But what Smith desired above all else was to impress upon his listeners that, no matter what travails lay ahead, the task before them was a historic one. American missionaries, he stated, belonged to a modern movement that would overturn the oppression of native idolatry, Islamic fanaticism, and Catholic superstition. He recalled how "cowled monks, grated nunneries, images of saints at all corners of streets and carried in pompous procession, priests in their confessional boxes shriving the credulous penitent who knelt to whisper in their ear his confession . . . first changed all my dreams of the dark ages into present realities, and showed me that I had got to fight over again, with the absurdities of popery, the battle of the Reformation." And he shared with them "the involuntary dread, too, with which I shrunk from my first contact with the anti-Christian haughtiness of the turbaned Turk."³⁴ Nevertheless, it was from Malta that the missionaries traversed the eastern Mediterranean and steeled themselves for the great "scheme of Christian exertions": to convert the so-called "nominal Christians" of Syria and Mount Lebanon to "true" Christianity.³⁵

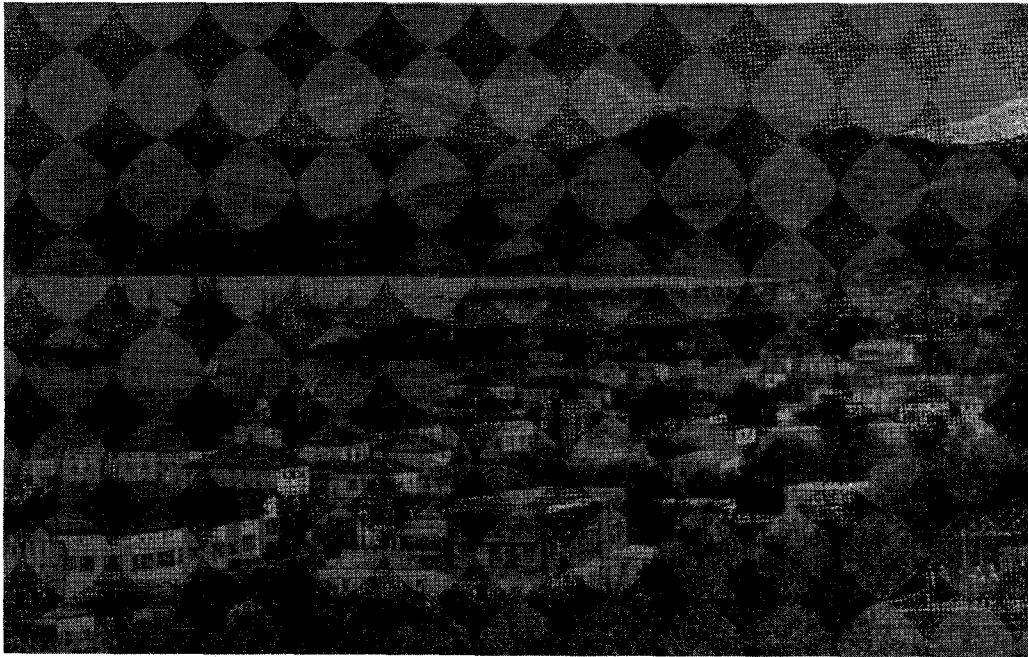
For many missionaries, their first view of Beirut and Mount Lebanon was

³² Bliss, *Reminiscences*, 88.

³³ Eli Smith, "Trials of Missionaries" (Boston, 1832), 1–5, my emphasis. Field, *America and the Mediterranean World*, 95.

³⁴ Smith, "Trials of Missionaries," 1–5.

³⁵ "Survey of the Protestant Missionary Stations," *Missionary Herald* 15 (1819): 127.



View: "Beirūt-Berytus-Mount Lebanon-Jebel Sūnnīn," from William M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book; or Biblical Illustrations Drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery, of the Holy Land; Volume III: Lebanon, Damascus, and Beyond Jordan* (1865; Hartford, Conn., 1910).

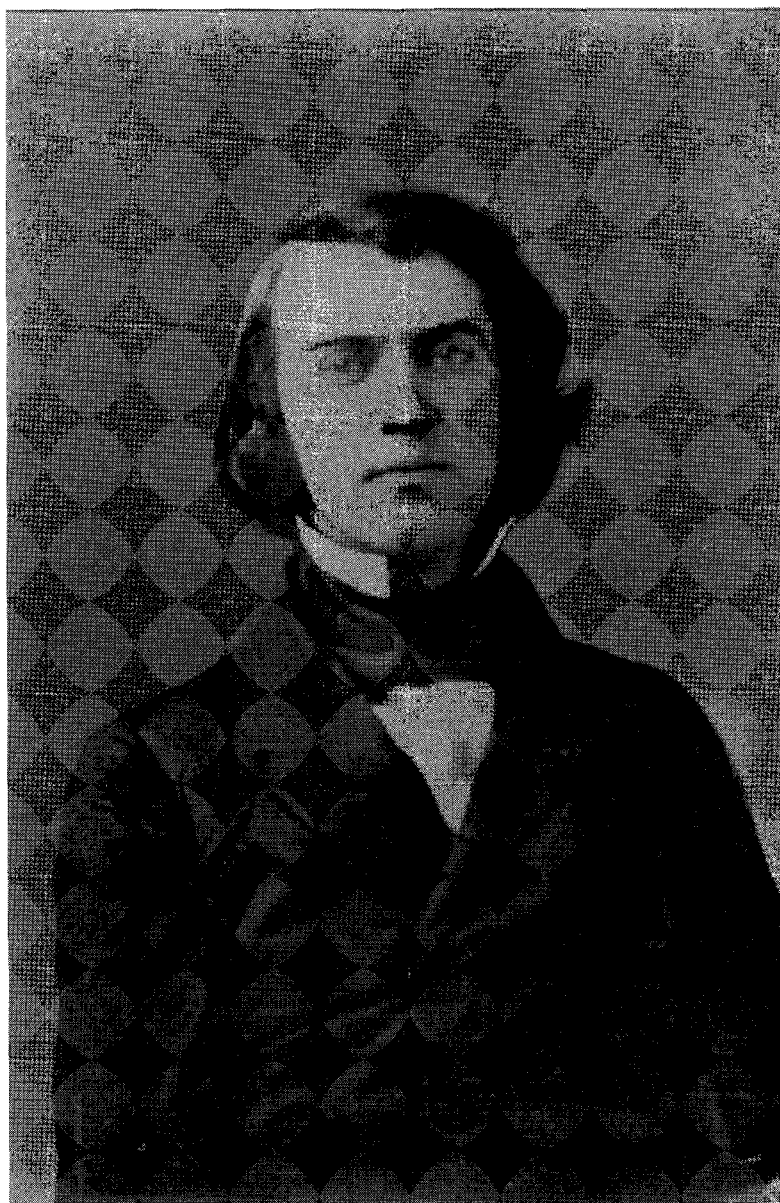
"perfectly enchanting."³⁶ Yet their evangelical sensibilities alerted them to the "darkness" that enveloped the city and its inhabitants; from a spiritual and moral perspective, mused Henry Harris Jessup, there "was utter stagnation."³⁷ Another missionary echoed these sentiments. "Alas," he lamented, "how dark are these beautiful Mountains."³⁸ Dark as it may have seemed on that spring day, the Levant was not *terra incognita* to Jessup and his peers. This was the doorstep to the Holy Land, the land on which Jesus and his disciples had walked. The American missionaries who began their "errand of mercy" were not, for the most part, drawn to the East by the thrill of exploration. Unlike southern Africa, or New France, this frontier was not mysterious and its peoples were not in hiding. There was no boat to take them up river, no imminent danger awaiting them on winding river banks. The African man "wild and savage" in an unexplored landscape was not to be found here; the sense of isolation from urban civilization where a New Jerusalem could be built was not of concern to the American missionaries.³⁹ What historic Jerusalem symbolized for them was not a pure Christian space in the midst of an imagined African or Indian barbarism but an enduring reference guide. There it stood, many miles south of Mount Lebanon in the hands of Islam. As they themselves toiled in

³⁶ Bliss, *Reminiscences*, 100.

³⁷ Henry Harris Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 2 vols. (New York, 1910), 1: 27.

³⁸ Benton to Azariah Benton, June 8, 1855, Box 11, Folder 2, William A. Benton Papers, Department of Special Collections, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago (hereafter, Benton Papers).

³⁹ "Survey of the Protestant Missionary Stations," *Missionary Herald* 15 (1819): 127; Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 75.



Henry Harris Jessup, 1855. From his *Fifty-Three Years in Syria* (New York, 1910), vol. 1.

the northern reaches of the biblical landscape, they were reminded constantly of their proximity to the “cradle of Christianity.”

The “Land and the Book,” as one missionary put it, were obviously and inextricably tied together.⁴⁰ They had indeed “returned” to the biblical land they felt was their own, but they could no longer recognize it in its Ottoman context. Their horizon swept a broad arc: to the past, they looked for reference points that dotted the landscape. Here Paul preached; there Lazarus had been raised from the

⁴⁰ William M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 2 vols. (New York, 1865).

dead. To the future, they dreamed of a post-Ottoman world, remade according to the will of God, whose disciples they were.⁴¹ What connected the two worlds was the present, the “land” and its inhabitants, who, in William Benton’s eyes, were “encased in superstitious customs, and fatigued by the traditions of ages.”⁴² Unlike Africa and the New World, the natives were part of a history the missionaries claimed to share and, even more, to represent. With the passage of time, somehow and somewhere, the local populations had lost their way; they had forsaken God and turned their back on their glorious Christian heritage.

At the heart of the differences between the biblical land and Africa was the missionaries’ perception of the cluttered rather than vast emptiness of the country. While China and India were perhaps more promising in terms of the sheer number of potential converts, particularly after the Charter Acts of 1813 and 1833 in India and the Treaty of Tientsin of 1858 in China, the Holy Land was, by far, the most emotionally, culturally, and politically charged region. Islam was not only a bastion of Satan, but, as it was later described, the “Mohammedan Peril” still threatened to advance if not checked;⁴³ it “was [evangelical Christianity’s] only rival for the conquest of the world.”⁴⁴ The object was to clear the land, to build anew, to cut a clear swath across the wreckage of ancient glory. In Jessup’s words, they came to “lay again the old foundations, or to clear away the debris and rubbish of ages which had covered out of sight and out of mind the Rock, Christ Jesus.”⁴⁵ In a word, the missionaries sought to reach out to a past biblical time as they negotiated their way in secular time of European hegemony over the Levant. All around them, they described what they took to be the moribund time of the Ottoman Orient. Jessup’s generation of missionaries seemed to confirm the warnings given to the first, that “the very stones of the pavement would seem to cry out against unfaithfulness in this consecrated region . . . [that] has now lain, for so many dark and dismal ages, under the distinct and visible expression of [God’s] anger.”⁴⁶

Indeed, in the Levant, where European gunboats lay reassuringly off the coast of Beirut, the Americans could take comfort in the fact that this land had been mapped before. The Livingstones of the Middle East had laid out a neat and comprehensive account of the region. The comte de Volney had lamented the fall of the human condition beside the ruins he had explored in 1784. John Lewis Burckhardt, a Swiss traveler, had been here too, and they—Catholic and Protestant

⁴¹ Benton to A. L. Benton, February 10, 1853, Box 11, Folder 1, Benton Papers. Thomson, *Land and the Book*, 1: 37. One of the great debates within the mission, as with most missions world-wide, was whether a direct assault on the rites of the heathens and nominal Christians was more effective than a more indirect approach that illuminated the truth of the gospel as a crucial first step before natives would contemplate abandoning their traditions. In this, the example of Paul preaching to the Jews without assailing the Jewish rites was taken by many missionaries as a precedent to avoid the direct attack on indigenous “superstitions”; this was a lesson taken to heart in Syria only after the first decade of proselytizing and after the death of their first native martyr, As’ad Shidyah, although the distinction between both strategies was often a tenuous one. See “Remarks on the Manner of Conducting Missions among the Nominal Christians of Western Asia,” *Missionary Herald* 34 (1838): 117–19.

⁴² Benton to Lathrop, April 12, 1858, Box 11, Folder 2, Benton Papers.

⁴³ James L. Barton, *The Unfinished Task* (New York, 1908), 54.

⁴⁴ Introduction by E. M. Werry, *Methods of Mission Work among Moslems*, 10.

⁴⁵ Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 1: 30.

⁴⁶ “Instructions to Messrs. Goodell and Bird,” *Missionary Herald* 19 (1923): 142.

alike—had bewailed the stagnation of the land of Christ.⁴⁷ If the land was barren and the fields deserted, the ruins, at least, bore testimony that great peoples had previously lived here. But unlike Burckhardt, who had donned Arab dress to negotiate his way across Syria, the American missionaries saw no need to hide their identity. Just as their brethren in China “made little compromise with the Chinese environment,” the Americans in Syria dressed, furnished their homes, and ate according to American style.⁴⁸ They were not like the Jesuits of New France, who endured “living martyrdom” by spreading the word by “canoe and snowshoe.”⁴⁹ In the shadow of Jerusalem, there was no need to adopt native clothes or habit, for here the natives would come, or so they earnestly hoped, and embrace the religious resurgence known as the Great Revival that had already swept across America.

In the eyes of the missionaries, there was little to distinguish between the different sects of Mount Lebanon. In a letter written on October 15, 1856, Daniel Bliss observed that “every man, woman and child in this land is a living, speaking, acting argument for the total depravity of the human heart.”⁵⁰ Although there were few Muslims in Mount Lebanon, missionary thinking on Muslims was reflected in their attitudes toward the local communities. The “Moslem” was taken to represent the entire “East,” wrote Jessup, in that the “moral character of the Moslem is a fair representative of the character of all the different religious sects of the East. They are alike, corrupt and immoral.”⁵¹

The largest obstacle that the missionaries faced in Syria was not so much Islam but rather what was described as the “nominal” Christianity of the Eastern churches. In Mount Lebanon, it was the Maronite, Greek Orthodox, and Catholic churches that were singled out for particularly withering criticism, for having “fallen” from an original Christian ideal and having now become the blind puppets of “the papists.” Moreover, it was the degraded forms of Eastern Christianity that had deceived the Muslim world by not giving it a “fair chance to know Jesus Christ as their Redeemer and Lord and to become His true disciples.”⁵² To the evangelical imagination, the Eastern Christians posed the greatest problem. From the outset of the mission to Syria and despite the tentative welcome extended to them by the Eastern churches, the Protestant missionaries assumed a combative stance, refusing to engage the local populations on their own terms and refusing to accept the legitimacy or sanctity of their rites.⁵³ The “martyrdom” in 1828 of one of their earliest converts, Asʿad Shidyāq, at the behest of the Maronite church haunted the

⁴⁷ C.-F. Volney, *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie* (1887; Paris, 1959); and John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London, 1822).

⁴⁸ See Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven, Conn., 1984), 129.

⁴⁹ James Axtell, *The Invasion Within* (New York, 1985), 86.

⁵⁰ Quoted in the *Missionary Herald* 53 (1857): 19.

⁵¹ “Mohammedanism: By Rev. H. H. Jessup,” *Missionary Herald* 56 (1860): 85.

⁵² Barton, *Unfinished Task*, 51.

⁵³ The most famous attack on Eastern rites being that penned in 1826 by Jonas King and printed in Arabic, then translated into Turkish (for the benefit of Armenians in Istanbul) and modern Greek. It is this letter that led to Asʿad Shidyāq’s conversion, when he found himself unable to refute the “truth” of King’s assertions against the Catholic church. See “Farewell Letter of Mr. King to His Friends in Syria,” *MHROS*, 2: 33–36.

missionaries and caused them to intensify their polemic against the “nominal” Christians.⁵⁴

While Islam could be parodied and the “Mohammedan” described as a “man of unrestrained passions, full of falsehood and blasphemy, impure in his private character, jealous, unforgiving and uncharitable,”⁵⁵ the Christians who had been living and worshiping as Christians for hundreds of years posed a challenge to the claim of bringing Christianity to the natives. Since they were already Christian, the darkness that the missionaries had imagined as the prime justification for a mission in Syria (and elsewhere) was contingent on the claim that *they* were the true disciples of Christ and that Oriental Christianity was not only corrupt but selfish, bigoted, and out of touch with the common man. If the Muslim in worship “will mumble over various small petitions, with sundry grunts and exclamations, according to taste and habit,”⁵⁶ then the “Oriental” Christian, too, chanted “a long sing-song mumble.”⁵⁷ Neither Muslim nor “Oriental” Christian prayed, but just “as small children imitate it to perfection,” they mechanically repeated by rote a series of meaningless grunts from cradle to coffin. Having dissociated any true religious worship from the sundry utterances of the Orientals, the missionaries presented themselves as the purveyors of the true Christian faith that would revitalize Oriental Christianity “by casting off the grave clothes of dead forms.”⁵⁸ From the outset, the missionaries endeavored to separate the potential converts from the forms of worship that “encased” them; they desired to restore and modernize the original Christian presence that existed on these sacred shores. In the minds of the missionaries, Oriental Christianity and Islam were coupled as the two pillars of temporal and spiritual corruption that had to be struck down.

The American missionaries also believed themselves to be neutral and above the “natural” sectarianism that divided the peoples of the Holy Land. As Jessup stated in a long exposé on “Mohammedans” published in the *Missionary Herald*, “it is the duty of the true Moslem to hate and curse all infidels.”⁵⁹ The missionaries proposed themselves as arbitrators between the various communities as well as leaders of all in the quest for salvation. “Our position,” wrote one missionary, “is strictly neutral in politics.”⁶⁰ Their goal was to create a unifying church that would transcend the morass of sectarianism “inherent” in the local population. Thus they could boast of bringing together in their schools Greek Catholics, Maronites, Armenians, and Druzes.⁶¹ The equality of a brotherhood in Christ was the promise they held out, which mirrored their own projected harmony. The image the missionaries presented was of a single, indivisible American presence that brilliantly contrasted with

⁵⁴ Details of the Shidyahq affair can be found in the *Missionary Herald* between 1828 and 1829 and in a recent edition of Shidyahq’s own writings in Arabic edited by Yusuf Khoury, *Qissat As’ad Shidyahq* [The Story of As’ad Shidyahq] (Beirut, 1992).

⁵⁵ “Mohammedanism: By Rev. H. H. Jessup,” 85.

⁵⁶ Thomson, *Land and the Book*, 1: 26–27.

⁵⁷ Charles Henry Churchill, *Mount Lebanon: A Ten Years’ Residence from 1842 to 1852 Describing the Manners, Customs and Religion of Its Inhabitants*, 3 vols. (London, 1853), 3: 86.

⁵⁸ Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 2: 783.

⁵⁹ “Mohammedanism: By Rev. H. H. Jessup,” 82.

⁶⁰ Benton to A. L. Benton, December 27, 1860, Box 11, Folder 2, Benton Papers.

⁶¹ Rufus Anderson, *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1872), 1: 374–76.

the innumerable divisions of the local population.⁶² It was also crucial in maintaining the equilibrium of the mission, for, after all, this handful of missionaries was decidedly outnumbered by the allegedly perishing "multitudes."⁶³

To help the local populations, forceful action would have to come from outside their allegedly stagnating society. "For centuries have the legions of darkness gloated over this land undisturbed," lamented a young missionary, William Bird. The "standard of the cross is steadily advancing. What though we fall beside it in the hottest of the fight," he implored, "when it may seem to totter before the fierce onsets of the foe. Be it so."⁶⁴ With their arrival, the missionaries believed that the "contest has commenced," in that a modern evangelical Christianity was to be forced on the local populations who were unwilling or unable to help themselves. "This revival of religion must be effected by foreign aid," asserted Eli Smith in 1833.⁶⁵ In their own minds, the American missionaries had managed to bridge two forms of time, biblical time and secular time. Precisely because they desired to give biblical time a living and current meaning that could thrive in the modern world, they saw themselves as legitimate interlocutors with the Christian population.

The missionaries guided themselves with vigor within these parameters. Indigenous Christians, in general, refused to accept the missionaries' self-proclaimed monopoly on spiritual purity and piety, and those few who converted faced excommunication by their own churches. After the death of Shidyah, and the reluctance of indigenous Christians to convert, some of the Americans turned to the Druze community, which seemed to be "entirely accessible" and "a body of nominal Mohammedans in the heart of Turkey, disgusted to an extreme with their moslem rulers and their religion, and regarding us as their friends."⁶⁶ Although the emphasis was on reforming the Christian population who lived among the Druzes, the efforts to convert the Druzes themselves intensified. To some of the missionaries, in fact, the Druzes were something of a curiosity, somewhat wild, and surprisingly hospitable; they were considered neither Muslim nor Oriental Christian, and seemed the closest parallel to the Indians of North America. Although Druze religion was a "mixture of heathenism, Judaism, Mohammedanism and Christianity," wrote Benton, "in reality, the Druzes are Heathen." Since Druze society had a very strict hierarchy, the Americans made great efforts to befriend the elites. "The Druzes," continued Benton, "are brave and their sheikhs are patterns of 'gentlemen' in manners and courtesy." They were also the principal patrons of the

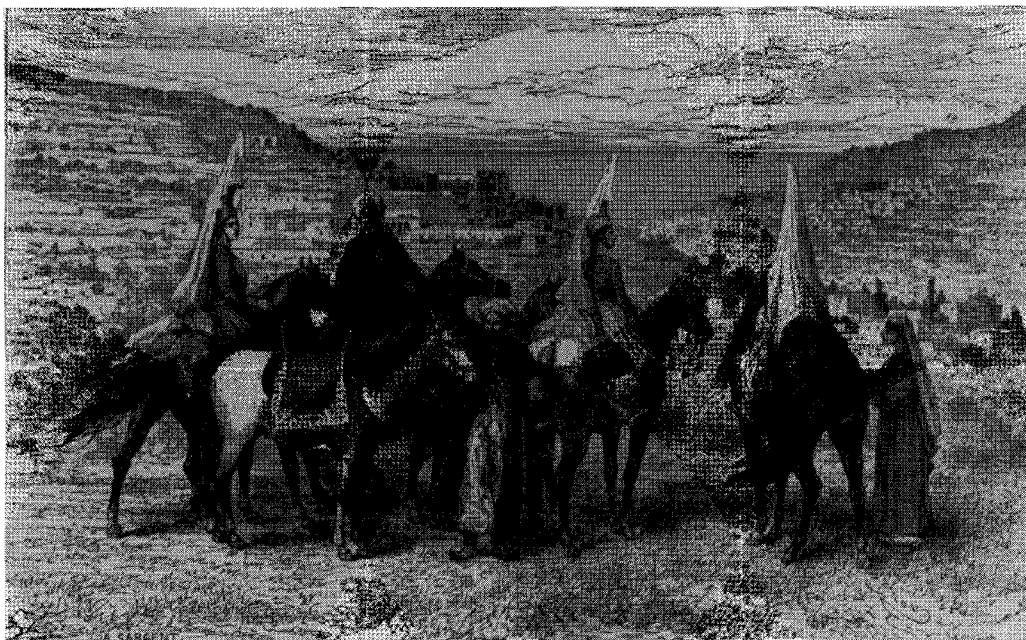
⁶² In much the same way, American missionaries in China projected a harmonious image of themselves that belied the radically different backgrounds the missionaries came from and minimized tensions such differences might otherwise have produced. See Hunter, *Gospel of Gentility*, 150.

⁶³ "Last Notices," *MHROS*, 1: 134.

⁶⁴ William Bird to Rufus Anderson, Deir al-Qamar, 1858 Annual Report, Reel 542, Vol. 4, pt. 1, doc. 196, Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, filmed from the holdings of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, ABC 16.8.1: The Near East, 1817-1919, Unit 5; hereafter, ABCFM. See also "Station Reports," *MHROS*, 4: 332.

⁶⁵ Quoted in Badr, "Mission to 'Nominal Christians,'" 137.

⁶⁶ "Report of the Station at Beyroot," *Missionary Herald* 37 (1841): 303; and "Letter from Mr. Smith," *Missionary Herald* 39 (1843): 243. Among the missionaries, however, a dispute arose about the viability of a mission to the Druzes and was based on the different emphases placed by different missionaries on the centrality of the conversion experience in the evangelical community. See Badr, "Mission to 'Nominal Christians,'" 191-95; Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria*, 97.



Sketch: "Druse Princesses from Mount Lebanon," by A. Sargent, in Thomson, *The Land and the Book* (1910 edn.).

mission schools.⁶⁷ The missionaries set up stations in the Druze areas of Mount Lebanon, where the population was a mixture of religions. They lived, as did the Bentons in Bhamdun, amidst the "wild mountaineers."⁶⁸ "We wonder," wrote Benton, "that a Mountain so dark is opened to us at all, that we can live here in the midst of Murderers, and Adulterers, and such like sinners in so perfect security and have the same freedom to preach the Gospel as Mr. Marsh in Tolland."⁶⁹ The Blisses were stationed in Abeih, where the missionaries ran a school. As the male missionaries cultivated a working relationship with the Druze sheikhs and elites, coaxing them bit by bit to send their children to missionary schools, the female missionaries saw to the needs of the Druze women of "rank." Benton's wife and fellow missionary, Loanza, visited the houses of the women to tend to their illnesses, and Abby Bliss received the visits of "ladies of rank."⁷⁰ The Americans cultivated the Druze elites because they could provide the missionaries with a base of operations and secure them legitimacy in the eyes of the local population.

HOWEVER GREAT THEIR OPTIMISM that missionary zeal and dedication would finally crack the vise that the Maronite and Greek churches were thought to have had on their adherents, the American Protestants never managed to take advantage of the

⁶⁷ Benton to Lathrop, July 29, 1857, Box 11, Folder 2, Benton Papers (emphasis in original).

⁶⁸ "The Diaries, Reminiscences and Letters of Loanza Goulding Benton," unpublished MS kindly put at my disposal by Mrs. Marjorie Benton, p. 85.

⁶⁹ Benton to Lathrop, April 12, 1858, Box 11, Folder 2, Benton Papers.

⁷⁰ Bliss, *Reminiscences*, 120.

martyrdom of Shidyah to press home their vision of a Christian fellowship, nor could they convert the Druzes. Even the political tumult during the 1830s and early 1840s over the Eastern Question in Syria, which undermined many of the traditional political and social structures in local society, did not—contrary to the fervent hopes of the missionaries—produce a substantial number of converts.⁷¹ Despite many attempts, the missionaries were unable to articulate a sense of Christian citizenship with the natives that was not somehow compromised by their association with secular technology and power and their refusal to view the natives as equals.

The natives were from the outset more interested in the technology and influence that the Americans brought with them than in the evangelical message.⁷² Realizing their lack of progress, the missionaries repeatedly asked themselves why so few had accepted the “truth” of the gospel and, on at least one occasion of frank introspection in 1837, retreated to ponder the answers. These included their difficulty with the local languages, the distractions of “secular concerns,” and their continued social distance from the native, whom the *Missionary Herald* reminded its readers remained “so unlike themselves, [that it] prevents their listening to him and confiding in him as a friend and a brother,” and it tempts the missionary to “stand aloof from those whom he cannot approach without being deemed an intruder; and many of whom, considering their character and manner of life, must be disgusting and repulsive to him, [a feeling which] is oftentimes so strong that nothing short of the constraining power of the gospel can draw him into contact with them.”⁷³

Compounding the problems for the missionaries was the ambivalent attitude they held toward secular power. So much were the missionaries appalled by the conflation between their mission and the secular power of the European states that all the missionaries in an 1844 resolution declared, if a group of inquirers or a village requested to join the mission, “we are thereby under no obligation to interpose our influence (supposed to be great) with the consuls for their protection. There is no such obligation, and we ought to guard against it.”⁷⁴ They frowned on what they saw as the darker side of European civilization—from the carousing groups of sailors in the bustling port cities of the Ottoman Empire to the inebriated consuls who mocked the stern, paternal image the missionaries sought to project. Above all, they were adamantly opposed to becoming transmitters of “secular” European knowledge, and thus their printing presses were restricted to religious tracts and polemical disputations.⁷⁵

There could be no proselytizing, however, without the protection of their consuls

⁷¹ For more information on the Eastern Question in Syria, see Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*; Harik, *Politics and Change in a Traditional Society*; and L. Carl Brown, *International Politics and the Middle East* (Princeton, N.J., 1984).

⁷² Such reactions to missionaries were far from unique to Mount Lebanon. Tom Beidelman, for example, has pointed out a similar pattern in the context of British missionary activity in East Africa and has illustrated how British missionaries of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) were torn between their self-image of aesthetics and the reality of their engagement with secular power. T. O. Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism* (Bloomington, Ind., 1982), 116–17.

⁷³ “Resolutions Adopted at a Missionary Conference Convened Sept. 27, 1837,” *Missionary Herald* 34 (1838): 114–15.

⁷⁴ Quoted in Badr, “Mission to ‘Nominal Christians,’” 246–47.

⁷⁵ Hutchison, *Errand to the World*, 82; Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria*, 130.

and gunboats. In the Ottoman Empire, there was constant communication between the missionaries and the representatives of the European powers. When the Americans arrived in Malta, British consuls offered them security, and members of the British Foreign Bible Society welcomed them. Because of imperial competition, and because of the need to be identified with a great power, they relied on English support when American consular assistance was lacking. While the missionaries knew they were Americans, they made little effort to dispel the notion among the indigenous population that they were connected to imperial power. "They [the Druzes] appear to have the most entire confidence in our missionaries," confided Benton, "and say if they were not Druzes they would be *English Protestants*. We are often confounded with the English, and known as Americans, often do not attempt to disabuse the minds of these mountaineers of this mistake. Many of them have no conception of geography."⁷⁶

More important, while the missionaries may have had an aversion to the vices of metropolitan culture, they needed the trappings of Western technology to impress their potential converts. As much as they desired to heal the sick, they were fully aware of the momentous implications of their modern technology.⁷⁷ They knew that they, as Westerners, possessed scientific knowledge that set them apart from the "natives." As Daniel Bliss admitted, "Sympathy and calves' foot jelly are no part in the 'Plan of Salvation,' but a great help in illustrating it."⁷⁸ Loanza Benton confessed that when called upon to treat the ill, she readily consented, "not that I was much of a doctor, but I felt sure I knew more than the wild mountaineers."⁷⁹ So it was that they brought a printing press and printed the gospel in Arabic and, more poignant, that they were instructed in the art of healing and modern medicine. Loanza Benton was "winning [the native women's] confidence and hearts; they all look to her as a mother, teacher, friend, physician and nurse."⁸⁰ Jessup had been trained in "practical dentistry" and had attended medical lectures in New York.⁸¹

Moreover, the missionaries inextricably linked their "errand of mercy" to the relentless course of nineteenth-century Western expansion. God, in their eyes, had put the Great Powers of the world at the service of Christ and those who served him. From their own Puritan heritage, they knew that the "invasion within" of the Indian communities of America would have been impossible without the support and power of European military might and technology.⁸² The missionaries in the pay of the ABCFM, especially the generation of men who arrived in Syria in the 1840s and 1850s, were cognizant of the proximity of European power. The American Board missionaries knew that they were not isolated; they lived in or near

⁷⁶ Benton to Lathrop, July 29, 1857, Box 11, Folder 2, Benton Papers. The Maronites also referred to the Americans as "the English," as was dramatically illustrated in the Shidyaq affair. See Khoury, *Qissat As'ad Shidyaq*. See also Caesar E. Farah, "Protestantism and Politics," in David Kushner, ed., *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period* (Jerusalem, 1986), 325.

⁷⁷ Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989), 285.

⁷⁸ Bliss, *Reminiscences*, 134.

⁷⁹ "The Diaries, Reminiscences and Letters of Loanza Goulding Benton," 85.

⁸⁰ Benton to Lathrop, April 12, 1858, Box 11, Folder 2, Benton Papers.

⁸¹ Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 1: 16.

⁸² James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (Oxford, 1981), 43.



"The Original Medical Building" of the Syria Mission in Beirut. Reproduced from Stephen B. L. Penrose, Jr., *That They May Have Life: The Story of the American University of Beirut, 1866–1941* (1941; Beirut, 1970). Courtesy of the University Publications Committee, American University of Beirut.

cities, and when they lived a few hours' ride distant—as the Blisses did in the village of Abeih—they had "a full view of the Mediterranean and c[ould] see the steamers come and go."⁸³ All the missionaries had constant communication with the metropole, and through their journal, *The Missionary Herald*, they continuously updated their audience back home with reports on the conditions and prospects of the mission. They could do so because of the advent of steam ships and other innovations of the industrial revolution. They were constantly aware of the progress of other missions, of setbacks and successes. They anxiously followed news of the 1857 Rebellion in India, heard of the Cawnpore massacre, and rejoiced at the outcome of the Opium Wars, which had such a profound "bearing on the extension of Christ's kingdom."

In the empire of China, there are at least 350,000,000 of benighted people; and in the neighboring empire of Japan, there are as many as thirty or forty millions more. These two empires, embodying half of the heathen world, after being closed for ages against Christianity and Christendom, have been thrown open since our meeting a year ago, and in a most wonderful manner . . .

To accomplish the opening of this greatest of earthly communities to the gospel—the time having fully come—the God of providence put in requisition the four great powers of

⁸³ These are Abby Bliss's words in Bliss, *Reminiscences*, 119.

Christendom—England, France, Russia, America, were all there, with their ambassadors, and with all that was needful to ensure success to their demands.⁸⁴

In this world-wide assault on the “strongholds of the devil,” certain breaches had to be made and held. In this sense, Syria was but one of many such fronts, albeit overlaid with a special religious and historical significance. Despite the attempts by the board in Boston to separate the Christian mission from a more general civilizing one, the missionaries learned to master, with great aptitude and dedication, the products of the industrial age, on which their mission grew ever more reliant. They set about creating a post-Ottoman reality: they were not bound to Ottoman laws, they rarely had contact with Ottoman officials, they knew no Turkish, and above all they lived their lives according to the precepts of evangelical Christianity, which earnestly prayed for an end of the Muslim Ottoman Empire. They imagined themselves on the mountain called Lebanon able to carry out experiments in missionary work without the fetters of law or restrictions; they had created for themselves a perfect space—freedom to proselytize, a willing population (or so they hoped), and an area free of European-American vice.⁸⁵ To this unique space, which they labeled Christian, the American missionaries added the creature comforts of home, such as American furniture and sewing machines, to further domesticate and familiarize it, as if to indicate to the natives the material requirements for modern life. “So,” reflected Benton, “civilization enters their [Lebanese] habitations in the form of chairs, tables, etc.”⁸⁶

Yet the most disappointing facet of the American mission in Syria, as opposed to those among the Armenians or those in southern Africa or the New World, was the failure of mass conversion. While missions world-wide sent home reports of thousands of “natives” ready to stand up “in the purity and life of a true Christian faith,” the Syria Mission, especially in the years leading up to 1860, sent home reports that encompassed the gamut of disappointed feelings. Haunted by the fear of failure and of being labeled a “returned missionary,” the men and women of the mission were desperate to make good on the promise of the land. But the Muslim and Druze populations refused to convert. And the Maronite and Greek Orthodox and Catholic churches threatened to excommunicate any who made contact with the missionaries.

The difficulty lay in the fact that, though they arrived in an age of nineteenth-century empire, the missionaries in Syria lacked the overwhelming surprise that characterized the missionary effort in the New World or the naked power of the

⁸⁴ Circular letter sent from the Missionary House, Boston, on January 4, 1859, to the Syria Mission, ABCFM. It continued, “In India, too, great events have been transpiring. The terrible Rebellion has incidentally done more for that country, the past year, than have the four Treaties for China . . . And these gains to the cause are all available to us, in some of the best portions of India, which we are permitted to occupy. And this crisis, change, revolution in Indian affairs, is the time for a special onset to be made upon those great, ancient, formidable strongholds of the devil.” The Cawnpore massacre occurred during the Indian Revolt of 1857, when in June of that year, some 400 Europeans were killed there by Indian rebels. For more information, see Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India* (New York, 1989), 235.

⁸⁵ See Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Forms and Norms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); and Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago, 1991).

⁸⁶ Benton to Lathrop, July 24, 1857, Box 11, Folder 2, Benton Papers.

missionary enterprise in China following the Opium Wars.⁸⁷ Christianity was not a new religion, after all, and even if the American missionaries desperately claimed it to be so, the “natives”—as objects of mission—refused to be lured by the tune of evangelism. As a result, the mission in Syria constantly hovered in a state of indecision, and the threat of being closed down only made the missionaries more anxious, more desperate, and more prone to exaggerate their predicament as well as the imminence of their final victory.⁸⁸

Another difficulty was the attitude that the Syria Mission adopted with regard to native converts. Because of American missionary distrust of the natives, the few converts that were made had no church to turn to until 1848. For the first twenty years, the missionaries refused to ordain any native pastors and encouraged them to remain within the structure of their old churches until they had shown enough evangelical zeal to become truly Christian. Moreover, there existed a great division between several missionaries of the Syria Mission and the board in Boston that came to the fore in the mid-1840s.⁸⁹

Whereas the missionaries urged a comprehensive reformation of the rites and ceremonies of the natives within an autonomous organization so that the Protestant community could defend itself from other *millets* (religious communities), the board wanted the missionaries to form a native church as a free association of individuals to be led by a native pastor regardless of whether the Protestants were officially recognized by the Ottoman authorities as a separate *millet*.⁹⁰ In other words, the board refused to allow what it considered to be an unwarranted extension into the realm of politics, while the missionaries refused to accept a native pastor because they were convinced that the natives were still insincere in their evangelical zeal. The upshot was, in the face of persecution from their former churches, the few Protestant converts were reminded that, like Paul, their suffering was to be tolerated as a means of spreading the church.⁹¹

Not surprisingly, the prospects for success were not at all encouraging to one young missionary, who portrayed the predicament of the mission in the mid-1850s:

We want men, MEN, MEN! . . .

We have not a good, strong man for missionary work, in our part of the field. Either want of Arabic, or physical strength, makes us all weak. Mr. Calhoun preaches only occasionally, and finds it difficult to take the supervision of our little seminary . . . Messrs. Smith and Whiting do not feel able to preach more than one sermon a Sabbath . . . Mr. Benton is still a stammerer; I am only a beginner; and Mr. Lyons has, of course, not yet got his throat and mouth open.⁹²

⁸⁷ See Hunter, *Gospel of Gentility*, 6.

⁸⁸ See Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria*, for an account and history of this trend.

⁸⁹ Badr, “Mission to ‘Nominal Christians,’” 280.

⁹⁰ Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria*, 99.

⁹¹ See Badr for further details, “Mission to ‘Nominal Christians,’” 257. For more information on the *millet* system, see Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, 2 vols. (New York, 1982). C. P. Williams has argued a similar point about the ideal and the difficulty foreign missionaries had in accepting a self-governing indigenous church in the context of CMS missionaries in the Niger Territories. Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church: A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy* (Leiden, 1990).

⁹² “Letter from Mr. Bird, June 25, 1855,” *Missionary Herald* 51 (1855): 312.

This frustrating situation led to a retrenchment. The relations between the few converts and the missionaries were strained, because the latter felt that, under the circumstances in Syria, there was not enough justification for a separate "native" church not under direct missionary control. At the same time, the missionaries held out the prospect, to both their converts and, more important, to themselves, that in the (continuously postponed) near future, the Christian brotherhood they earnestly expected would emerge, as soon as there was a critical mass of "true" converts.⁹³ Thus, as the Americans indulged in exaggerations of the possibility of potential conversion, they simultaneously postponed dealing on an equitable basis with those whom they had already managed to convert. Daniel Bliss, for example, referred to the converts as if they were petulant children, in need of strict control. "We knew," he wrote, "that they were but Babes in Christ, and that their opinions and feelings should not be too much regarded."⁹⁴ Aiken, another missionary, went further: "There is a lack of honesty and integrity, a slackness and indolence in all things, and a want of spiritual perception in this people, as a whole, the remains of which are yet seen in the most hopeful cases of conversion, and in the most reliable of our Church members."⁹⁵

Concurrently, the missionaries exaggerated the imminence of success. William Benton described his residence among the Druzes who refused to convert: "They are still far from the Gospel, yet they are the principal patrons and friends of our system of primary schools in Lebanon, and readily give us their children to teach them the Testament, Catechism, Christian doctrine and say, 'There is little hope of any change in us, but it will be different with our children after us, and in the generations to come.'"⁹⁶ The failure that etched itself in the hearts and minds of the missionaries was bound to stir within them the feelings of difference and hostility that set them apart from the local populations. Buffeted and rejected, they persevered. The imagery they employed, not fortuitously, was that of the Crusades. By doing so, the missionaries may have hoped to strike a familiar chord in their audiences back home, but in the process they only further alienated themselves from their surroundings. They looked to the past to give hope for a future. In a desperate effort to stave off failure in the present, the missionaries tried to identify themselves with the Christian knights who "redeemed" the Holy Land some time before:

Seven hundred years ago, a worn and weary band of warriors, the remnant of those who came to redeem the Holy Sepulcher, and who built those castles whose ruins crown so many mountain summits around us, sent back to Europe a cry for help, which, ringing through the thousand homes of prince and serf, called forth an impetuous army to their relief, bristling with swords and spears, ready to endure toil and brave death. And now, from the very same

⁹³ Tibawi implied that the generation of missionaries who arrived in the 1850s and who knew no Arabic was far more impatient to achieve quick results, and these considerations may have accounted for their exaggerated suspicion of native converts. Yet concerns about "true" conversion were evident from the outset of the mission and were openly expressed as soon as the missionaries had made more than a handful of converts who desired their own church. See Tibawi, "Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College," 266; and Badr, "Mission to 'Nominal Christians,'" for more details.

⁹⁴ "Letter from Mr. Bliss, Aug. 28, 1857," *Missionary Herald* 53 (1857): 399.

⁹⁵ "Letter from Mr. Aiken, Aug. 31, 1857," *Missionary Herald* 53 (1857): 401.

⁹⁶ Benton to Lathrop, July 29, 1857, Box 11, Folder 2, Benton Papers.

battlefields, a cry for help is raised again, by those too few and too weak to sustain the conflict successfully with the powers of darkness and sin.⁹⁷

The missionaries saw the failure of their evangelical mission not as a result of their own messianic fantasies about bringing Christianity to a world that already knew it but as a problem intrinsic to the natives. Co-evalness was denied to explain the failure. The reference to the Crusades suggested that, while time for the missionaries and their own societies had evolved, time in the Orient had stagnated. The modern crusaders and those of yesteryear shared a common timeless foe: native fanaticism. And fanaticism did not evolve. In the minds of the missionaries, it persisted and, occasionally and invidiously, rose to the surface. It was regarded as immutable and primordial, and above all it was classified as native. Fanaticism induced failure; it came to embody all that was unknown and unknowable to the missionaries.

The untimely death of Eli Smith in 1857 only added to the tribulations of Jessup, Benton, and the others of the new generation. "God has again smitten our mission. May we be sanctified by the affliction," one missionary despaired.⁹⁸ A despondent Edward Aiken summed up a general missionary view when he exclaimed in 1857 that "the set time to favor this land does not seem yet to have come."⁹⁹ Nowhere, it seemed, was the American message received favorably, and indeed, even the potential that it could be favorably received in any given area became a source of acute tension among the missionaries themselves. The results of these interactions were manifested in an American missionary perspective that focused on converting and tending to a small number of Protestant converts while opening schools for the children of the Druze elites. The missionary view was theoretically global in that it had the salvation of the world in mind, but it fragmented into ever smaller circles and experiences in Syria. Each thought his was the ideal area for potential salvation of the "natives." Benton became involved in a protracted dispute with his fellow missionaries about the location of the permanent mission, which culminated in his separation from the Syria Mission in 1859.¹⁰⁰ By the year 1860, when intercommunal violence devastated Mount Lebanon, the missionaries found themselves in disarray.

THE WAR IN MOUNT LEBANON during the summer of 1860 was fought between the Maronites and the Druzes. Between late May and the end of June, the mixed districts of Mount Lebanon became the theater of ferocious battles. As a result, dozens of villages burned and thousands of inhabitants were killed, primarily Christian but also Druze. What is of interest here is not the chronology of the war but how it forced the missionaries, already disillusioned by the dim prospects of evangelical success, to reevaluate their relationship to secular power.

That the strife in 1860 followed the end of the Crimean War, the signing of the Treaty of Paris, and the promulgation of the 1856 Hatt-ı Hümayun—accords that

⁹⁷ "Station Report (Sidon) 1858," *Missionary Herald* 55 (1859): 133–34.

⁹⁸ "Letter from Mr. Wilson to Dr. Robinson, April 1857," *Missionary Herald* 53 (1857): 125.

⁹⁹ "Letter from Mr. Aiken, Aug. 31, 1857," 401.

¹⁰⁰ Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria*, 146.

guaranteed the equality of Christian subjects with their Muslim counterparts and solemnly committed the Great Powers to a policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire—ensured that the missionary reactions to the conflict would not be separated from a more general European recrimination at having trusted the empire to itself.¹⁰¹ In addition, the missionaries' reactions to the war may be understood on another level as proof of their millenarian predictions. Based on a reading of the book of Revelation, the reign of the Antichrist (simultaneously figured as the pope and the sultan) would last 1,260 years beginning in 606 AD. Thus 1866 was a significant date, and any conflict immediately preceding it was bound to be seen in a millenarian context.¹⁰² The misery and terror of war seemed to be the initial shaking of a world destined for salvation. Benton described the war as a "sublime yet fearful and lamentable scene to behold."¹⁰³ It was, to the missionaries' thinking at least, divine punishment for a people who had ignored the evangelical message. William Bird was inclined to think that it "may be that a war is needed to purify the land and prepare the way for the gospel," and his view was seconded by Jessup, who added that the war "may prove to be the very discipline which is needed to bring this people to take refuge in Christ."¹⁰⁴

On a more immediate level, however, the reaction of the American missionaries may be interpreted as a confused and terrified response to a level of violence for which they, especially those of the generation of Bliss, Jessup, and Benton, were simply not prepared. At the first outbreaks of violence a year earlier, the missionaries refused to accept that a proper war, of clear aims and means—in short, a war of "politics" between the elites—was unfolding. "Great excitement prevails yet throughout the entire mountains," wrote William Thomson. "It is my expectation however, that there will be no general war. There is no political motive, and all Emers, Sheiks, and influential men of both parties, are anxious to preserve peace. They have everything to lose and nothing to gain by a war, and if there is a civil war, *it will be waged by the people without the concurrence of their leaders.*"¹⁰⁵ When war did commence in earnest toward the end of May 1860, Thomson noted that "it is simply a rising of the people against the wishes of the ruling classes on all sides."¹⁰⁶

The sheer helplessness of the missionaries was captured in their description of the "anarchy" that surrounded them. They used metaphors of natural violence, such as the "storm" and the "wild hurricane," to describe the calamity that had suddenly enveloped them. In part, the missionaries saw an element of divine intervention, but they also discerned what they interpreted as primordial native fanaticism. The innate "bigotry" of the Maronite clergy mirrored the actions of the Druze warriors,

¹⁰¹ A narrative of the war of 1860 may be found in Leila Fawaz, *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860* (London, 1994). The treaty of Paris and the 1856 Imperial Rescript essentially incorporated the Ottoman Empire into the European state system as the "sick man of Europe" but also as a sovereign power under international law that prevented direct intervention in the internal affairs of the empire. Thus the war of 1860 came on the heels of a European policy of political non-intervention that was, to a certain degree, in contrast to the ideals of missionary practice premised on the necessity of spiritual intervention in the unevangelized world.

¹⁰² Field, *America and the Mediterranean World*, 81.

¹⁰³ Benton to Anderson, May 31, 1860, Reel 545, Vol. 6, doc. 153, ABCFM.

¹⁰⁴ Jessup to Anderson, June 2, 1860, Reel 546, Vol. 7, pt. 1, doc. 165, ABCFM.

¹⁰⁵ "Recent Intelligence," *Missionary Herald* 55 (1859): 349.

¹⁰⁶ Thomson to Anderson, May 23, 1860, Reel 547, vol. 7, pt. 2, doc. 443, ABCFM.

who were, in the eyes of most missionaries, satanically inspired.¹⁰⁷ Thomson's letter dated June 2 from Beirut relayed the information that the Druzes were victorious "and have driven all before them, *like a tornado*" and "all hell had broke loose." Moreover, he added, "I had begged Mr. Bird to come away *before the storm burst out*, but he had no idea such a thing was coming." Later, he continued, "[we are in no personal danger] but you should know something about the *wild hurricane that is sweeping over us*."¹⁰⁸ As the war progressed and the savagery of the fighting became more intense, the Christian forces began to disintegrate. Their towns were under siege and their villages looted and destroyed. George Hurter wrote from Beirut on June 2 that some "40 to 50 villages" have been burned. Deir al-Qamar was still besieged and Mr. Thomson was to set out to bring Mr. Bird's family to safety "until *the storm be passed*."¹⁰⁹ "When and where or how it will terminate," lamented Benton, "no body can tell."¹¹⁰

The confusion and panic of the early weeks of the war forced the missionaries to abandon Mount Lebanon and seek the safety of Beirut and of the European gunboats lying just offshore. Only the Bentons remained in Bhamdun, refusing to leave their native converts and relying on the protection of the Druze sheikhs of the neighboring villages. The other missionaries found in Beirut a temporary, though insecure, shelter. Rumors spread that the Christians were to be massacred by the town's Muslims. The American missionaries and their families assembled at the American Press and devised an evacuation plan to go to waiting British warships.¹¹¹

Initially, the missionaries had attributed the war to the greed of the local Christians for the land of the Druzes, since "the clergy of the Greeks and Maronites have been stirring up their people to fight."¹¹² But with the worsening of the fighting, as the Druze forces steadily and swiftly completed a brutal campaign against the Christians, the missionaries in Beirut began to "see" a conspiracy that threatened all Christians in the Levant. Put simply, the missionaries could not comprehend a war in which "men, women and children butchered with a degree of coolness and barbarity worthy of a Tamerlane"¹¹³ as anything but a part of a wider anti-Christian design. When the Druzes attacked the hitherto-protected houses of Americans, the missionaries imagined a different, far more frightening scenario. "So you see," recounted Calhoun to Bird, "the stars and stripes even did no longer afford protection."¹¹⁴ The Druzes, they reasoned, could not be acting on their own, and since many of the missionaries, especially Jessup, who was only twenty-eight at the time, had not had much experience in Syria, there was little to prevent them

¹⁰⁷ The language used by the missionaries to describe the war conforms strikingly to the patterns of discourse cited by Ranajit Guha in his analysis of British writings in colonial India. See "The Prose of Counter-Insurgency," in Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies* (New York, 1988), 45–89.

¹⁰⁸ Thomson to Anderson, Beirut, June 2, 1860, Reel 547, Vol. 7, pt. 2, doc. 444, ABCFM, my emphasis.

¹⁰⁹ George C. Hurter arrived in Beirut on April 15, 1841. (Emphasis mine.)

¹¹⁰ Benton to Anderson, Bhamdun, May 31, 1860, Reel 545, Vol. 6, doc. 153, ABCFM.

¹¹¹ Bliss, *Reminiscences*, 154.

¹¹² Jessup to Anderson, Beirut, June 2, 1860, Reel 546, Vol. 7, pt. 1, doc. 165, ABCFM.

¹¹³ Jessup to Anderson, Beirut, June 1, 1860, Reel 546, Vol. 7, pt. 1, doc. 165, ABCFM.

¹¹⁴ Calhoun to Bird, Beirut, July 16, 1860, Reel 545, Vol. 6, doc. 330, ABCFM.

from joining in the frenzy of rumor and terror that gripped the foreign and Christian communities of Beirut.¹¹⁵

THE MISSIONARIES, with the notable exception of Benton, abandoned the idea that the war was simply the result of two warrior races pitted in a destructive contest for supremacy. They shifted to a thematic description of the war that removed the principal inhabitants as the primary actors and substituted the perceived total, continuous, and cataclysmic encounter between Islam and the West. In the emerging missionary narrative, the “natives” no longer figured save as instruments, pawns in the hands of the great enemy of Christianity—be it Catholic or Protestant, French or American—Islam. Here, the missionaries fell back on their belief in the “natural” hatred of the Muslim for the Christian, of the East for the West. In the words of William Eddy: “The Mohammedans of the country who have in no case been attacked by the Christians have yet taken an active part in plundering and murdering them, showing their natural hatred to them . . . As in the wars of savages, as when wild beasts have been let loose upon lambs, so have the Druzes and Mohammedans joined in mercilessly slaking their thirst in the blood of Christians.”¹¹⁶ Jessup put the same fear somewhat differently: “Indeed, in the whole of this war thus far, the Turkish officers seem to have been in league with the Druzes, and the moral perverseness, heartlessness and cruelty which have characterized the Moslems sicken the heart, and make one almost willing to accept anything that may be possible in the way of government rather than endure this imbecile and wicked Turkish rule any longer.”¹¹⁷ Jessup warned that the massacres of Christians were of horrific proportions “in the same character with Cawnpore and Delhi.”¹¹⁸ What was taken to be a typical example of native outbursts against the white man and civilization—the 1857 Rebellion in India, in this case—was adapted to the contours of Turkish/Muslim “barbarism.” By tying the history of colonial India to that of the Levant, the missionaries instinctively drew a bond between themselves and the British in India. Even though the British did not see themselves so much as representatives of Christianity in India as of “modern” rule, Order, Improvement, and Progress, Jessup nevertheless saw an intrinsic connection that drew together the “civilized” peoples of the West.¹¹⁹ What was at stake for him was an imagined community of Christendom being subjected to the dehistoricized, furious, and unrelenting assaults of a primordial Heathenism. The solution, of course, lay in a new hegemony and in colonial intervention. The eyes that saw Turkish rule as absolute corruption looked forward: they saw the possibility that, through the intervention of secular powers in secular time, the reign of the Muslim Antichrist represented by Turkish rule might be finally ended. Thus Jessup mused that “it

¹¹⁵ Fawaz, *Occasion for War*, 75.

¹¹⁶ Eddy to Anderson, Sidon, June 5, 1860, Reel 546, Vol. 7, pt. 1, doc. 3, ABCFM.

¹¹⁷ Jessup to Anderson, Beirut, June 5, 1860, Reel 546, Vol. 7, pt. 1, doc. 165, ABCFM.

¹¹⁸ Jessup to Anderson, Beirut, June 5, 1860.

¹¹⁹ See Ranajit Guha's essay on British power and historiography, “Dominance without Hegemony and Its Historiography,” in Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies VI* (Delhi, 1992), 210–309.

should not be surprising should a new crusade against Druze and Mohammedan despotism be awakened in Europe.”¹²⁰

The greatest irony in the missionary discourse was that Thomson, in line with the majority of his colleagues, argued that it had been a catastrophic mistake for Europe to have adopted Turkey into the “civilized family” of (Western) nations following the conclusion of the Crimean War in 1856 and even worse for the European powers to have committed themselves to a joint policy of “non-interference.” To the missionaries, the colonial era of the nineteenth century, which had opened unlimited possibilities to realize the Second Coming of Christ, had hampered itself through its pretension to trust the Turks. Order, improvement, and evangelism, the missionaries proclaimed loudly, could only come about through European rule.

The Ottoman governor in particular “was chosen and sent down here, to carry out this policy, and has done so with a high hand treating the representatives of foreign governments with deliberate contempt,” and, indeed, his “intrigues” had “brought about this present savage war.” Convinced that the war was conceived in miscreant Muslim minds, they blamed an *agent provocateur*, whom Thomson identified as the villainous Turk. No longer did he believe it was a “rising of the people against the wishes of the ruling classes, on all sides.” The war became a Turkish-inspired catastrophe. “Bands of infuriated demons—Turks and Druzes—[have] enacted this . . . tragedy in the presence of the highest Turkish authority in this country.”¹²¹ “Moslem fanaticism” had to be destroyed, and only European intervention would see to that. If the Turks, warned another missionary, are “left to themselves, [they] neither *can* nor *will* establish order and safety in Syria. Intervention there must be, therefore, or we shall be plunged into utter confusion and ruin.”¹²²

The alternatives became clear. The deployment of colonial power with missionary support was a fateful step in the evangelical enterprise. No longer did the missionaries hesitantly remain on the edges of colonial power, reproaching its secularism and yet drawn to the incontestable allure of its products; they cast their lot with the “Western armies”—even though only the Catholic French sent troops. They were, recalled a missionary, “an organized band to suppress wrong, to protect the weak and to give every one his natural rights.”¹²³ That the missionaries aligned themselves behind the avenging power of European (and even Catholic European) “Christendom” was telling. Because the European press and public was filled with indignation over the fate of the Christians in Syria, and because the European powers spoke and intervened on behalf of Christianity and humanity, the missionaries found themselves less reluctant to support the armies of Europe. They had always aligned themselves, however ambivalently, with the power of European colonialism. They had always hovered uneasily on its margins, ready and willing to tend to its victims but never far from the limitless opportunities that lay in

¹²⁰ Jessup to Anderson, Beirut, August 29, 1860, Reel 546, Vol. 7, pt. 1, doc. 167, ABCFM.

¹²¹ Thomson to Anderson, Beirut, July 5, 1860, Reel 547, Vol. 7, pt. 2, ABCFM.

¹²² Ford to Anderson, Beirut, August 16, 1860, Reel 546, Vol. 7, pt. 1, doc. 65, ABCFM (emphasis in original).

¹²³ Bliss, *Reminiscences*, 156.

colonialism's wake. Hurter wrote, "Our only hope is that all these untoward events may result eventually, as in India, for the furtherance of the Gospel."¹²⁴

As the war ended in Mount Lebanon, and the Damascene Christians, in turn, fell victim to a massacre, the fate of the region became even more entangled in the Eastern Question. In response to the fighting, the Ottomans, backed by the French army, moved quickly and brutally to restore order.¹²⁵ The Druzes were the only community left without direct and able protection, for the Maronites enjoyed the support of the French. "Christendom," as the Europeans styled themselves, had to be avenged. That the Druzes were not Muslim and that the war in Mount Lebanon was entirely different from the massacre of Damascus was ignored: as far as Christian public opinion was concerned, in both instances Christians had been assaulted and, in both cases, their persecutors had been "Heathens."

Jessup was thrilled when he heard that Beirut had been occupied by six thousand French troops. "The Moslems are humbled to the dust," he exclaimed when reporting the executions of Muslims in Damascus. Despite the rash of executions, Jessup warned that "the Moslem Spirit there is not broken," and Damascus, according to foreigners residing there, "will never be a safe residence again for Christians." Moreover, Jessup continued, there were 200,000 Muslims residing in Damascus, and even if 2,000 or 3,000 were to be executed, "the great mass will only be exasperated, and seize the first opportunity for revenge." Predictably, Jessup lamented that if Fuad Pasha, an Ottoman statesman with longstanding ties and contacts with Europe, left Syria to unsupervised Turkish rule, it would mean "farewell to *security* and *order*."¹²⁶

WHILE THE MISSIONARIES IMMEDIATELY BEGAN a relief effort for the Christian population of Syria, their narrative had cohered to the point that one set of leaflets distributed to raise money in the United States for the refugees was titled "THE SYRIAN MASSACRES***A SECOND APPEAL FOR THE SYRIAN SUFFERERS." To enlist support for the charity effort, the leaflets informed the public that the appeal was on behalf of "more than ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND of the CHRISTIAN population of SYRIA, who had been suddenly overwhelmed by a calamity, alike atrocious and appalling—the terror-stricken and helpless victims of treachery, and of a war of exterminating in its purpose, instigated and impelled in its work of desolating cruelty by long-cherished hate, and the unrelenting frenzy of Mohammedan fanaticism."¹²⁷ The wrath of "Christendom" took shape and form, always defined against a reified "Mohammedan fanaticism." In later, more polished narratives, the same basic principle was worked backwards so that the entire war made sense from the beginning, and the narrative of Eastern/Muslim fanaticism versus Western/Christian Order and Civilization was faithfully upheld. The historical memory left its imprint: "[T]he Mohammedans generally sheltered their own intended attacks on the Christians by a careful circulation of reports that they were

¹²⁴ "Recent Intelligence," *MHROS*, 4: 388.

¹²⁵ See Fawaz, *Occasion for War*, for more details.

¹²⁶ Jessup to Anderson, Beirut, August 29, 1860, Reel 546, Vol. 7, doc. 167, ABCFM.

¹²⁷ "A Second Appeal for the Syrian Sufferers," ABCFM (emphasis in original).

in immediate expectation of being attacked by them. The same policy was adopted by the fanatic Druses, who denounced Christian aggression with a vehemence increasing with the approach of the time for endeavoring to utterly root out the remaining vestiges of strength on the part of scattered Christians of the Lebanon."¹²⁸

Not all the missionaries, however, acted the same way; not all fled to Beirut. Some, like Benton, remained at their station. As the fighting approached his village, he took to the field, not as the crusader knight he had once imagined himself to be but as one man holding the Bible aloft, exhorting the Druzes to lay down their arms. He successfully appealed to the Druze sheikhs not to take the defenseless village of Bhamdun and to spare its inhabitants.¹²⁹

Benton shared the same limitations as all the missionaries and their assumptions about the "darkness" of the land and its people, but he refused to be pulled into the panic that overcame the other Americans in Beirut. In the tidal wave of recrimination that accompanied the European and Ottoman investigations into the massacres, he maintained his story. Though estranged from the mission, he stubbornly refused to return to the United States. The promised land was in the Lebanon. As Jessup extolled the virtues of humbling "Mohammedan fanaticism," Benton and his wife found the space to express what might not otherwise have been expressed. "It appears," he wrote, "that many of our friends in America look upon this recent conflict as a 'religious war,' a persecution upon the Christians for the name of Christ—It is our object in the following brief statement of facts to correct this mistake if it exists."¹³⁰

Benton insisted that the Druzes "never persecute, never fight for religion" but were the original "proprieters" of the mountain until the Christians, "oppressed by their superiors," fled to the interior of Syria, arrived in Mount Lebanon, and began encroaching on traditionally Druze areas.¹³¹ Furthermore, Benton asserted that, before the outbreak of war in May, the Christians had been plotting the destruction of the Druzes. The Christians, he stated, continually taunted the Druzes, but Maronite disorganization betrayed their unity of purpose as they entered a contest with the more disciplined though numerically inferior Druzes. "Thus compelled to fight for their houses, their land, their ancient renown, the Druses flew into their ranks and with fire and sword rushed from village to village and from town to town, like mad tigers, and the world has turned pale at the recital of their atrocious deeds." Like other missionaries, Benton faulted the Turkish authorities, for he claimed that the Turks "used" the Druzes against the Christians, and "now with characteristic treachery they forsake them, and appear willing to sacrifice the whole Druze nation and property to appease the wrath of Christendom." Benton then asked a hauntingly frank question: "The Lord gave them a fearful victory and now

¹²⁸ H. B. Tristram, ed., *Daughters of Syria* (London, 1872), 54.

¹²⁹ "Addition to Loanza's Diary," Box 10, Folder 2, Benton Papers. It should be noted that the addition, which refers to William Benton's discussions with the Druze leaders during the war, comes from oral testimony recorded many years after the events by Loanza Benton's daughter on a visit to Lebanon.

¹³⁰ Benton to Anderson, Bhamdun, October 11, 1860, Reel 545, Vol. 6, doc. 160, ABCFM.

¹³¹ This is probably a reference to the Byzantines who persecuted the Maronites in their original homeland in the Orontes Valley. See Salibi, *House of Many Mansions*, 13.

we welcome the armies of Europe to ask and demand the rights of the conquered Christians; *But suppose the scene exchanged; had the Christians accomplished their most unchristian design 'Not to leave a Druse alive on Lebanon,'—who would have asked after the rights of the poor heathen Druses? Who?*"¹³²

The entire mission project lay exposed by the searing question of one abandoned missionary; yet his letters remained confidential, and this row was never made public. In a sense, the Bentons alone tried to remain faithful to a universal mission and refused to accept the thesis of an unmitigated primordial fanaticism. They still thought that they belonged in Mount Lebanon. As long as the board was willing to let things be, he and his wife were willing to continue with their labor, for as Loanza wrote to the board, "we beg you, urge us no more to return to the U[nited] States—we have put our hand to the plough and with us there is no turning back, while we have life and health to labor for the poor Arabs of Lebanon."¹³³

THE TIDE, HOWEVER, HAD TURNED IRREVERSIBLY. In the wake of 1860, the missionaries insisted that they had to take sides with the forces of modernity against those of fanaticism, and they were now willing to take the side of secular European power against the Muslim Ottoman Empire. The outpouring of sympathy for the Christian victims notwithstanding, 1860 finally convinced the missionaries that evangelical modernity could not bridge the temporal as well as spiritual difference that lay between them and the natives.

Struggling to make sense of the apocalyptic conflict, the missionaries tried to frame the war of 1860 in terms of Islam's innate hatred of Christianity, of its will to vengeance and bloodshed that was urged on by shadowy conspirators. "That the arrangement [to attack the Christians of Beirut] was made is certain," wrote Bliss in his *Reminiscences*. "Why it was not carried out is not clear to me even more than forty-eight years afterwards."¹³⁴ From the murky context of unexplainable and even unidentifiable native "fanaticism," the American missionaries sought a clean break with the past. Christian brotherhood would have to be indefinitely postponed.

From 1860 onward, the mission gradually moved away from evangelical modernity and began to reinvent itself as an increasingly secular enterprise. In 1866, the Syrian Protestant College (later to become the American University of Beirut) was founded, initially funded largely by British contributions. Although the college was indeed "a virtual child of the mission," it nevertheless signified a deviation from the errand into the wilderness.¹³⁵ As a separate institution under the supervision of the American Board, the college was "not to be, in any sense, a mission school."¹³⁶ Rather, it was to engage directly with worldly and secular affairs and was to emphasize not so much the unsolicited spiritual regeneration of the native youth as

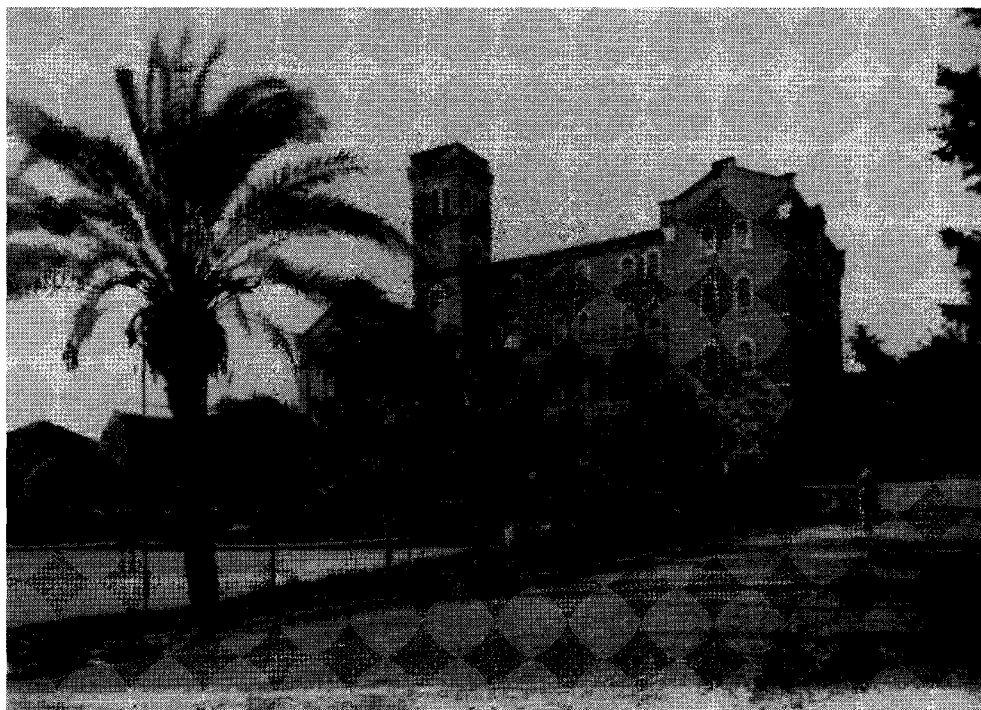
¹³² Benton to Anderson, Bhamdun, October 11, 1860.

¹³³ Loanza Benton to Anderson, Bhamdun, July 24, 1860, Reel 545, Vol. 6, doc. 156, ABCFM.

¹³⁴ Bliss, *Reminiscences*, 153.

¹³⁵ Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria*, 170. Tibawi has also argued, correctly, that the Syrian Protestant College should be seen in the light of competition with the Jesuit and other institutions founded by Catholic organizations, and hence the college was created in an effort to forestall Catholic hegemony. See "Protestant College in Syria," *MHROS*, 5: 58.

¹³⁶ Tibawi, "Protestant College in Syria," 5: 56.



"College Hall, the First Building." From Penrose, *That They May Have Life* (1941). Courtesy of the University Publications Committee, American University of Beirut.

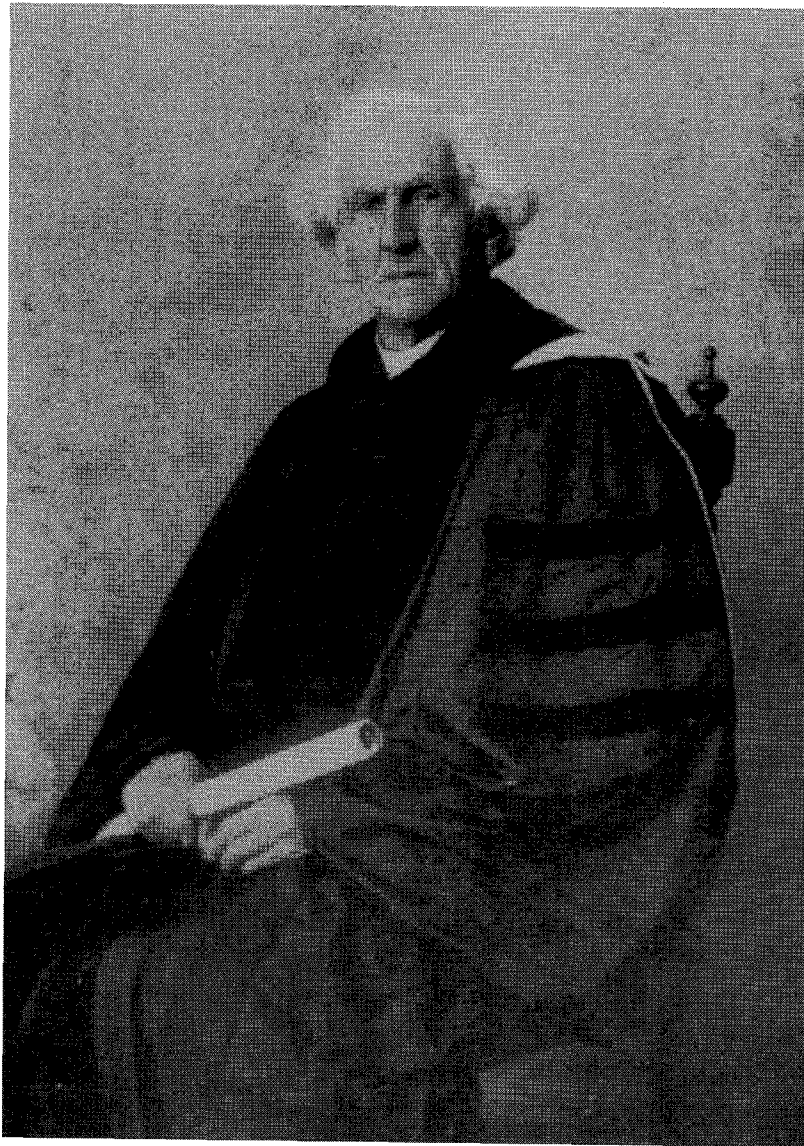
much as the desired "literary, scientific, and professional education which the exigencies of the community demand."¹³⁷

"This College is for all conditions and classes of men without regard to colour, nationality, race or religion," said Bliss when laying the corner-stone of College Hall in 1871. "A man white, black or yellow; Christian, Jew, Mohammedan or heathen, may enter and enjoy all the advantages of this institution for three, four or eight years; and go out believing in one God, in many Gods, or in no God." "But," he added, "it will be impossible for any one to continue with us long without knowing what we believe to be the truth and our reasons for that belief."¹³⁸ However noble this liberalism of intent, it must be seen in the context of a rupture with evangelical modernity. The Syrian Protestant College was one that considered and then abandoned the idea of a native president; it was meant to become "indigenous, self-governing and self-sustaining" but never did, and it imbibed and eventually became increasingly mixed with British and, later, American worldly power.¹³⁹ Over the next two decades, the efforts to proselytize in Arabic finally lost out to teaching secular sciences in English, which missionaries recognized was the language of modernity and of colonial possibility, and which "helps to conquer and

¹³⁷ Tibawi, "Protestant College in Syria," 5: 57.

¹³⁸ Bliss, *Reminiscences*, 198.

¹³⁹ Tibawi, "Protestant College in Syria," 5: 57. Tibawi's article "The Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College" sheds light on these processes and illustrates the process of Americanization that occurred at the college in contradiction to its explicit original goals.



"Daniel Bliss, President, 1864–1902." From Penrose, *That They May Have Life* (1941). Courtesy of the University Publications Committee, American University of Beirut.

assimilate and transform more, even than battle and treaties."¹⁴⁰ The Syrian Protestant College was secular because it represented the culmination of a series of evangelical disappointments. The thorny issues of a native church that had deeply divided the mission were at once overcome, the vexing problem of determining a

¹⁴⁰ "Syrian Notes," *The Foreign Missionary* 37 (1878): 134. The announcement added, "This remarkable action shows that in the opinion of the most intelligent men in the country, British influence is hereafter to be not a mere diplomatic flourish of rhetoric, which Turkish evasion may treat as a dead letter, but an all-pervading and controlling power, affecting every interest in society." Some authors have claimed that the language change was made because of the inability of the college to translate scientific books quickly enough into Arabic, although Tibawi has shown this not to be the case. Tibawi, "Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College," 282–83.



"The First Graduating Class (1870). L. to R.: Sarruf, Khairallah, Ghurayyib, Mr. Fraser, Mughabghab, Musawwir." From Penrose, *That They May Have Life* (1941). Courtesy of the University Publications Committee, American University of Beirut.

genuine "Christian" among the natives was bypassed, and the native demand for a modern education free of evangelical pressure was accepted.

True, there were many missionaries who persisted in their missionary endeavors, but the focus became the Syrian Protestant College. The establishment of a university committed to modern education with buildings named after Bliss and Thomson—though not Benton, who was expelled from the mission on account of his allegedly "disordered mind"—marked a radical break from the evangelism that had originally brought the Americans to these distant shores.¹⁴¹ In the years to follow, Jessup would quietly and effectively overlook Benton's role in the mission. Indeed, the disgraced missionary scarcely appeared in the canonical text of the mission work, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, and merited only a few references in Daniel Bliss's *Reminiscences*.¹⁴²

With 1860, the effort to evangelize independently of secular power, or the attempt to somehow mediate between two notions of modernity—evangelical and

¹⁴¹ Resolution of June 18, 1861, Records 1852–1863, Prudential Committee Archives, Congregational Library, Boston.

¹⁴² Both texts, to be sure, avoid mentioning the bitter dispute with Benton. Jessup's *Fifty-Three Years in Syria* was published in 1910, and Bliss's account in *The Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss* was published in 1920.



"Original Faculty of the Syrian Protestant College. Standing, L. to R.: D. S. Dodge, Geo. E. Post, Edwin R. Lewis, Harvey Porter. Seated: C. V. A. Van Dyck, Daniel Bliss, John Wortabet." From Penrose, *That They May Have Life* (1941). Courtesy of the University Publications Committee, American University of Beirut.

secular—was abandoned. The rupture was not total, but it was defining.¹⁴³ If evangelical modernity held out the possibility of engaging the natives on two levels simultaneously—on a common religious and historical level as well as a modern and scientific level—the secular modernity of the Syrian Protestant College closed the door on any sense of common cultural belonging. With the establishment of the college came a gradual, but by no means total, resolution of the tension between secular and religious time. It was not a return to the Holy Land that was stressed but a departure from a pre-modern world into the realm of science and secularism. Worldliness, far from being the enemy of the gospel and the missionaries,

¹⁴³ Far from being a smooth transition, the first decades of the college witnessed numerous struggles to determine the path of a modern education, which culminated in a backlash against too secular an orientation, in the dismissal of a faculty member, and what the remaining faculty considered to be a student "rebellion." In 1882, a crisis broke out when a professor in the faculty of medicine, Edwin Lewis, lectured on Darwinism. Several missionaries and the college president, Daniel Bliss, forced Lewis to resign and then terminated the contracts of the native teachers who had sided with Lewis in the name of academic freedom. The medical students protested bitterly, but from then on, in addition to changing the language of instruction from Arabic to English, the college insisted that all professors sign a religious declaration that required them to be "not merely members of evangelical churches, but in full sympathy with the spiritual and missionary aims of the College." Quoted in Tibawi, "Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College," 287–88. See also Shafiq Jiha, *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882 in the Medical Department* (Beirut, 1991), for a fuller account of the backlash.

could—they hoped—very effectively be used to further the cause, albeit in a more circumspect manner, of a scaled-down evangelism. Secular technology was no longer an auxiliary of an avowedly spiritual mission; rather, it was the missionaries who became the reluctant architects of a secular venture. As a result, the missionaries no longer went out in search of the natives. The natives came to them.

Finally, the experiences of the American missionaries in Syria have some broader implications. The first is an elaboration away from and not, it must be stressed, a contradiction of Fabian's arguments. What Fabian has called "denial of co-evalness" in which nineteenth and twentieth-century colonizers "required Time to accomodate the schemes of a one-way history: progress, development, modernity" was, in the case of the missionaries, complicated by a simultaneous recognition of a religious co-evalness.¹⁴⁴ The missionaries, in short, tried to fuse two very different notions of sacred and secular temporality. One was evangelical, defined by a desire for a unilateral revival of the past in an effort to achieve a Christian present, characterized by a sense of urgency to save the souls of the "present" generation, and articulated by missionaries convinced of their own ability to harness nineteenth-century Western expansion for a grand Christian design. The other was a chastened, gradual perspective on salvation that (implicitly) recognized the primacy of secular modernization and the crucial role the natives played in bringing it about by their stubborn refusal to abandon their "superstitions" and their insistence on a broad secular education. It opened the way for a new mission, which the missionaries, somewhat to their own surprise, proposed to lead, despite the evident (and in hindsight, justifiable) concern that the Christian message was bound to lose ground to the secular one.¹⁴⁵

Equally important is that the attempt by the missionaries to instill evangelical modernity brings into focus the futility of trying to distinguish "pro-imperialists" from "anti-imperialists." Evangelical modernity complicates a strictly formal definition of colonialism, for it incubated and thrived on certain nineteenth-century colonial ideologies at the same time as it operated outside of direct colonial rule. If anything, the project of evangelical modernity poses further questions for the locations, limitations, and contradictions of colonialist ideologies. To discuss missionaries within the framework of imperialism must be done with an eye to the contingency and instability of the actual process of reclaiming Syria for Christ. Categories of difference were indeed present from the outset, but they coexisted with notions of belonging. What began as a religious movement without clear demarcations between belonging and not belonging, between spirituality and modernity, became an increasingly foreign and secular enterprise only through

¹⁴⁴ Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 144.

¹⁴⁵ Ironically, the secularization of the American mission in Syria coincided with the secularization of the Jesuit mission; both missions responded to a single demand of the native population, which, by and large, sought a modern, secular education above all else. The institutions the missionaries created, the Syrian Protestant College (now the American University of Beirut) and the Université Saint-Joseph, remain the two main competing centers of higher education in Lebanon.

practice and with the passage of time. This distancing process was perhaps inherent in the missionary endeavor, but it only slowly emerged under the force of circumstances culminating in the war of 1860.

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Sexual Violence and Family Honor: British Propaganda and International Law during the First World War

NICOLETTA F. GULLACE

THE REPRESENTATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL CRISIS in terms of a threat to the family and the social order did not originate during the Great War. Between 1914 and 1918, however, images of the violation of women, real and symbolic, took on a heightened international significance as the British government attempted to market the war on the basis of alleged crimes against women and the family. In sources ranging from the official *Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages*, headed by the former ambassador to the United States, Lord James Bryce, to the sensationalistic chronicles of the gutter press, graphic images of violence against women and children permeated British public discourse, adding a set of gendered considerations to Britain's stated international objectives.¹ Tabloid and fiction writer William Le Queux summarized the sensationalistic spirit of many propaganda tracts when he enticingly promised his readers that "one cannot read a single page of this awful record . . . without being thrilled with the horror at unspeakable acts of civilized troops, who, at the behest of their Kaiser, . . . have become simply the Huns of Attila."² Comparing the German army to "one vast gang of Jack-the-Rippers," Le Queux was only one among hundreds of patriotic publicists who described in lurid detail such random horrors as a governess hanged "stark naked and mutilated," the sanguinary bayonetting of a small baby at Corbeek Loo, and the "screams of dying women" raped and "horribly mutilated" by German soldiers accused variously of cutting off the feet, hands, or breasts of their innocent and hapless victims.³

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¹ While atrocity propaganda was by no means exclusively gendered (dealing also with acts of cultural destruction, the maiming of the elderly, and the wanton abuse of Allied prisoners), violence against women, as Susan Kingsley Kent has vividly shown, gained a particular prominence in British depictions of the war: *Making Peace: The Reconstruction of Gender in Interwar Britain* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 12–30.

² William Le Queux, *German Atrocities: A Record of Shameless Deeds* (London, [1914]), 6–9.

³ Le Queux, *German Atrocities*, 45–121. See, for example, C. Sheridan Jones, *The Unspeakable*

Because of Britain's vast machinery for the production and distribution of propaganda world-wide, the specific terms of Britain's indictment of Germany had major ramifications for the way men and women in Allied and neutral countries understood the meaning of the war. Harrowing accounts of enemy atrocities are clearly as old as warfare itself,⁴ yet World War I witnessed the dissemination of these images on an unprecedented scale, as well as the conscious use of gendered violence to justify military, foreign, and domestic policy. In short, these tales bear out Emily Rosenberg's observation that examining the "gendered overtones of so much foreign policy language and symbolism can provide fresh, provocative insights into the wellsprings of policy formulation and public legitimation."⁵ Building on the work of Rosenberg, Akira Iriye, Jean Bethke Elshtain, and others, this article will explore the cultural, sexual, and symbolic underpinnings of British foreign relations during World War I.⁶ Although British atrocity narratives were probably not as unequivocally successful in shaping world opinion as critics in Germany and the United States would subsequently believe, they were nevertheless central to the creation of a gendered international language of "just war" that has been indispensable in addressing Western public opinion ever since.⁷ From the devastating accounts of destroyed Vietnamese villages central to the anti-war campaign in the 1960s to Saddam Hussein's call for an international investigation into the bombing of an alleged baby milk factory in Iraq in 1991, the echoes of Britain's

Prussian (London, 1914); *The Daily Chronicle, In the Trail of the German Army* (London, 1914); W. N. Willis, *The Kaiser and His Barbarians* (London, [1914?]); Committee on Alleged Outrages, *Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages* (London, 1915); Committee on Alleged Outrages, *Appendix to the Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages* (London, 1915); *The Daily Chronicle, Where the German Army Has Passed* (London, 1915); Parliamentary Recruiting Committee [hereafter, PRC], *The Truth about German Atrocities*, PRC no. 43 (London, [1915]); William Thompson Hill, *The Martyrdom of Nurse Cavell* (London, 1915); Jean Massart, *Belgians under the German Eagle* (London, 1916); J. H. Morgan, *German Atrocities: An Official Investigation* (London, 1916); Major-General Sir George Aston, K.C.B., *The Triangle of Terror in Belgium* (London, 1918); Theodore A. Cook, *The Crimes of Germany: Being an Illustrated Synopsis of the Violations of International Law and of Humanity by the Armed Forces of the German Empire* (London, [1915, 1916, 1917, 1918]).

⁴ The prominence of gendered violence in the representation of war is elaborated on by Jean Bethke Elshtain. She argues that a dichotomy between the "just warrior" and the "beautiful soul" has been an essential feature of Western military culture since Homer. The image of women as victims is, according to Elshtain, a central part of this trope. *Women and War* (New York, 1987), 3–14.

⁵ Emily S. Rosenberg, "Walking the Borders," in Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* (Cambridge, 1991), 32.

⁶ The last decade has witnessed a growing interest among scholars in the intersection between gender, cultural ideology, and international affairs. For further discussion of these issues, see Akira Iriye, "Culture and International History," in Hogan and Paterson, *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 214–25; V. Spike Peterson, ed., *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory* (Boulder, Colo., 1992); Jean Bethke Elshtain, "Reflections on War and Political Discourse: Realism, Just War and Feminism in a Nuclear Age," *Political Theory* 13 (February 1985): 39–57; Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (1989; Berkeley, Calif., 1990); and Laura McEnaney, Emily S. Rosenberg, Elaine Tyler May, Geoffrey S. Smith, Susan Jeffords, Amy Kaplan, Anders Stephenson, and Bruce Kuklick, "Culture, Gender, and Foreign Policy: A Symposium," *Diplomatic History* 18 (Winter 1994): 47–124.

⁷ For a fascinating discussion of the language of "just war," see Michael Waltzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (New York, 1977). For excellent accounts of the use of sexual imagery in war propaganda during World War II, see Susan Gubar, "This Is My Rifle, This Is My Gun: World War II and the Blitz on Women," in Margaret Randolph Higonnet, et al., eds., *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (New Haven, Conn., 1987), 227–59; and John W. Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York, 1986).

campaign to define lawful war by the exclusion of the domestic realm from the theater of violence resonate to this day in demands for international justice.

Despite the graphic nature and sheer volume of these reports, few historians have investigated their impact on British and international attitudes toward the war.⁸ Because the more outrageous atrocities in Belgium were called into question by interwar scholars, the historical literature has tended to investigate the veracity and organization of propaganda rather than to analyze the way it shaped the public mind.⁹ In many ways, however, the accuracy of atrocity reports is less relevant to the cultural history of the war than the fact that they were widely disseminated and commonly believed. Regardless of whether these tales were literally "true" (as some historians now claim) or merely the fantastic and cynical fabrications of Allied publicists, atrocities gave concrete meaning to the complex diplomatic issues that had brought about the conflict.¹⁰

I will argue that the gendered representation of German atrocities provided British propagandists with a vivid and evocative set of images that could be used to explain the arcane language of international law to a democratic public increasingly empowered to support or reject its enforcement. The move from an emphasis on the violation of treaty law to a vision of the brutalization of women and children domesticated the meaning of British foreign policy and privileged a set of familial and sexual concerns within the stated military policy of the liberal state. Significantly, the articulation of Britain's foreign-policy goals around the issues of domestic safety, the sanctity of the family, and the inviolability of a woman's body considerably complicated the task of securing public acceptance of certain methods of waging war. The changing terms used to describe international law and its transformative impact on the self-representation of the Allied cause are thus the

⁸ Scholars of World War I have slowly begun to investigate the significance of these reports in the fields of literary and women's history, yet atrocity accounts have been virtually ignored in terms of their significant impact on international history and domestic politics. See Kent, *Making Peace*, 12–30; and Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London, 1990), 52–56, for intriguing accounts of the impact of these reports on British culture. For a fascinating discussion of this imagery in France, see Ruth Harris, "The Child of the Barbarian: Rape, Race, and Nationalism in France during the First World War," *Past and Present* 141 (November 1993): 170–206.

⁹ Atrocity stories were discredited following the war by pacifist, pro-German, and American isolationist scholars who uncovered a number of highly suspect accounts allegedly concocted to influence opinion in neutral countries. See James Morgan Read, *Atrocity Propaganda, 1914–1919* (New Haven, Conn., 1941); Arthur Ponsonby, *Falsehood in War-Time* (London, 1928); Harold Laswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War* (London, 1927); George G. Bruntz, *Allied Propaganda and the Collapse of the German Empire in 1918* (Stanford, Calif., 1938); George Sylvester Viereck, *Spreading Germs of Hate* (London, 1931); Michael F. Connors, *Dealing in Hate: The Development of Anti-German Propaganda* (London, n.d.). For a survey of this literature and an evaluation of the impact of British propaganda in the interwar period, see Michael L. Sanders and Philip M. Taylor, *British Propaganda during the First World War* (London, 1982), vii–ix. Despite interest during the interwar period, Sanders and Taylor's work, the best contemporary study of British propaganda, makes virtually no attempt to analyze its images or gauge their effect. A work that summarizes well the content of British propaganda but offers little further analysis is Cate Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning: Propaganda in the First World War* (London, 1977).

¹⁰ Recent revisionist work has begun to qualify the degree to which atrocity propaganda was fabricated and to suggest a discrepancy between the techniques of Allied propagandists and the veracity of their claims. See Trevor Wilson, *The Myriad Faces of War: Britain and the Great War, 1914–1918* (Cambridge, 1988), 182–91; and John Horne and Alan Kramer, "German 'Atrocities' and Franco-German Opinion, 1914: The Evidence of German Soldiers' Diaries," *Journal of Modern History* 66 (March 1994): 1–33.

subjects of this essay as it examines the defining act of the war—the “rape” of Belgium.

FOR BRITISH PUBLICISTS AND THEIR SYMPATHIZERS, the central issue of the war—the “cause”—both in the sense of the trigger and the moral impetus, was the German violation of Belgian neutrality on August 4, 1914. As the former president of Harvard, Charles W. Eliot, wrote to James Bryce in December of 1914: “From my point of view, that violation of Belgian neutrality by Germany was a very fortunate happening for the cause of freedom and democracy; because it consolidated British opinion in favor of immediate war . . . It certainly was a most extraordinary display on the part of Germany of rashness, insolence, and lack of intelligence.”¹¹ Unlike Serbia, Belgium was not party to any of the conflicts being disputed in the summer of 1914. British propagandists were thus eager to move as quickly as possible from an explanation of the war that focused on the murder of an Austrian archduke and his wife by Serbian nationalists to the morally unambiguous question of the invasion of neutral Belgium. Bryce wrote to his friend and fellow legal scholar A. V. Dicey in August 1914, “There must be something fatally wrong with our so-called civilization when for this Servian cause so frightful a calamity has descended on all Europe.”¹² Yet later, he was able to remind the same correspondent, “The one thing we have to comfort us in this war is that we are all absolutely convinced of the justice of the cause, and of our duty, once Belgium had been invaded, to take up the sword.”¹³ The invasion of Belgium consolidated parliamentary and press support of the war and, with some important exceptions, nullified the isolationist case overnight.¹⁴ British officials hoped that this diplomatic trump card would have a similar effect in securing the opinion of the rest of the world, and they dispersed the story of Belgium around the globe.

By June 1915, Charles Masterman, the director of propaganda, estimated that his bureau at Wellington House had circulated “some 2 ½ million copies of books, official publications, pamphlets, and speeches in 17 different languages” concerning the “rights and wrongs of the war”; and, at this time, the Bryce Report on Alleged German Outrages was already being circulated in ten different languages and would be further translated during the war. The majority of these publications addressed the occupation of Belgium, describing in extravagant terms the heartless atrocities allegedly committed by the German army against innocent men, women, and children.¹⁵

¹¹ Charles W. Eliot to James Bryce, December 17, 1914, Bodleian Library, Oxford [hereafter, Bodleian], Modern Manuscripts [hereafter, MM], MS Bryce USA 1, fol. 119.

¹² Bryce to Albert Venn Dicey, August 20, 1914, Bodleian, MM, MS Bryce 4, fol. 72.

¹³ Bryce to Dicey, October 28, 1915, Bodleian, MM, MS Bryce 4, fol. 92.

¹⁴ Exceptions are the Independent Labour Party (not to be confused with the Labour Party), the Women’s League for Peace and Freedom, and a number of other pacifist groups including the No-Conscription Fellowship. On the peace movement, see F. L. Carsten, *War against War: British and German Radical Movements in the First World War* (London, 1982); Margaret Kamester and Jo Velacott, eds., *Militarism versus Feminism: Writings on Women and War* (London, 1987); and Anne Wiltsher, *Most Dangerous Women: Feminist Peace Campaigners of the First World War* (London, 1985).

¹⁵ Charles Masterman, “Report of the Work of the Bureau Established for the Purpose of Laying before Neutral Nations and the Dominions the Case of Great Britain and Her Allies,” *Interim Report*

Not only was the invasion of Belgium almost instantaneously regarded as the cause of the war, but the liberation of Belgium was the first of a number of war aims issued by the National War Aims Committee in 1918.¹⁶ Although the invasion of Belgium occurred in August 1914 and atrocity propaganda perhaps reached its lurid peak with the publication of the Bryce Report in 1915, the invasion of Belgium and the images of atrocity generated in the first months of the war remained a leitmotif of propaganda right up to the vociferous call to "hang the Kaiser" at the end of the war.¹⁷ Even publicist Robert Donald, a vocal critic of Wellington House, admitted in 1917 that "we have made good use of outrages . . . and have brought out clearly the great moral issues raised by the war."¹⁸ In his 1917 report to the prime minister, Donald strongly recommended continuing these efforts by "placing before the public in neutral countries accounts of every fresh outrage committed by the enemy, presenting the narrative in popular form, and by speedier methods than those now practiced."¹⁹ Although propaganda changed dramatically over the course of the war, atrocity imagery, as James Morgan Read has shown, remained a dominant theme of this literature even as it was looked on with increasing irony by soldiers, pacifists, and those weary citizens eager to end the war.²⁰

Indeed, by the end of August 1914, the "rape" of neutral Belgium had become the *cause célèbre* of the war. To R. L. Orchelle, the American translator of Dr. Ernst Müller-Meiningen's defense of German international law, it was "the vexed and murky question of Belgian neutrality, that cunning cry and device that won our sentimental American sympathies above all other pleas or principles."²¹ If a German apologist like Orchelle and a British spokesman like Bryce could agree on one thing, it was that the question of Belgian neutrality lay at the heart of the public understanding of the war.

of the War Propaganda Bureau (Wellington House, June 15, 1915), 15, in Public Record Office, Kew [hereafter, PRO], INF/4/5. The high percentage of print devoted to atrocities is evident from any perusal of the confidential bibliographies issued by Wellington House. See, for example, Wellington House, *Schedule of Wellington House Literature* (London, 1917), 29–31, in PRO, T/102, fol. 20.

¹⁶ See, for example, David Lloyd George, "War Aims: Proposed Statement by the Prime Minister to Trade Unionists," extracts from the minutes of the War Cabinet on January 4, 1918, p. 5, in House of Lords Record Office, London [hereafter, HLRO], LG/160/1/12. Significantly, the restoration of Belgium is also the seventh of the famous fourteen points, published on January 8, 1918. Louis L. Snyder, ed., *Fifty Major Documents of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1955), 27.

¹⁷ Read, *Atrocity Propaganda*, vii, 251–53. The persistence of atrocity propaganda is also evident in the publications of the National War Aims Committee set up toward the end of the war to combat war weariness among the domestic population. See, for example, National War Aims Committee [hereafter, NWAC], *Leaflets 1917–18*, British Library, London [hereafter, BL], 1854 e.5.

¹⁸ Robert Donald, *Report on Propaganda Arrangements* (London, 1917), 3, in PRO, INF 4/4B.

¹⁹ Donald, *Report on Propaganda Arrangements*, 7.

²⁰ Read, *Atrocity Propaganda*, 223–33. In advising the Oxford branch of the National War Aims Committee on the best way to hold onto working-class support, for example, Colonel Gibbons of the War Office emphasized the propagandistic value of Belgium: "It seems to me that once more the issue ought to be made clear . . . that we are fighting and dying for the cause of the freedom of Belgium etc. Let us do this up and down the country at every big munitions centre where men and women are working; let them feel what their work means." Conversation between Colonel Gibbons and Mr. Adams, August 16, 1917, HLRO, LG F/79/32, fol. 1.

²¹ Ernst Müller-Meiningen, *Who Are the Huns? The Law of Nations and Its Breakers* (Berlin, 1915), vi.

AS ARTICULATED BY ADVOCATES OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION, ranging from distinguished politicians and literati to music hall stars, soap box enthusiasts, and the barons of the popular press, the case against Germany went through significant changes. What began as an outcry among intellectuals over the destruction of European treaty law ended as a public condemnation of brutal acts of atrocity committed against women and the family. Accordingly, British foreign policy was publicly invested with a series of gendered meanings, shifting attention from the sophistry of German ideologues who justified breach of contract to the brutality of soldiers who raped and mutilated women.

Before the invasion of Belgium was endowed with significance for the family or depicted in terms of a woman's body, British liberals regarded this breach of a formal treaty as a threat to the fundamental system of human relations ordered through the law. In the eyes of the Oxford faculty of Modern History, Britain was at war because "we are a people in whose blood the cause of law is the vital element." Regarding Belgium as the testing ground for the strength of the principle of legality itself, these academics characterized the war in highly abstract terms: "The war in which England is now engaged with Germany is fundamentally a war between two different principles . . . The one regards international covenants to which it has pledged its own word as 'scraps of paper' . . . the other regards the maintenance of such covenants as a grave inevitable obligation."²²

The furor in British academe over the status of the law in the international realm was set off by a German articulation of *raison d'état* that seemed to challenge the essential principles of liberal ideology. Almost as significant for British intellectuals as the movement of German troops on August 4 were the German chancellor's public statements of that day. Speaking in the Reichstag, Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg declared, "Gentlemen, we are now in a state of necessity and necessity knows no law." Acknowledging that the German violation of neutral Belgium was wrong, Bethmann Hollweg nonetheless justified this transgression by arguing that "Germany is battling for all that is dearest and had a right to . . . hew her way through."²³ Although Bethmann Hollweg later retracted this admission of fault, his address appeared to many British observers as illustrative of a trend in German philosophy that would usher in international anarchy by replacing the rule of law with an absolute law of the state. As legal scholar Sir H. E. Richards put it, "necessity of this kind which overrides law is incompatible with the existence of any law at all. It must result in never ending strife and war."²⁴ Drawing attention to the writings of Friedrich Nietzsche, Heinrich von Treitschke, and Friedrich von Bernhardi, British theorists deplored the emergence of a relativist ethic that appeared to negate law and invert moral hierarchy. According to Coleman Phillipson, a barrister and expert on international law, "The arguments of neither Bernhardi nor any one else can ever convince men who possess reason and self respect that the rights and obligations established by solemn treaties can be

²² University of Oxford, Faculty of Modern History, *Why We Are at War: Great Britain's Case*, 3d edn. (Oxford, 1914), 116–17.

²³ Müller-Meiningen, *Who Are the Huns*, 4–5. The British liked to translate Bethmann Hollweg's statement as "hack our way through." I have used the more sedate translation of a German apologist.

²⁴ H. E. Richards, "Does International Law Still Exist?" *Oxford Pamphlets*, no. 15 (London, 1915), 50.

destroyed at the pleasure of one contracting party without the consent of all the other parties . . . If signatories are to be allowed to repudiate on any other grounds their deliberately executed engagements at their arbitrary will, then negotiations will become hypocritical farce, relationships between states will rest on a precarious basis, and the community of nations will be hardly more than a name."²⁵

To contemporaries, such nominalistic assumptions seemed to threaten the binding character of legality itself. In a famous interview with Sir Edward Goschen in Berlin, Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg, lamenting war with England, coined the phrase that would become the focus of such fears. Referring to the Treaty of London, which guaranteed Belgian neutrality in 1831 and 1839,²⁶ he told Goschen: "We are at war today . . . just for a word—'neutrality'—a word which in war-time has so often been disregarded—just for a scrap of paper."²⁷

In Britain, the "scrap of paper" became one of the most infamous phrases of the war, appearing in sources ranging from popular music hall songs to propaganda pamphlets aimed at the rural poor.²⁸ Arthur Hassall published a book on the subject entitled *Just for a Scrap of Paper* to "explain why England stands for the sanctity of European treaty law,"²⁹ the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee issued a series of posters depicting it (see Figure 1), and both the prime minister and the chancellor of the Exchequer made it the centerpiece of public speeches about the causes of the war.³⁰ The German chancellor's statement figured prominently in British self-justification, and the "scrap of paper" with Goschen's reply was one of the centerpieces of the British White Book, an official collection of documents illustrating the events that led up to the outbreak of the war.³¹

²⁵ Coleman Phillipson, *International Law and the Great War* (London, 1915), 46–47.

²⁶ Belgian neutrality was also reconfirmed in 1870. For a discussion of the position of Belgian neutrality under international law, see Augustus Oakes and R. B. Mowat, eds., *The Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century* (1918; Oxford, 1970), 126–57.

²⁷ Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, "Interview with Sir Edward Goschen" (Berlin, August 4, 1914), quoted in A. P. Higgins, "The Law of Nations and the War," *Oxford Pamphlets*, no. 24 (London, 1914), 13.

²⁸ As one music hall song expressed it, "now on earth 'scraps of paper' / Once more we can sign / With assurance they will hold / Till the sun shall grow cold." F. W. Mark, composed by H. Leurie Hill, "When We Wound Up the Watch on the Rhine," 1914. I would like to thank Thomas Laqueur for bringing this song to my attention. The Parliamentary Recruiting Committee also exploited this theme in a parable meant for the meditation of rural villagers. One official speaker purportedly explained to the satisfaction of his rural audience, "'Europe, my men,' he says, 'is made up of many nations . . . It was written down plain on paper—the scrap-o'-paper' as they all talk about—as this here small Belgium warn't to have no armies marching through her.'" Mrs. F. S. Boas, "Our Village and the War," PRC no. 33 (London, 1914–15), 2.

²⁹ University of Oxford, Faculty of Modern History, *Why We Are at War*, back cover.

³⁰ See Asquith's appeal for war credits, *The Times* (August 7, 1914): 8; and David Lloyd George, "Through Terror to Triumph: An Appeal to the Nation," a speech delivered at the Queen's Hall, London, September 19, 1914, PRC no. 29 (London, 1914), in HLRO, LG/C/36/2, fol. 29.

³¹ In his account of the interview with Bethmann Hollweg, Goschen stressed the difference of opinion he and the chancellor had over the scrap of paper: "I protested strongly . . . and said that, in the same way that he and Herr Von Jagow wished me to understand that for strategical reasons it was a matter of life and death to Germany to advance through Belgium and violate the latter's neutrality, so I would wish him to understand that it was, so to speak, a matter of 'life and death' for the honor of Great Britain that she should keep her solemn engagement to do her utmost to defend Belgium's neutrality if attacked. That solemn compact simply had to be kept, or what confidence could anyone have in engagements given by Great Britain in the future? . . . I hinted to his excellency . . . that fear of consequences could hardly be regarded as an excuse for breaking solemn engagements." Goschen to Sir Edward Grey, August 8, 1914, rpt. in University of Oxford, Faculty of Modern History, *Why We Are at War*, 200.



FIGURE 1: A poster from the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, "The Scrap of Paper," 1914, reproduces as an inset the signature page of the Treaty of London, which guaranteed Belgian neutrality. The German chancellor's repudiation of this treaty as only a "scrap of paper" caused considerable outrage in Britain and generated numerous images highlighting Britain's honorable commitment to international covenants. Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum, London, item Q33146.

To educated Britons, the German chancellor's readiness to draw attention to the fact that treaties are "scraps of paper" threatened to subvert the philosophical basis of legal agreement.³² For these observers, the authority of the law rested on the idea that the contract, as a physical testament of the act of signing or swearing, could freeze a moment of opinion or volition, making it eternally valid.³³ Because international treaties attempted to apply this precept of civil law to the international sphere, Bethmann Hollweg's repudiation of the Treaty of London carried social, political, and financial reverberations well beyond the diplomatic realm.³⁴ Indeed, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, who also wrote on patriotic topics, classified the violation of Belgium as perjury, while David Lloyd George, the chancellor of the Exchequer, denounced Germany as a "great nation behaving like a fraudulent bankrupt."³⁵

Thus the invasion of Belgium and the "dishonour" of Germany were not simply ethical or diplomatic issues but were perceived as threats to both the basis of liberal international law and, by implication, the very idea of public credit. Lloyd George was the ministerial spokesman who most fully drew out these implications. As he evocatively told a London audience (to loud applause), "the man who declines to discharge his duty because his creditor is too poor to enforce it is a blackguard." Delineating Prussia's attitude to the "scrap of paper," Lloyd George demonstrated his point rhetorically by asking the patriotic crowd gathered at the Queen's Hall:

Have you any £5 notes about you? (Laughter and Applause) . . . If you have burn them; they are only scraps of paper . . . What are they made of? Rags . . . What are they worth? The whole credit of the British Empire. (Loud Applause) . . . This doctrine of the scrap of paper . . . goes under the root of all public law. It is the straight road to barbarism . . . It is as if you were to remove the Magnetic Pole because it was in the way of a German cruiser.³⁶

To British observers, Germany's refusal to accept the symbolic significance of the "scrap of paper" not only rendered diplomatic commitments as worthless as the parchment they were printed on but also posed an intellectual threat to the entire contractual basis of international and civil law.³⁷ In this context, the "scrap of

³² J. H. Morgan, the official British investigator into German atrocities in France, warned against the "perverse interpretation of international agreements," protesting what he regarded as "this terrible perversion, this prostitution of words until . . . they have lost their meaning in relation to things." Morgan, *German Atrocities*, 60. Coleman Phillipson ominously declared that "without International Law, chaos will reign," also emphasizing the anarchistic potential of a dismissal of legality. Phillipson, *International Law*, 50.

³³ In his request for war credits, Asquith described the "crucial and governing consideration" of the war as "the position of small states, . . . the duty of fulfilling a solemn international obligation," and "the scorn which would have devolved upon Britain had she failed to keep her plighted word." Although Asquith's emphasis on honor is significant in its abstract and moral meaning, it is still more telling in its relation to the "plighted word." In a system where public scorn could "dishonour," the plighted word should ideally be binding on any man who hoped to retain credit. *The Times* (September 20, 1914): 4; (August 7, 1914): 8.

³⁴ For a classic account of the analogy between international and civil law in the early twentieth century, see Hersch Lauterpacht, *Private Law Sources and Analogies of International Law* (London, 1927).

³⁵ *The Times* (September 20, 1914): 4. As Conan Doyle put it, "Germany . . . had perjured herself upon the day that the first of her soldiers passed over the frontier." *To Arms!* (London, 1914), 30.

³⁶ Lloyd George, "Through Terror to Triumph," 4-6.

³⁷ According to the National War Aims Committee: "Unless treaties are upheld, unless every nation is prepared at whatever sacrifice to honor the national signature, it is obvious that no treaty of peace

paper" was crucially important. Money was a scrap of paper, debt was a scrap of paper, marriage was a scrap of paper, treaties were scraps of paper, and international law was a scrap of paper. In the words of patriotic commentator G. W. Prothero, "If international morality is regarded as of no account, a heavy blow is dealt at commercial and private morality as well. The Reign of Law, the greatest mark of civilization, is maintained in all its parts."³⁸

Not only did the Germans seem to attack all these contracts in a violation that broke a treaty obligation and included rape, requisitioning of property, and the symbolic destruction of law and order in the shooting of mayors and public officials, but they divested the "scrap of paper" of all meaning in a rhetorical act that threatened the sanctity of the written word. The German rejection of symbolism, language, and representation in favor of a stunning literalness hit liberals with a force comparable to the one experienced throughout Europe when the French revolutionaries divested their king of his mystical body and claimed that he was just a man. The repudiation of the "scrap of paper," like the execution of Louis XVI, was a literalist moment that forced a counterattack in the deployment of an image whose literal and symbolic meanings could not be so easily separated.

Although the German disregard of European treaty law was sufficiently shocking to an educated elite, many observers expressed a persistent anxiety that the campaign to rally the British public was not having as much effect as it should on the classes that would become the backbone of the war. In a much admired letter to *The Times*, Prothero argued, "even if the demands of honour and the maintenance of treaties make a widely understood appeal, the fact that our vital interests as a nation are involved is not fully apprehended."³⁹ Indeed, though Prime Minister H. H. Asquith and Conservative Party leader Andrew Bonar Law could claim, "it is for that Scrap of Paper and all that it means that we . . . have already watered with the blood of our sons the fair fields of France," others were less convinced of the advantage of such a barter.⁴⁰ According to a report circulated by the British Empire Union, pacifist Labour politician Ramsay MacDonald "wrote when Germany overran Belgium in defiance of her own guarantee recorded on the 'scrap of paper': 'Never did we arm our people and ask them to give up their lives for a less good cause than this.'"⁴¹ And Coulson Kernahan, an experienced recruiting officer from Sussex, believed that explaining the origins of the war in legalistic terms could have only a limited influence on popular enlistment.⁴²

The "scrap of paper" and the detailed chronicles of the causes of the war that accompanied the more technical explanations of the conflict thus seemed to risk

can be worth the paper on which it is written . . . The first aim of the Allies is the complete restoration, political, territorial, and economic, of the independence of Belgium and such reparation as can be made for devastation." Lloyd George, "War Aims: Proposed Statement by the Prime Minister to Trade Unionists," January 4, 1918, p. 5, HLRO, LG/160/1/12.

³⁸ G. W. Prothero, "Our Duty and Our Interest in the War," in *Tracts Relating to the European War 1914-*, Central Committee for National Patriotic Organizations (London, 1914), 2.

³⁹ *The Times* (August 20, 1914): 4. For responses to Prothero's letter, see "Follow Up to Dr. Prothero's Suggestion," *The Times* (August 21, 1914): 4.

⁴⁰ *The Times* (September 5, 1914): 10.

⁴¹ The British Empire Union, "The Perils of Pacifism," no. 20 [1917], *Pamphlets and Leaflets* (London, 1919), Imperial War Museum [hereafter, IWM], 336.00 K.52496.

⁴² Coulson Kernahan, *The Experiences of a Recruiting Officer* (London, 1915), 29.

leaving the sentiments of the British people untouched. These perceptions became a growing concern among middle-class observers eager to see the working classes recognize their interest in the war. It might be difficult to tell whether or not workers, women, or the array of other citizens whom it was expected would have some reservations about making wartime sacrifices were actually moved by the tales of atrocity that saturated the news. Nevertheless, activists like Kernahan believed it was necessary to convince them that "this is a war which is *their* business . . . and that if they, the public, did not make it their business, they not only might not have any business to which to attend, but might live to see their own homes burning, their own women and children treated even more brutally and inhumanly than the enemy had treated the women and children of France and Belgium."⁴³

In an attempt to popularize the meaning of the war, the highly legalistic discussion of the "scrap of paper" gave way to a discourse that expressed the travesty against international law in ever more human terms. When Asquith addressed Parliament over the issue of war credits in early August, he was able to call upon the principles of treaty obligation and national honor without even mentioning the family.⁴⁴ Rhetoric such as Asquith's, however, soon took on additional meanings as those who invoked international law repeatedly grounded their claims to legitimacy in the sanctity of the family and the female body. "National honor," "treaty violation," and "international law" no longer referred exclusively to a travesty against a legally grounded international order based on the immutability of texts but came increasingly to be defined in terms of the family itself. According to trade union leader and Labour politician J. A. Seddon, the German violation of Belgian territory stirred British workingmen, "for we could not understand a nation boasting of its culture treating its solemn treaty obligations as scraps of waste paper." "But when we knew how the people were being treated, the passion of our race was fully aroused . . . We found that the reign of terror in the conquered territory—the burning of villages, the shooting of peaceful priests, . . . the outraging of young girls and married women, and the wholesale destruction of homes—was no chance excess . . . but the systematic and deliberate policy of the German government."⁴⁵ Seddon's swift move from the effect on workmen of a nation "treating its solemn treaty obligations as scraps of waste paper" to deeds "so terrible that they could only be whispered from man to man" is illustrative of a shift whereby liberal international law was depicted in evocative terms by publicists attempting to represent the meaning of a diplomatic travesty to a broad and diverse democratic public.

This shift from a legalistic emphasis on codified rules to a humanistic and empathic understanding of their intended effect took place gradually in the first month of the war. In early August 1914, apocalyptic pronouncements about the nature of war coexisted with liberal denunciations of the philosophy of the "scrap of paper." With the appearance of the first Belgian reports on August 26,⁴⁶

⁴³ Kernahan, *Experiences of a Recruiting Officer*, 29.

⁴⁴ See *The Times* (August 7, 1914): 8; and H. H. Asquith, *A Call to Arms: A Speech by the Prime Minister at the Guildhall September 4, 1914* (London, 1914).

⁴⁵ J. A. Seddon, *Why British Labour Supports the War* (London, 1917), 7.

⁴⁶ *The Times* (August 26, 1914): 7. On August 26, *The Times* published the first extracts from *The Belgian Official Report*, and on September 16 they extracted more extensively from the report, which

however, this official and public rhetoric was filled with new meaning, and the "rape" of Belgium in all its corporeality came to be understood as the result of the "doctrine of the scrap of paper." Although liberals did not relinquish the appeal to legal principle, they gradually endowed it with a more physical meaning, as the image of the "scrap of paper" was popularly conflated with a vision of those heinous atrocities that would inevitably result from the breakdown of law. William Le Queux thus dramatically explained, "Not only has [Germany] broken her most solemn treaties and moral engagements, but all the rules of civilized warfare to which she was a signatory at the Hague she has also violated, merely regarding them as 'a scrap of paper' . . . Not content with resorting to every act of savagery and every refinement of cruelty which degenerated minds . . . could conceive, her troops . . . have made a practice . . . of placing before them innocent women and children to act as a living screen, in the hope that the Allies would not, from motives of humanity, fire upon them."⁴⁷

The pairing of the "scrap of paper" to German atrocities is as evident in popular prints as in the rhetoric of the penny press. Louis Raemaekers' cartoon called "Germany's Pledged Word" depicts the violation of international conventions as a prostrate female Belgium lying on the altar of *Deutschland über Alles* (see Figure 2). A similar idea is evident in the poetic caption to "In the Trail of the Hun," where "broken pledges" and "treaties torn" are illustrated with a picture of women being used as human shields (see Figure 3). Although these illustrations are iconographic renditions of the meaning of the German violation, the gendered depiction of the law would soon modify the basic framework for understanding the war. If Conan Doyle could describe the invasion of Belgium as perjury, other propagandists would begin to describe it as "rape." The meaning of violating a treaty eventually became almost indistinguishable from the sadistic acts that shared with the "scrap of paper" a common origin in the "intellectual casuistry" of German thought. To destroy treaties was to destroy any civilized regulation of human relations—a barbaric move that would undermine culture, sovereignty, industry, and the family itself (see Figure 4).

Although atrocity propaganda did not adequately represent the political aims of the Allies or even accurately portray the brutality of the German army, it was central to the privileging of an image of international law and a definition of the liberal state that located the safety of women and the family as the primary issue of the public realm. In this campaign, the appeal to duty, conscience, and sense of honor became a plea for the protection of the family when propagandists portrayed the war as a battle between good and evil to be fought out on the very threshold of

had been translated and released by the Press Bureau the day before; *The Times* (September 16, 1914): 6. The Germans accurately noted that the Belgian *Official Reports* were far less lurid than the British ones, and by 1915 the British government was receiving complaints from the Belgians that their rather prosaic reports were no longer being reproduced in the British press. The idiom of rape and the accounts of bizarre mutilation favored by the British press almost entirely usurped any further interest in the endless inventory of requisitioned goods, which, by the 13th Report, had become the staple of the Belgian *Official Reports*. For the details of this problem, see the correspondence between Jay Locock at the Foreign Office and F. H. Mitchell at the Press Bureau, September–October 1915, PRO, HO 139/2, A18, part iv.

⁴⁷ Le Queux, *German Atrocities*, 5–6.



FIGURE 2: A cartoon by Louis Raemaekers, "Germany's Pledged Word" (n.d.), depicts a barbaric "Hun" breaking Germany's word and sacrificing an eroticized female Belgium on the altar of national self-interest. Raemaekers' cartoons were distributed widely in both Britain and the United States, and he was one of the best-known Allied artists of the war period.

the home. In an appeal to working-class constituents, Labour politician Will Crooks exclaimed, "Our homes are in danger, our wives and families are threatened . . . The brutal murders of innocent folk in Belgium show us what Germany would do.



FIGURE 3: "In the Trail of the Hun," *War Illustrated* [1915]. During the war, the Germans were reputed to have used women and children as battle screens in order to prevent the Allied soldiers from firing. The poem by Barry Pain in the upper left corner is typical of wartime doggerel that recorded such events: "Broken pledges, treaties torn,/ Your first page of war adorn./ We on fouler things must look/ Who read further in that book./ Where you made—the deed was fine!—/ Women screen your firing-line;/ Villages burned down to dust;/ Torture, murder, bestial lust,/ Filth too foul for printer's ink,/ Crimes from which the apes would shrink./ Strange the offers that you press/ On the God of Righteousness!"

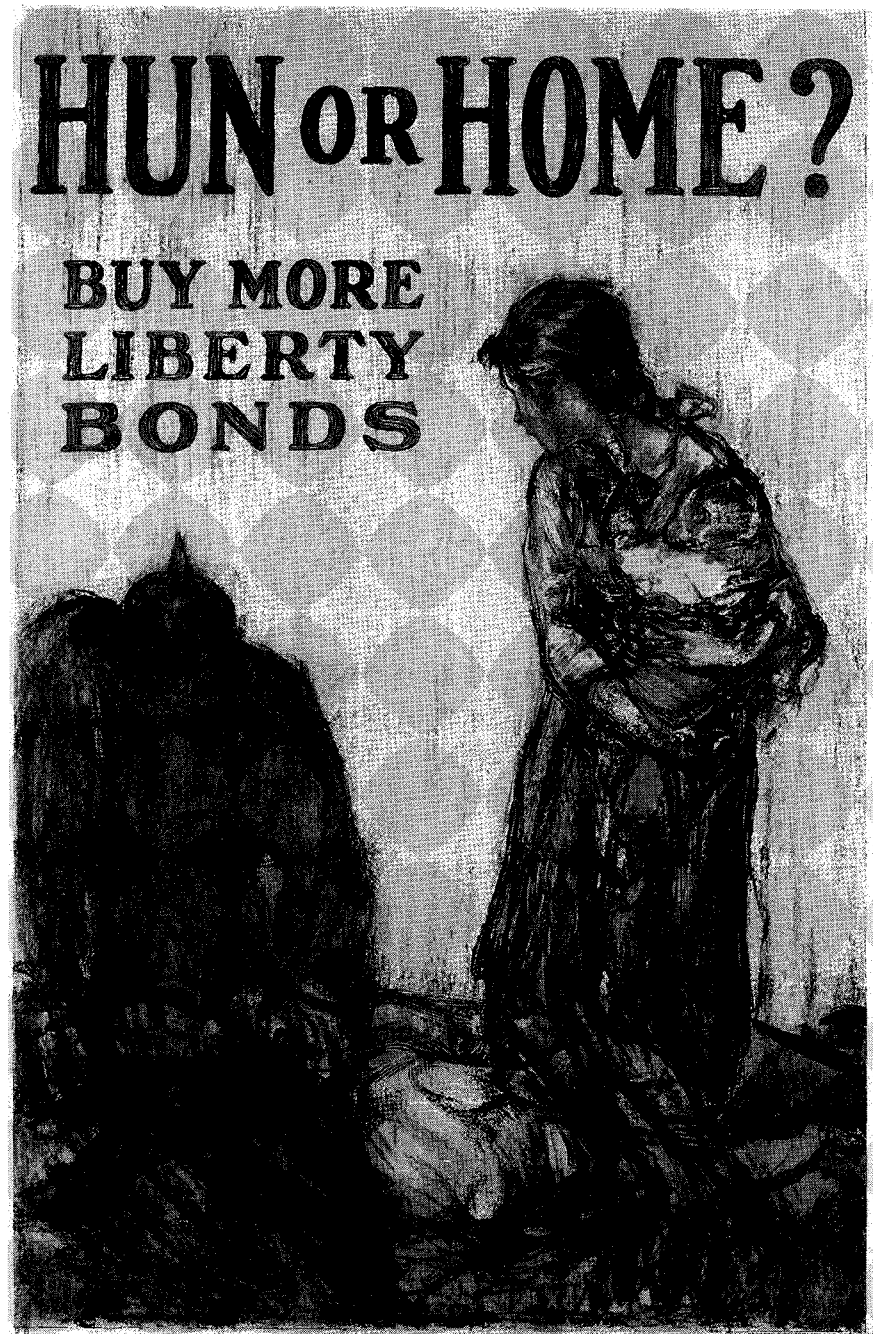


FIGURE 4: H. Raleigh, "Hun or Home?" (USA, 1917). The imagery of sexual and familial danger was picked up internationally and is evident in both Australian recruiting posters and the American Liberty Bond Campaign. The mother with babe in arms is also a central motif of war posters depicting the plight of Belgium. Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum, POS38.

It is not a question of prosperity, of conquest, of trade. We are fighting for liberty and for our homes."⁴⁸

The key to the frequent domestic and international use of atrocities in Belgium among those promoting stern military action thus lay in the universal and irrefutable values with which they could endow the war.⁴⁹ As the personal became political, the case of Belgium offered a way to explain the need for military action in private and sexual terms. "Britain is Fighting not only for Freedom in Europe," one recruiting poster proclaimed, "but to defend your mothers, wives, and sisters from the horrors of war."⁵⁰ The representation of the war in these highly gendered terms complicated the possible interpretation of international law for both British and German theorists of military law.

THE DEPICTION OF EUROPEAN TREATY LAW and its violation in terms of its consequences for human life had a marked effect on the public acceptability of certain methods of conducting land warfare. While British propagandists stressed the human costs of the German violation of Belgium, armies became responsible as never before for justifying their military tactics before the tribunal of public opinion. The formal presentation of the Allied case against Germany to audiences at home, abroad, and above all in America began to undermine the legitimacy of a number of harsh military conventions that had been accepted by all of the major belligerents only a decade before.

Although this representation of international law, with its emphasis on the suffering of women and children, has evocative precedents ranging from Euripides' *Trojan Women* to the vigorous public opposition to British methods during the Boer War, the codification of positive laws of war at the turn of the century had in fact retained a number of brutal military conventions that the Allies came to regard as publicly indefensible during World War I.⁵¹ If the Treaty of London, the "scrap of paper," had come to symbolize German violation of the principle of international law, the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 became the standards against which to measure specific atrocities against the "customs of war." Yet, in spite of the claims of British propagandists, the Hague Convention had never fully succeeded in establishing a humanitarian method of waging war, leaving Allied publicists, jurists,

⁴⁸ Will Crooks, *The British Workman Defends His Home* (London, 1917), 6–7.

⁴⁹ Theodore Roosevelt wrote to Bryce after the publication of his report in the United States, "I congratulate you upon your work in connection with the German atrocities . . . It is a terrible situation and I must say I do not enjoy having my country in the Pontius Pilate-like attitude of neutrality which she still maintains. As for Jane Addams and the other well-meaning women who plead for peace without daring even to protest against the infamous wrongs, the infamies worse than death which their sisters in France and Belgium have suffered, I lack patience to speak of them." May 29, 1915, Bodleian, MM, MS Bryce 4, fol. 218.

⁵⁰ PRC Poster no. 49 [1915]. The poster is depicted hanging prominently in the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee Offices at 12 Downing Street. Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, Minute Book no. 1, BL, ADD MSS 54192. As well as serving as a recruiting poster, this motto was frequently reprinted on other Parliamentary Recruiting Committee paraphernalia.

⁵¹ For an excellent introduction to the nineteenth-century attempt to establish rules of war as binding enactments of international law, see Leon Friedman, ed., *The Law of War: A Documentary History*, vol. 1 (New York, 1972), 149–55.

and social investigators with the burden of endowing the rules of war with the trappings of benevolence.⁵²

The humanitarian shortcomings of the Hague Convention were evident from its inception in 1899. Convened under the auspices of Tsar Nicholas II for the "maintenance of the general peace, and a possible reduction of the excessive armaments which [are] burdening all nations," the peace conference, in the estimation of the novelist Joseph Conrad, represented little more than "the solemnly official recognition of the Earth as a House of Strife."⁵³ According to A. Pearce Higgins, barrister-at-law and lecturer on international law at the London School of Economics and Clare College, Cambridge: "The Emperor of Russia might have said of it, 'I labour for peace, but when I speak unto them thereof, they make them ready for battle.'"⁵⁴ The conference speedily became a forum at which to discuss the codification of the rules of war, and, by the time of its reconvening in 1907, its original objectives of achieving lasting peace and general disarmament had been dropped from the program entirely.⁵⁵

While the participants at the original Hague Convention claimed the mantle of Grotius, celebrating his achievement on July 4, 1899, at his grave in Delft, the agreement itself marked a struggle between the pacific desire to both contain mass warfare and administer it under international rules and the unwillingness of major powers to relinquish sovereignty, submit to mandatory arbitration, or place too strict a set of limitations on "military necessity" in the conduct of war on land.⁵⁶ Higgins's ironic contrast between the humanitarian sentiments that engendered the conference and the belligerent preparations that seemed to be its primary result illustrates the way in which the Hague Convention uneasily embodied two competing conceptions of international law. On the one hand, the convention was meant to tame the international realm by placing states under the rule of law; on the other, it was meant to maintain a respect for the absolute sovereignty of individual states in all matters including the waging of war.⁵⁷

Frederick W. Holls, a member of the 1899 convention from the United States and the editor of the Hague transcripts for American and British audiences, inadvertently highlighted this uneasy balance as he rather optimistically described the mechanisms by which international disputes would be resolved. According to Holls, the participants "were careful to leave the sovereignty of each state absolutely unimpaired, and trusted exclusively to the force of public opinion and the public

⁵² I am here taking issue with Michael Waltzer, who contends that ideas of "just and unjust war" have been constant from at least the time of the Athenian destruction of Melos. Waltzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, 3–20. I am arguing instead that the laws of war, at least to some extent, were historically and culturally determined and therefore subject to change, disagreement, and a certain amount of manipulation.

⁵³ Geoffrey Best, "Restraints on War by Land before 1945," in Michael Howard, ed., *Restraints on War: Studies in the Limitation of Armed Conflict* (Oxford, 1979), 23. For a recent discussion of the Hague Convention, see Adam Roberts, "Land Warfare from the Hague to Nuremberg," in Michael Howard, George J. Andreopoulos, and Mark R. Shulman, eds., *The Laws of War: Constraints on Warfare in the Western World* (New Haven, Conn., 1994).

⁵⁴ A. Pearce Higgins, *The Hague Peace Conferences and Other International Conferences Concerning the Laws and Usages of War: Texts of Conventions with Commentaries* (Cambridge, 1909), 43.

⁵⁵ Higgins, *Hague Peace Conferences*, 526.

⁵⁶ Higgins, *Hague Peace Conferences*, xii.

⁵⁷ For a lucid discussion of this tension, see Geoffrey Best, *Humanity in Warfare* (New York, 1980), 128–200.

conscience for a sanction to enforce the mandates of the newly established court.”⁵⁸ Holls’s emphasis on the role of public opinion in the arbitration of international disputes did little, however, to mask the failure of the Hague Convention to create a mechanism for enforcing its rules. To the democratic signatories, the binding force of legal rules and their potentially liberalizing influence over world public opinion would make up for any deficiency in policing powers granted to the court of arbitration.⁵⁹ Yet the “force of enlightened public opinion” as a means of preventing or humanizing war inspired little faith among the press or the public at the time the Hague Convention was signed. Not only did *The Times* jeeringly comment on the sheer volume of seemingly useless documents generated,⁶⁰ but Holls himself wrote in disappointment, “Its lofty aim did not save it from sarcasm, cynicism, and even condemnation. The good faith of the originating government was openly challenged or derided,—at best the idea was patronizingly called an ‘Utopian dream’—‘a misprint in the page of history,’ according to the gloomy pessimism of a distinguished historian.”⁶¹

Ironically, the criticism of the Hague Convention centered on a perception not unlike that of the German chancellor—that “scraps of paper” have little meaning in the international realm. By 1907, the convention had already failed to prevent the Boer War or the Russo-Japanese War, and its lofty goals seemed to be quite out of step with public opinion.

Given this inauspicious beginning, what is remarkable about the Hague Convention is the way it was rehabilitated during World War I as British publicists and international lawyers succeeded in investing the rules of war with a public meaning that they lacked at the time of the conference. For, in spite of the hue and cry over the treatment of Belgium, the Hague Convention and codified international law were relatively reticent about the treatment of civil populations, leaving it to the vague and mutually contradictory principles of “public conscience” and “military necessity” to decide what procedure was required in the management of civilians in a conquered territory.⁶²

According to international law, a conquered people did not have the right to resist its invaders. In anticipation of an imminent invasion, a civil population could

⁵⁸ Frederick W. Holls, *The Peace Conference at the Hague, and Its Bearings on International Law and Policy* (New York, 1900), 354–57.

⁵⁹ The idea that this enlightened public opinion “would ever sanction a defiance of a righteous decree of the international court of arbitration” was, in Holls’s opinion, “almost unthinkable.” He argued that “the substitution of law for force in international relations will, according to the measure of its accomplishment affect the thoughts and minds of individuals as profoundly as the ideas of religious tolerance and civil liberty.” Holls, *Peace Conference at the Hague*, 366–70.

⁶⁰ “The Hague Fiasco,” *The Times*, October 19, 1907, quoted in Higgins, *Hague Peace Conferences*, 518.

⁶¹ Holls, *Peace Conference at the Hague*, 144–45.

⁶² In Part 4 of the Hague Convention on the regulation of the Laws and Customs of War on Land, the signatories stated that their goal was “to diminish the evils of war, so far as military necessities permit.” It was the hope of the signatories that, given the importance of military necessity and wide disagreement over which regulations should be enforced, “until a more complete code of the laws of war can be issued populations and belligerents remain under the protection of the rule of the principles of the law of nations, as they result from usages established between civilized nations, from the laws of humanity, and the requirements of public conscience.” Higgins, *Hague Peace Conferences*, 209–11. For a discussion of the tension between the humanitarian “customs of war” and the exigencies of “military necessity” in contemporary international law, see Best, *Humanity in Warfare*, 128–200; and Best, “Restraints on War,” 27.

rise up against the enemy in a *levée en masse*; yet, once an invasion was successfully completed, civilian resistance would lose its legality and be regarded as guerrilla warfare—a form of opposition that could legally be punished with severe reprisals.⁶³ One of the chief humanitarian priorities of the Hague Convention was the attempt to broaden the rules allowing civilians combatant status. Since only legal belligerents had a right to be treated according to military law, it was desirable for a civilian caught in an act of resistance to be regarded as a combatant; for, as a civilian resisting illegally, he (or she) would have no claim to be treated as a prisoner according to the customs of war.⁶⁴

In spite of the best attempts of the liberal powers, however, the Hague Convention did very little to mitigate these restrictions on civilian action. In 1899, for example, delegates from Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland supported the inclusion of a provision allowing the people of an invaded country an absolute right of defense, but this proposal was successfully opposed by the German and the Russian delegates, who “protested against the proposition, which in [their] opinion would wipe out the distinction between a popular uprising . . . in a country which was in danger of invasion, and a similar uprising in a district which had already been invaded.”⁶⁵ According to those transcribing the event, “much was said on the subject of humanity,” but, in the opinion of the German representative, General Schwarzhoff, “it was time to remember that soldiers too were human beings, and that tired and exhausted soldiers approaching their quarters after heavy combat . . . had a right to feel sure that apparently peaceable inhabitants should not suddenly prove to be wild and merciless enemies.”⁶⁶

This technical debate reveals that the signatories at the Hague assumed it was more desirable to be treated as a soldier than as a civilian during an invasion, particularly if any resistance was likely to occur.⁶⁷ Indeed, not only did the Germans

⁶³ Although the Hague Convention, in one of its bolder stands, adamantly denied the right to invade a neutral country, once Belgium had actually been invaded, it was technically “occupied” and therefore subject to the rules of conquest. As Gerhard Von Glahn points out, “resistance on the part of the indigenous population to a belligerent occupant has given rise not only to a great body of literature but also to great acts of brutality.” For “an armed uprising *within* occupied territory is forbidden. Individuals participating in such a rising were always classified as war rebels and were subject to the death penalty.” Von Glahn, *Law among Nations: An Introduction to Public International Law*, 4th edn. (New York, 1981), 675.

⁶⁴ Best, *Humanity in Warfare*, 224–43.

⁶⁵ Holls, *Peace Conference at the Hague*, 144–45.

⁶⁶ Holls, *Peace Conference at the Hague*, 144–45. The signatories at the Hague reached a compromise solution that allowed populations to resist invasion if they followed four specific rules: the wearing of identifying badges, the carrying of arms openly, the following of a responsible leader, and the observation of the laws and customs of war. Upon imminent invasion, only the fourth rule, “conducting their operations according to the laws and customs of war,” had to be followed. Higgins, *Hague Peace Conferences*, 219.

⁶⁷ According to Gerhard Von Glahn, “until recently, the laws of war granted no legal status to the private variety of irregular forces; if captured, the members of such organizations were viewed as war criminals and commonly were executed without much ceremony.” Von Glahn, *Law among Nations*, 610. The issue of reprisals further complicated the situation of civilians, since Britain and Germany disagreed strongly over to what degree customary law prohibited retaliation against civilians other than those guilty of resistance. According to Richard I. Miller, although the immunity of civilians was a fundamental principle of the customary law of war, “customary international law is scanty and lacking in detail.” It was not until the period following World War II, Miller observes, that the rights of noncombatants were explicitly declared in the Civilians Convention of 1949. Richard I. Miller, ed., *The Law of War* (London, 1975), 73.

justify reprisals against the civil population of Belgium by arguing that they had resisted illegally, but the Belgians implicitly accepted similar assumptions by arguing, contrary to German assertions, that they had not resisted at all.⁶⁸ While liberal theorists generally insisted that "customary law" frowned on the molestation of innocent noncombatants, British and German jurists had long disagreed over the degree to which unwritten humanitarian "customs of war" restrained considerations of "military necessity."⁶⁹ And, under virtually all systems of law, illegal resistance would have placed the civil population of Belgium in a highly precarious position.⁷⁰

Upon the outbreak of the war, however, the concept of "military necessity," so liberally inserted by military authorities into the Hague text, was subverted as the Allies deftly placed the welfare of the invaded population at the center of any public discussion of international law.⁷¹ Bryce remarked in a letter to an American correspondent, "Surely the main principle of all warfare by land and sea is that the lives of noncombatants must not be taken . . . The Germans, however, seem to have no respect for innocent life whatever. They murdered thousands of non-combatants in Belgium without remorse on the allegation that here and there somebody, being a civilian, had shot at their troops."⁷²

Bryce's humanitarian dismissal of the law of reprisals, explicitly recognized under the Hague Convention, was greatly facilitated by the skill with which Allied publicists portrayed the victims of German aggression as innocent women and children.⁷³ Although in the entire convention there is not a single mention of women or children, or even any explicit outlawing of rape, during the war the protection of "family honor," fleetingly referred to in Part 4, was elevated to central importance by Allied publicists, who interpreted the rules of war in terms of their impact on women, children, and the sanctity of the home.⁷⁴ "On August 25th a

⁶⁸ Belgian Official Commission, *Violation of the Rights of Nations and the Laws and Customs of War*, vol. 1 (London, [1914]), 14. *The Times* caught on to the idea of Belgian resistance, initially reporting on the violence of Belgian women toward German troops, but very soon after dismissed these charges as a ridiculous excuse for brutality offered by the Germans. See *The Times* (August 12, 1914): 6; (September 20, 1914): 2. The question of whether or not the Belgians actually resisted remains controversial. For a recent assessment of this issue, see Horne and Kramer, "German 'Atrocities,'" 21–23.

⁶⁹ According to Von Glahn, "one of the most bitter arguments connected with the laws of war has centered in the traditional German assertion, adopted by other states on occasion, that the laws of war may be set aside in the case of extreme necessity—such as when violations of the laws would enable a country or a military force to escape from deadly danger or to achieve the purpose of the war, the defeat of the enemy." Von Glahn, *Law among Nations*, 603–04; and see Best, *Humanity in Warfare*, 128–99.

⁷⁰ Best, *Humanity in Warfare*, 190–99; and Best, "Restraints on War," 31–35.

⁷¹ Adam Roberts and Richard Guelff have noted that, "in the early codification of the laws of war, international agreements were primarily concerned with the treatment of combatants rather than civilians." The Hague Conventions "make express reference to civilians primarily in respect to the occupation of territory by enemy armed forces, and even these relatively few provisions are fairly basic in character." According to Roberts and Guelff, World War I showed the inadequacy of these provisions. Roberts and Guelff, eds., *Documents on the Laws of War*, 2d edn. (Oxford, 1989), 271.

⁷² Bryce to Charles W. Eliot, May 11, 1915, Bodleian, MM, MS Bryce USA 2, fol. 115.

⁷³ See, for example, the Official Belgian Commission of Inquiry, *The Martyrdom of Belgium: Official Report of Massacres of Peaceable Citizens, Women and Children by the German Army, Testimony of Eye-Witnesses*, Report 11 (Baltimore, n.d.), 19. For a discussion of the laws governing reprisals, see Best, *Humanity in Warfare*, 166–79.

⁷⁴ Part 4, section 3, Article 46, reads: "Family honor and rights, the lives of individuals and private property, as well as religious convictions and liberty of worship must be respected." Higgins, *Hague Peace Conferences*, 247. Yet, according to Best, even this seemingly straightforward statement was

pregnant woman who had been wounded with a bayonet was discovered . . . [S]he was dying," the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee informed potential volunteers. "One witness saw a German soldier cut a woman's breast after he had murdered her, and saw many other dead bodies of women in the streets . . . Two young women were lying in the backyard of the house. One had her breasts cut off the other had been stabbed."⁷⁵

While such sadistic acts, if real, were surely never permissible under any law, there is abundant evidence to suggest that military men, as well as the framers of the Hague Convention, allowed themselves considerable flexibility on how to treat civilians, particularly during an irregular war.⁷⁶ Lord Kitchener, the British secretary of war until 1916, had been among the most ruthless heroes of the Boer War, in which he achieved notoriety for corralling women and children into concentration camps at tremendous human cost.⁷⁷ In fact, Kitchener's scoffing dismissal of humanitarian rules during his bloody anti-guerrilla campaigns in South Africa was not very different from the justification used by German apologists to explain reprisals in Belgium.⁷⁸ Yet some in Britain had learned the lessons of public opinion during this earlier war, when public outrage over British military treatment of Boer women and children embarrassed the government and ensured that in the future Britain would manipulate the Hague regulations to far better effect.⁷⁹

As Allied publicists had discovered, regardless of the actual flexibility of the written rules of war, the humanitarian public was rigid in its ideas of right and wrong. British propagandists exploited this knowledge when they crafted an evocative image of international law suitable for arousing public feeling during a war increasingly understood in terms of violence against women and children. Not

limited by the assumption that "military necessity" might override its provisions. Best, *Humanity in Warfare*, 177. Rape was not explicitly outlawed until 1949 under Article 27 of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Miller, *Law of War*, 81.

⁷⁵ PRC, *Truth about German Atrocities*, 15–16.

⁷⁶ Indeed, the Germans were indignant over British self-justification, noting that "this 'putative protector of small nations' had suppressed India, Persia, Egypt, Armenia, Tripoli, the Boers, and numerous other small peoples." A. J. Hoover, *God, Germany, and Britain in the Great War: A Study in Clerical Nationalism* (New York, 1989), 54. Best has commented that British admirals shared with German generals a certain contempt for humanitarian restraints on the waging of war. Admiral John Fisher was apparently particularly contemptuous, dismissing the "whole Hague business" as "non-sense." Best, *Humanity in Warfare*, 179. See also Best, "Restraints on War," 31–35; and Friedman, *Law of War*, 153.

⁷⁷ The purpose of this brutal practice was to make it impossible for Boer guerrillas to live off the land. Not only were women and children herded into concentration camps, but livestock was slaughtered and crops burned for the same reason. Byron Farwell, *The Great Anglo-Boer War* (London, 1976), 348–49; and S. B. Spies, *Methods of Barbarism? Roberts and Kitchener and Civilians in the Boer Republics, January 1900–May 1902* (Cape Town, 1977), 302.

⁷⁸ The two justifications used by the British for these methods were, first, that since the Boers were not signatories at the Hague the rules of war outlined there did not apply. This was technically true (see Higgins, *Hague Peace Conferences*, 211), but many critics of British "methods of barbarism" claimed that humanitarian customary law was applicable regardless of the status of the Hague. Second and more important, the British (like the Germans during World War I) argued that in a guerrilla situation the rules of war no longer applied. Spies, *Methods of Barbarism*, 11–19. Apparently, the German General Staff was deeply interested in British methods in South Africa, which, according to Byron Farwell, "did little to discourage their aggressive ambitions." Farwell, *Great Anglo-Boer War*, xii.

⁷⁹ Stephen E. Koss, *The Pro-Boers: The Anatomy of an Antiwar Movement* (Chicago, 1973), *passim*; and Bernard Porter, "The Pro-Boers in Britain," in Peter Warwick and S. B. Spies, eds., *The South African War: The Anglo-Boer War, 1899–1902* (London, 1980), 239–57.

only did Lloyd George declare that the Germans had killed "three civilians for every soldier," but newspapers, posters, and paraphernalia of all sorts seemed to corroborate this statistic with an iconography of destruction focused on the devastation of the private sphere.⁸⁰ The redoubtable William Le Queux declared in a scathing denunciation of German tactics, "The wild orgies of blood and debauchery, the atrocious outrages, murders, and mutilations, the ruthless violation and killing of defenseless women, girls, and children of tender age have been, it is now admitted by the Germans themselves, carried out with the full knowledge, and even as part of the actual plan of campaign of the War Lords."⁸¹

The rhetorical exaggeration of the popular press found ample validation in official sources as the "rape" of Belgium was conveyed in sexual and familial terms. Theodore Cook, whose bestselling *Crimes of Germany* had gone into multiple editions by 1918, thus only stated the obvious when he reminded his international readership, "from the assassination of the Archduke's wife at Sarajevo to the shooting of a hospital nurse in Brussels, Prussia [*sic*] and her allies have concentrated their cruelty upon women."⁸² Whether it was the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the execution of nurse Edith Cavell, or harsh reprisals meted out in Belgium, alleged violations of international law carried a particular potency when depicted in terms of women, children, and the safety of the home (see Figure 5).⁸³

Britain's heavy investment in the gendered interpretation of international law is evident in the unstinting attacks on German barbarism but also in the pains propaganda authorities took to control Britain's own public image, especially regarding the notorious blockade that was preventing food from reaching Germany.⁸⁴ While both sieges and blockades were permissible under the Hague regulations, neither tactic held up well before the gendered humanitarian criteria British

⁸⁰ David Lloyd George, "Recruiting Meeting at Criccieth," *Carnarvon Herald* (October 2, 1914): 3.

⁸¹ Le Queux, *German Atrocities*, 5.

⁸² Cook, *Crimes of Germany* [1917], 7. Time and again, the British press, along with those who recounted atrocities to official boards of inquiry, selected sexual crimes as the centerpiece of their accounts of war. In J. H. Morgan's presentation of documentary evidence, for example, nearly all depositions taken from English "witnesses" of alleged atrocities involve rape and sexual crimes. See Morgan, *German Atrocities*, 123–81.

⁸³ In cases such as the execution of nurse Edith Cavell, who was smuggling Allied prisoners out of Belgium, or the sinking of the *Lusitania*, which was carrying explosives to the Allies, the belligerent nature of the act was suppressed, while frequent use was made of the fact that civilians, particularly women and children, were harmed. See Arthur Marwick, *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (1965; London, 1970), 98; and Wilson, *Myriad Faces of War*, 93. For contemporary examples of the use of this humanitarian rhetoric, see James M. Beck, *The Case of the Lusitania* (Boston, 1916), 3; and James Bryce, "Address Delivered July 14, 1916," *Some Historical Reflections on War Past and Present; Being Portions of Two Annual Presidential Addresses Delivered to the British Academy* (London, 1916), 15.

⁸⁴ The British were obsessed with trying to justify the policy of blockade. While legal as an act of war, it both violated the freedom of the seas that the neutral Americans felt they were entitled to and undermined the humanitarian argument against waging war on civilians. In spite of these consequences, however, the British were adamant about its military necessity (in the face of German submarine warfare) and awkwardly attempted to justify it without compromising international and domestic good will. See, for example, Sir John Simon to Lord Courtney of Penwith, March 10, 1915, Bodleian, MM, MS Simon vol. 5, fol. 186; Christabel Pankhurst, "America and the War," a speech delivered at Carnegie Hall, New York, October 24, 1914 (London, 1914), 18–19; and Claud Schuster to James Bryce, April 12, 1915, Bodleian, MM, MS Bryce UB 57. For a discussion of the various contradictions evident in naval law at this time, see Bryan Ranft, "Restraints on War at Sea," in Howard, *Restraints on War*, 43–50.

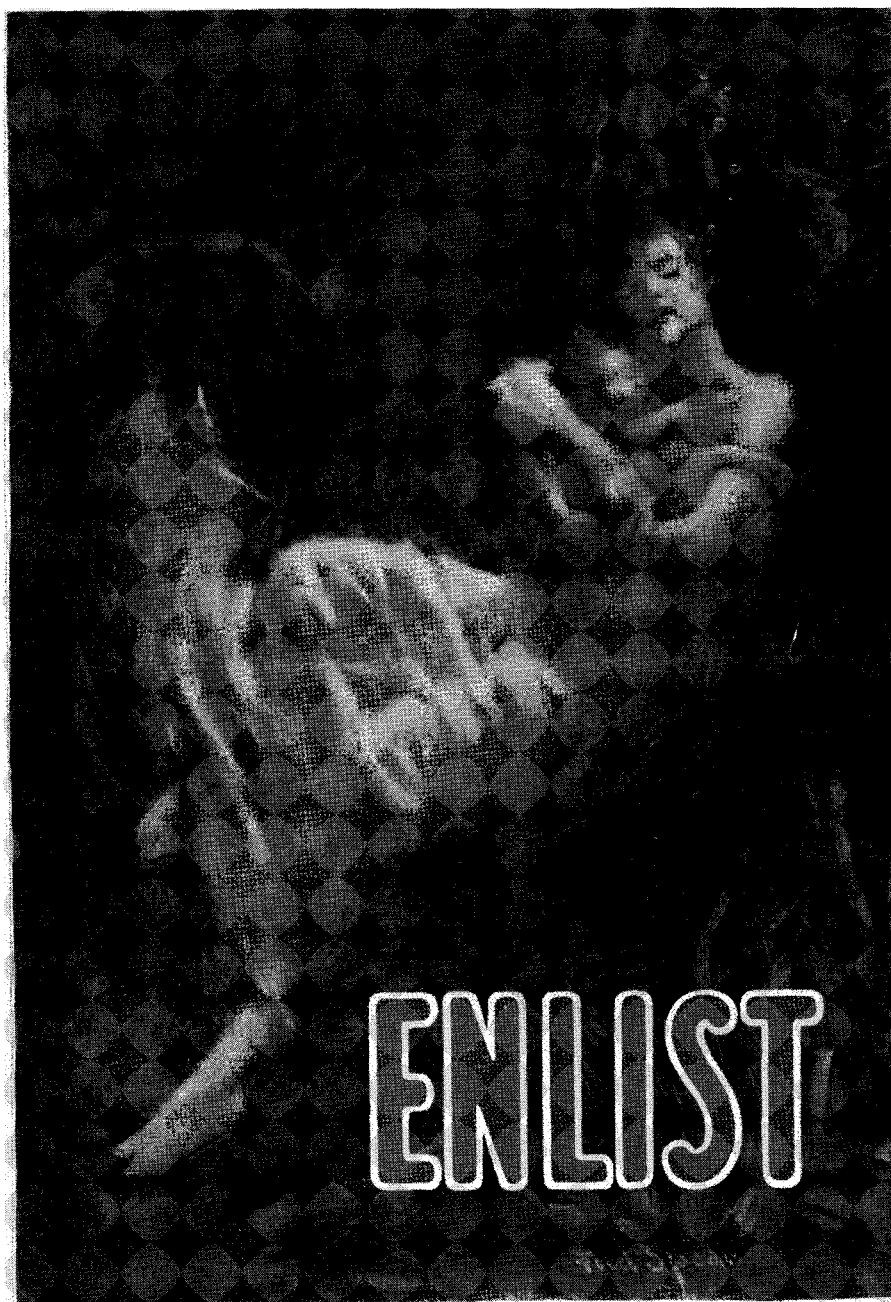


FIGURE 5: This American recruiting poster by Fred Spear, "Enlist" (1915), shows the vivid, gendered imagery that depicted such events as the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum, Q79723.

publicists depended on to justify the war.⁸⁵ Such ironies were a continual source of anxiety, particularly as British propagandists struggled to preserve a pristine humanitarian reputation for the benefit of the American public.

⁸⁵ Michael Howard has commented on the degree to which the British discounted humanitarian claims when they insisted on the legality of blockades. Howard, "*Temperamenta Belli: Can War be Controlled?*" in Howard, *Restraints on War*, 9–10.

In March 1916, for example, Charles Masterman, head of Wellington House, wrote to James Bryce in some agitation when a propaganda pamphlet appeared that threatened to undermine Britain's benevolent posture by defending the blockade policy on entirely unsatisfactory grounds. The pamphlet, written by Maurice Low, argued that in a modern war there was no distinction between a combatant and a noncombatant and thereby justified the British policy of blockade. Masterman commented ironically, "That of course is very satisfactory when he is defending the starving of Germany. It is not quite so satisfactory when we are protesting against the destruction of the Lusitania or exciting America at the death of women and children. All the Germans have to do in America is to refer to Maurice Low's pamphlet and to say that these women and children, on our own confession, are 'combatants' and therefore may be destroyed without any violation of international law."⁸⁶

On April 10, Masterman again wrote to Bryce with the intention of suppressing, if possible, Low's pamphlet. Once again, the rhetoric of domestic safety that had become the hallmark of the British campaign against Germany became a means to constrain the self-justification of the British themselves. "I am sending you Maurice Low's pamphlet on the *Freedom of the Seas*," Masterman explained. "[I]t is true that he is talking of us starving Germany; but surely he realizes that to lay down such a proposition as 'the complexity of modern warfare makes it impossible to distinguish combatants and non-combatants'—that men, women, and *children* who work for food or munitions are just as guilty of combatancy as the fighting forces . . . is more worthy of a mad German professor than an English 'propagandist.'" He continued,

The whole of our case against wandering zeppelins killing innocent children, or the bombardment of unarmed towns or the sinking of the Lusitania etc. goes to pieces. On this theory the Germans were quite justified in imprisoning all the women of Belgium and killing any who annoyed them. I wish the pamphlet could be suppressed! And it is written for America!!! of all places in the world.⁸⁷

Masterman's horror at Low's pamphlet stemmed from the way in which British apologists had framed the terms of international law since the outbreak of war in August 1914.⁸⁸ Unlike Kitchener's justification of violence against civilians as an unpleasant necessity of guerrilla warfare, the justification for war offered by Allied

⁸⁶ Charles Masterman to Bryce, March 31, 1916, Bodleian, MM, MS Bryce UB 54, Box 1916. Defenses of the blockade on the grounds of military necessity were a continual thorn in the side of those British authorities involved with public relations. See, for example, Bryce to Eliot, April 15, 1915, Bodleian, MM, MS Bryce USA 2, fol. 113.

⁸⁷ Masterman to Bryce, April 10, 1916, Bodleian, MM, MS Bryce UB 54, Box 1916.

⁸⁸ It was very important to the British that "the Allies should not use language which appears to make a claim to be above international law." Newspaper Proprietors' Association, *Confidential Memorandum* [n.d.], p. 3, in John Buchan, *Scheme for a Propaganda Department at the Foreign Office* [February 1917], PRO, INF 4/1B. In this spirit, they were very careful about public revelations regarding their own treatment of civilians. On October 16, 1916, for example, S. Gaselee wrote to F. H. Mitchell at the Press Bureau complaining that "Montgomery feels a little unhappy about one of the photographs issued by the Press Bureau . . . It is called 'Greek Women Breaking Stones for Roads at Salonica.' Do you not think that if this is reproduced widely it would be got hold of by the Germans and used as an instrument of propaganda against us, enslavement of the populations of neutral countries, etc and especially the employment of women to do menial tasks. It is probably too late to suppress it completely, but if you can discourage it being widely used, it would be all to the good." October 16, 1916, PRO, HO 139/3 A 18, part 8.

publicists was based wholly on the need for intervention to prevent further atrocities against innocent noncombatants. As Bryce put it, "I do not remember to have ever expressed the view that the United States should come into the war, save in one event, viz: that Germany adheres to her policy of killing innocent non-combatants on sea and land. That policy seems to me to be a challenge to all mankind which all mankind would be amply justified in meeting by war."⁸⁹

Although crimes against the civil population have always been a standard rhetorical trope in war justification, British publicists skillfully played on humanitarian sentiment to raise the welfare of the civil population, and its metonymic image, the family, to a central status in the public understanding of international law. Just as the move from the "scrap of paper" to the "rape" of Belgium personified the sanguinary meaning of treaty violation, the Allied interpretation of the Hague Convention gave a gendered, humanitarian cast to the laws and customs of war. International lawyer Coleman Phillipson thus shared the sentiments of many experts when he argued that "the Germans resorted to proceedings which are not only inadmissible from the humanitarian standpoint, but are directly prohibited by the Hague regulations."⁹⁰ Prominent among these "proceedings" were violent sexual attacks on innocent women and girls. "A woman, 22 years old, . . . was successively violated by five soldiers," declared Phillipson, describing a bloody orgy at Corbeek Loo. A 16-year-old girl, "forced to drink," was "violated successively" on the lawn. "She continued to resist and they pierced her breasts with their bayonets." Even nuns were allegedly raped "in such horrible circumstances that it is difficult to believe the assailants to have been human at all."⁹¹

Such claims were not surprising, given the lurid and extreme nature of official sources. According to J. H. Morgan, the British attorney investigating German violations of international law in France, "cases of sodomy and of the rape of little children did undoubtedly occur on a very large scale." "There is very strong reason to suspect that young girls were carried off to the trenches by licentious German soldiery, and there abused by hordes of savage and licentious men." Describing one bloodcurdling rape after another, Morgan coolly declared, "One of our officers . . . heard a woman's shrieks in the night coming from behind the German trenches . . . [W]hen we advanced in the morning . . . a girl was found lying naked on the ground 'pegged out' in the form of a crucifix."⁹²

In the face of such accusations, German justification of its own military policy was effectively undermined (see Figure 6). Although German philosophers such as Treitschke and Bernhardt claimed that the needs of the nation-state transcended international law, the Germans nevertheless invoked a highly legalistic set of international codes to justify their conduct in Belgium. Basing many of their claims on the rights of conquest guaranteed under international law, the Germans both insisted on the punctilious legality of their harsh actions within conquered territory and decried Belgian violation of the rules of war, maintaining that even the most

⁸⁹ Bryce to Eliot, July 1, 1915, Bodleian, MM, MS Bryce USA 2, fol. 118.

⁹⁰ Phillipson, *International Law*, 149.

⁹¹ Phillipson, *International Law*, 184.

⁹² Morgan, *German Atrocities*, 62–63.



FIGURE 6: "Injured Innocence," *Punch* (May 31, 1916). This cartoon ironically depicts the way German justification of tactics in Belgium appeared to many Allied observers. Note the torn treaty under the foot of the German ogre and the dead bodies of women and children littering the background.

seemingly innocuous Belgians had illegally resisted the occupation.⁹³ Although some international lawyers might have accepted the reasoning used by German

⁹³ The German Government, "Introductory Memorandum," *The German White Book*, rpt. in Morgan, *German Atrocities*, 113–20. See also Horne and Kramer, "German 'Atrocities,'" 9–11.

apologists, it had little public resonance, because it did not gauge the way in which gender had become the centerpiece of public conceptions of international law.

The German White Book, an official response to Allied charges, for example, justified the massacre at Dinant by claiming that Belgian civilians had offered resistance to the Germans without wearing the military insignia required by international law. According to the Germans, women and children "(including girls) of ten or twelve years were armed with revolvers," and "elderly women" and "white-haired old men" "fired with intense fury."⁹⁴ The Germans insisted that it was "proved beyond all doubt that German wounded were robbed and killed by the Belgian population, and . . . were subjected to horrible mutilations and that even women and young girls took part in these shameful actions."⁹⁵ Allied and neutral observers were unconvinced by this defense, and the White Book actually hurt the German case by seeming to offer dubious justification for retaliatory violence apparently committed against women, children, and the elderly.⁹⁶

German attempts to deny Allied accusations were often equally ineffective.⁹⁷ German international lawyer Ernst Müller-Meiningen, for example, attempted to refute a rumor that German soldiers had cut the ears off two hundred to four hundred Belgian girls by claiming that, upon investigation, it was found that they had cut the ears off at most one girl.⁹⁸ In another incident, the Germans had argued that Rheims Cathedral was destroyed because it was being used as a military outpost, yet Müller-Meiningen tried to further justify its destruction by claiming that, along with Napoleon I, "Good nature cannot be accounted as humanity in a conquered country. If one is obsessed by humanity and again humanity one should not attempt to conduct war."⁹⁹ A frequently quoted work that seemed to express similar sentiments was the German military code for the conduct of war on land,

⁹⁴ Morgan, *German Atrocities*, 23–24. The Germans were obsessed with the idea that Belgium was teeming with guerrilla soldiers or *francs-tireurs* and therefore punished alleged sniper attacks with particular severity, pointing out that reprisals against guerrilla action were well within the laws of war. See Horne and Kramer, "German 'Atrocities,'" 15–23.

⁹⁵ German sources insisted that "the eyes of German wounded were torn out, their ears, nose, fingers, and sexual organs cut off, or their bodies cut open." For a summation of these accusations, see Morgan, *German Atrocities*, 17.

⁹⁶ As Bryce wrote in his epilogue to the 10th impression of Morgan's *German Atrocities*, while the German White Book "does not prove the German case against the civilian population and the Government of Belgium, it virtually admits, in its attempts to justify, the shocking cruelties perpetrated by the German Army upon the population." Morgan, *German Atrocities*, 246–47. According to John Horne and Alan Kramer, the terms in which Germany explained itself owed much to the belief that they were justified in their harsh conduct in Belgium. Horne and Kramer, "German 'Atrocities,'" 10–11.

⁹⁷ According to H. C. Peterson, Germany's own ill-advised propaganda effort did as much as anything else to alienate American opinion. Peterson, *Propaganda for War: The Campaign against American Neutrality, 1914–1917* (Norman, Okla., 1939), 140–41. The failure of German propaganda in the United States is further discussed in Reinhard R. Doerries, "Promoting Kaiser and Reich: Imperial German Propaganda in the United States during World War I," in Hans-Jürgen Schröder, ed., *Confrontation and Cooperation: Germany and the United States in the Era of World War I, 1900–1924* (Oxford, 1993), 135–65.

⁹⁸ Müller-Meiningen, *Who Are the Huns*, 209. The author is clearly skeptical about even this single incident, markedly pointing out that it was related by a chauffeur. Yet he leaves sufficient doubt to allow the reader to entertain the possibility that it might be true. Such lingering doubts, along with a bombastic and somewhat violent rhetoric, no doubt explain why the Harvard library holds two copies of this German propaganda pamphlet—one presented by the Germans themselves and the other, significantly, presented by the British.

⁹⁹ Müller-Meiningen, *Who Are the Huns*, 246.

published in 1902 by the German General Staff. Popularly known as the German War Book, it was a favorite target of Allied propagandists since it raised the question of a possible incompatibility between international law and the rules of war and put great emphasis on military necessity over "exaggerated humanitarian ideas."¹⁰⁰ As Bryce wrote with obvious satisfaction, the Germans "have, with their amazing efficiency in civil as well as military affairs, an extraordinary stupidity and incapacity for understanding how they seem to other countries and how their actions will affect sentiments in other countries . . . At this moment they do not in the least understand why the violation of Belgium has horrified us or you; nor can they understand why military necessity fails in our eyes to justify their atrocious behavior in Belgium."¹⁰¹

Although German self-justification was not unlike that of Lord Kitchener when he described the means by which he would punish guerrilla warfare in South Africa, to a humanitarian public little interested in codified rules of war, the failure of Belgian civilians to meet the four conditions of a citizen militia seemed poor justification for the severe reprisals meted out by the Germans.¹⁰² The accusations against women and children seemed still more ridiculous given that the evocative meaning of the family had already been exploited by Allied propagandists claiming a very different interpretation of international law. German self-justification collapsed not in its failure to understand the laws of war (for "necessity" had indeed been granted a wide berth by the framers of the Hague) but in its inability to grasp the humanitarian criteria that, at least in public, were rendering the more brutal of these laws obsolete.

BOTH THE LEGALISTIC GERMAN EMPHASIS ON THE LETTER OF THE LAW and the philosophical idea of its relativity were stymied by an evocative and universalist British interpretation that explained international law in terms of the family, the child, and the female body. Britain, by using atrocity propaganda to illustrate its own defense of humanitarian values, succeeded in making the rules of the Hague Convention its own and, in the process, won an interpretive struggle with the Germans that defined for much of the English-speaking world the terms of the international law. "It is remarkable to note how instant is the response in the United States to every fresh German atrocity," British propaganda administrator Sir Gilbert Parker noted with satisfaction in 1916. "It might have been expected . . . [that] German atrocities would have by this time become somewhat stale. But this is not the case. There seems to be no more certain appeal to the American public than through the medium of such atrocities."¹⁰³ For propagandists, newspapermen,

¹⁰⁰ Belgian Commission, "Extracts from the German Military Code," *Martyrdom of Belgium*, 20.

¹⁰¹ Bryce to Eliot, February 9, 1915, Bodleian, MM, MS Bryce USA 2, fol. 111.

¹⁰² Morgan, *German Atrocities*, 115. Even those of Bryce's American correspondents who did not favor American entry into the war had to admit that Germany had gravely harmed itself with the attempt to justify brutal methods of war. See Nicholas Murray Butler to Bryce, September 23, 1914, Bodleian, MM, MS Bryce USA 3, fol. 230; and Abbot Lawrence Lowell to Bryce, September 21, 1914, Bodleian, MM, MS Bryce USA 8, fol. 54.

¹⁰³ Peterson, *Propaganda for War*, 243. Parker made the comment in relation to the continuing effect of "poor ruined Belgium" on American sentiments well into 1916.

and the consumers of their literary and artistic wares, violence against women, children, and the family had become—in the words of Theodore Cook—the hallmark of “the dingy creed of Kulture and the Superman, that was bred by the brutality of the Prussian Junker out of the insanity of Nietzsche.”¹⁰⁴ It was the narrative description of such cruelty, “so pathetic, so poignant, so unimaginably horrible in all its naked details,”¹⁰⁵ that shaped the public understanding of the war and highlighted for literate men and women the meaning and purpose of international law.

International legislation gained prominence as the moral bulwark against such savagery, and the once-scorned Hague Convention was hailed as a document that embodied and upheld not only family values but the cause of civilization itself. The minor reference to “family honor” in Part 4, Article 46, took on great significance when it became the one international statement that explicitly addressed the gendered and familial concerns allegedly at the heart of the Allied cause. The moral impact of *The Deportation of Women and Girls from Lille*, a British collection of documents issued by the French government on the deportation of workers in 1916 to do agricultural work in Aisne and the Ardennes, lies wholly in its rhetorical use of women and the family.¹⁰⁶ Although the Hague Convention was vague on restrictions for a conquering army requiring non-military labor of a subject people,¹⁰⁷ the French effectively drew on Article 46 and the guarantee of “family honor” to endow these transportations with the rhetorical impact of white slavery.¹⁰⁸ According to the French minister of war: “In contempt of rules universally recognized and of their own express promise not to molest the civil population, [the Germans] have taken women and girls away from their families; they have sent them off, mixed up with men, to destinations unknown, to work unknown.”¹⁰⁹ The bishop of Lille further developed this case, publicly pleading with the Germans not to “dismember the family” and arguing before a British and American audience that “morality is exposed to perils, the mere idea of which revolts every honest man, from the promiscuity which inevitably accompanies removals *en masse*, involving mixture of the sexes, or, at all events, of persons of very unequal moral standing. Young girls of irreproachable life . . . have been carried off.”¹¹⁰

The guarantee of “family honor” became central to making the arcane world of

¹⁰⁴ Cook, *Crimes of Germany*, 8.

¹⁰⁵ Cook, *Crimes of Germany*, 7.

¹⁰⁶ France, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *The Deportation of Women and Girls from Lille: Translated Textually from the Note Addressed by the French Government to the Governments of Neutral Powers on the Conduct of the German Authorities towards the Population of the French Departments in the Occupation of the Enemy* (London, 1916).

¹⁰⁷ Higgins, *Hague Peace Conferences*, 249; Holls, *Peace Conference at the Hague*, 139: according to Article 52, “neither requisitions in kind nor services can be demanded from communes or inhabitants except for the necessity of the army of occupation.”

¹⁰⁸ Arnold Toynbee used the vivid gendered imagery exploited by the French to undercut all arguments of military necessity: “Women threw themselves on the rails in front of the locomotive about to haul out the train containing the miserable captives and the German soldiers forced them off with bayonets . . . They defended it as being ‘war,’ as they justify everything, however inhuman, done because the military needs of Germany are alleged to call for it.” Toynbee, *The Belgian Deportations* (London, [1917]), 6.

¹⁰⁹ Toynbee, *Belgian Deportations*, 5.

¹¹⁰ Toynbee, *Belgian Deportations*, 16.

international law comprehensible to a public that alone was to ratify its enforcement. For those inclined to agree that a "scrap of paper" was hardly a reason to fight, the Bryce Report and hundreds of other documents painted a harrowing picture of treaty violation that represented it as an issue of national, personal, and sexual concern. As one anonymous poet wrote in the imaginative "Thoughts of an Indian Soldier": "The foes are not sahibs / They break the word they plight / On babes their blades are whetted / Dead women know their might."¹¹¹ In this typical segue from the repudiation of international covenants to the broken bodies of women and children, the brutalization of Belgium serves as a physical symbol of the violation of international law. Playing on the allegorical representation of Liberty as a woman, Allied artists repeatedly depicted a female Belgium stripped to the waist, bound and violated; yet the vision of Belgium as a raped woman acquired more than allegorical significance as rumors of actual, physical rape poured out of the occupied territories (see Figures 7, 8, and 9). In these images, the emblematic depiction of treaty violation became indistinguishable from the realistic rendering of the effects of occupation. The rape of law and the rape of women were inextricably linked in a sexualized image of public and private anarchy.

In this way, British publicists reasserted the inseparability of the "scrap of paper" from its larger ethical significance. Attached to the body and declared to be the ordering force of all human relationships, abstract law became a matter of intense public concern. The Germans' disregard for law seemed to be commensurable with rape, and their flouting of international treaties apparently signified the breakdown of the private sphere as well. The goal of British foreign policy was now ostensibly to protect the family, children, and the safety of women. Indeed, atrocity propaganda was not merely a lurid chronicle of outrages but the public articulation of a set of goals that defined the accepted foreign-policy directives of the British state. In William Rothenstein's celebratory painting, "The Triumph of Democracy" (see Figure 10), this idea is made manifest. The victor, Britain, returns the child Hope to mother Democracy. Echoing the Belgian allegory so familiar to British wartime iconography, the story is happily resolved: the vanquished Germany stands with head bowed and sword broken while peaceful agricultural life resumes. Domestic allegory and political allegory are inextricably linked, and the "scrap of paper" is vested with a fundamental meaning anchored in the family.

The deployment of such images had both domestic and international consequences. At home, the imperative created by a seemingly barbaric enemy did much to justify the expedient abrogation of many cherished liberal principles. While the British instituted conscription and censorship, limited free trade, and disregarded freedom of the seas, they adroitly used the "rape" of Belgium to justify these violations of libertarian principles in private and sexual terms. Miss G. Holland, a former ambulance driver, wrote in her diary, "As the Germans have treated Belgium, so must they be treated by the allies." For, in her view, British troops were no longer "the fighting army of freedom" but, rather, had become "the avengers of innocent blood, the blood of old men and women, of little children, avengers of the

¹¹¹ *The Times* (September 10, 1914): 9.



FIGURE 7: Another cartoon by Louis Raemaekers, "Seduction" (n.d.), shows the allegorical possibilities of the "rape" of Belgium.

beautiful country now laid waste."¹¹² As Holland's interpretation of events shows, British apologists had introduced into public consciousness a new and more invincible "doctrine of necessity"—one that would powerfully subordinate the

¹¹² Miss G. Holland, "Journal," IWM, Documents, 88/26/1, 8.

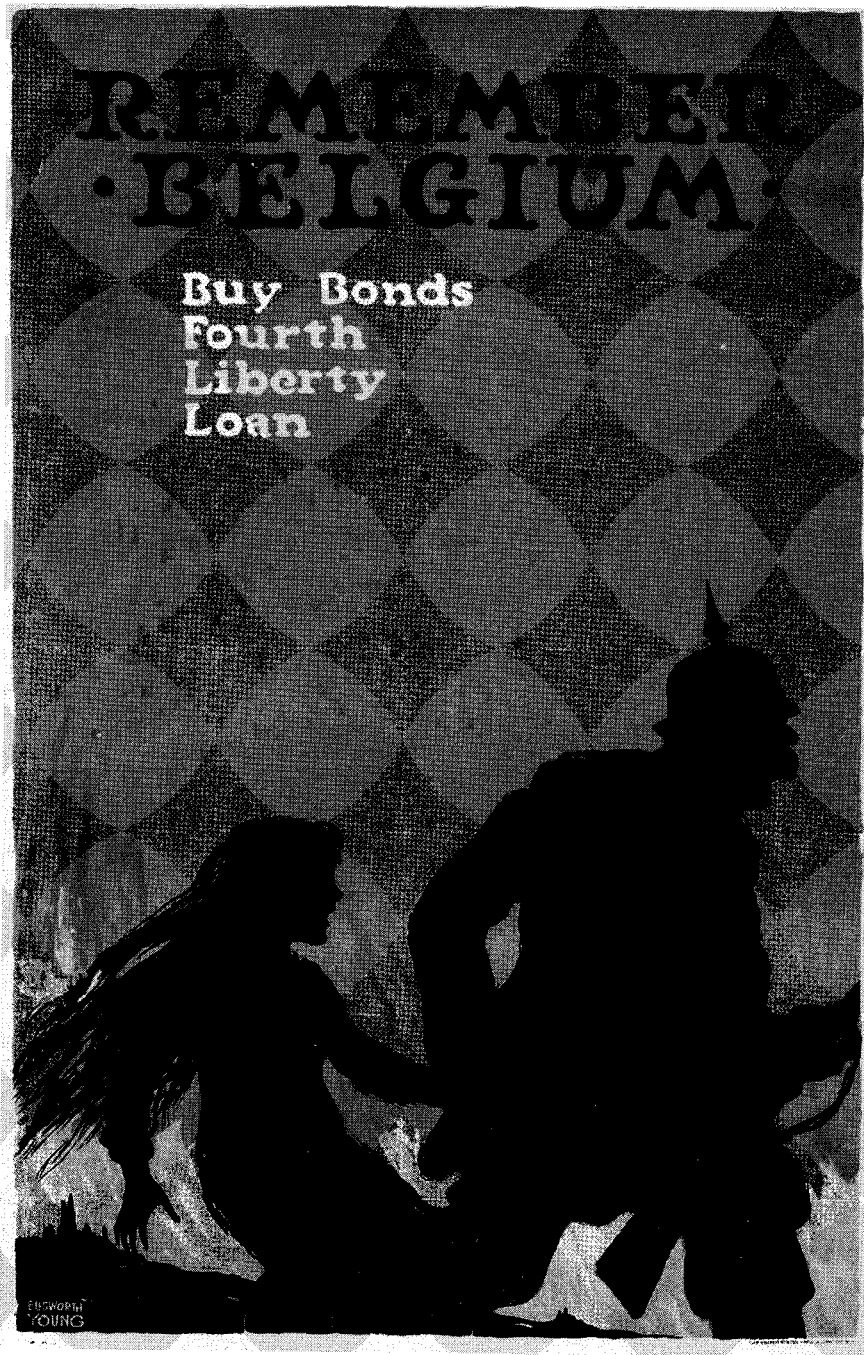


FIGURE 8: Ellsworth Young, "Remember Belgium" (USA, 1918). Young's poster demonstrates the centrality of German atrocities in Belgium, particularly those of a sexual nature, in stirring up support for the war. Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum, Q70376.

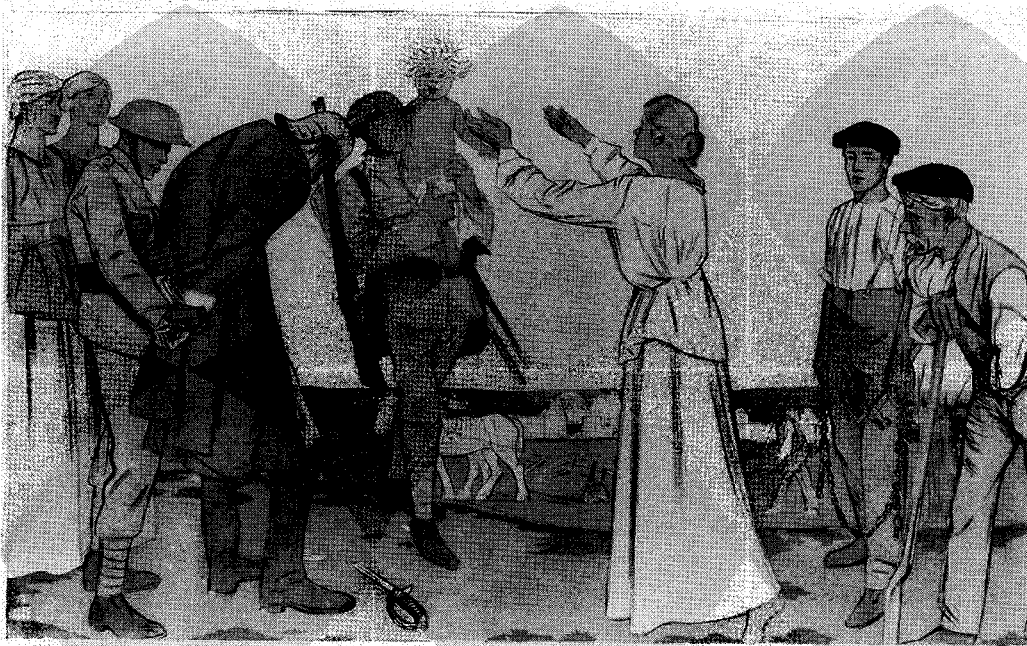
individual to the state by justifying, on fundamentally gendered terms, the ever-increasing needs of Britain's war machine.

In the international sphere, the repercussions of Britain's highly sensational



FIGURE 9: Gerald Spencer Pryse, "Belgian Red Cross Fund" (1915). The plight of Belgian women was central to charitable appeals, bringing home to viewers the impact of the invasion on the private sphere. Here a romantically rendered, beautiful young woman, her clothing torn, stares poignantly out at the viewer. Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum, POS363.

propaganda campaign would be more ambiguous. For patriotic Germans writing in the postwar period, the effectiveness of the British campaign was axiomatic, making up one of the central components of the famous "stab in the back" theory; while, for American isolationists, British propaganda became a symbol of America's vulnerability to European entanglements, one that must be avoided with assiduity in the future by uncovering the workings of such persuasive images. Yet it is clear from subsequent campaigns that, despite these recriminations, images of sexual



WHILE DEMOCRACY IS UNCHAINED, TYRANNY IS BOUND & FROM THE TRENCHES IS BROUGHT THE HOPE OF FRUITFUL SERVICE FOR ALL

FIGURE 10: William Rothenstein, "The Triumph of Democracy" (1918), one of a series titled "Britain's Efforts and Ideals." Rothenstein painted twelve pictures depicting the "Ideals." Notable here is how the gendered imagery of Belgium had become ingrained in conceptions of Britain's objectives in the war. Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum, PIC1427.

violation retain an extraordinary potency in the arsenal of symbols deployed against a common enemy. Whether in American anti-Japanese propaganda during World War II or Bosnian cries for international intervention against Serb aggression, images of violated female sexuality remain powerful motivating symbols that have become part of the common parlance of international politics. The case of British war propaganda is therefore important as an early example of the deployment of mass media techniques to elicit public outrage through accounts of rape, mutilation, and barbarism. It is also a crucial moment in the privileging of a foreign relations of sentiment—one that was perceived by Britain's post-Victorian intelligentsia to have a broader mass appeal than either liberal principles or realpolitik.

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Review Essays

American Exceptionalism

The 1996 publication of Seymour Martin Lipset's American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword provided the impetus for these reviews. Though not explicitly a work of history, the broad-ranging book does rely quite heavily on historical generalization and historically based comparisons to develop its case for the distinctiveness of the United States in the past, present, and thus the future. At the heart of Lipset's version of American exceptionalism is what he labels "the American Creed": liberty, egalitarianism, individualism, populism, and laissez faire. These he considers "a set of dogmas about the nature of a good society." By addressing one of the most persistent issues in American historiography in such bold strokes, American Exceptionalism challenges the contemporary aversion among most historians to claims of unitary national characters and to social-science model building.

American Exceptionalism is thus a particularly inviting subject for comparative analysis. Accordingly, this review contains separate commentaries by historians of the three nations that figure most prominently in Lipset's argument: Canada, Japan, and Germany. H. V. Nelles, J. Victor Koschmann, and Mary Nolan each assess Lipset's argument from the perspective of the nation that they study. Together, their reviews place American Exceptionalism as a book and as a subject in a broad and compelling comparative context.

Review Essay
American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword

H. V. NELLES

CANADIAN SCHOLARS HAVE NOT AS A RULE taken strong exception to Seymour Martin Lipset's version of American exceptionalism, despite the lingering presumption of the concept. They may, indeed, share some responsibility for it. One might expect a "not chosen people" to be particularly sensitive about the conceit of election, but this has not necessarily been the case. Beyond complicity in paternity, Canadian historians' "softness" on this subject may stem in part from the fact that American exceptionalism has incidentally attested to the existence of a separate identity for their own subject, Canada, even if they are uncertain about this themselves.

Lipset has argued, in a series of books running back to *The First New Nation*, that a culture of democratic egalitarianism and individualist achievement, clearly identifiable as an outlier on a comparative international scale of values, permanently shaped American history.¹ It follows from this that those people huddling north of Maine and Vermont, the Great Lakes, and the 49th parallel up to Alaska (with the possible exception of the panhandle) are not American but are something else. What Canadians are becomes even clearer in this optic—a historical people in a negotiated state based on a provisional agreement, a cultural mosaic, stolid northern folk for whom abundance has never been a problem. Moreover, their basic values differ to a substantial degree from those of their southern neighbors. They are, according to the surveys, more deferential to authority, less achievement oriented and voluntaristic, respectful rather than suspicious of government, more orderly, and less violent. As Canadian historians have never been absolutely sure of a distinctive "Canadian-ness" on their own, it is gratifying to have it affirmed not only negatively—by having the American identity so confidently established as different—but also positively, since American exceptionalists have been assiduous comparative scholars and have worked up the Canadian data for the contrast. Canadians' deep and certainly unacknowledged weakness when it comes to thinking critically about American exceptionalism perhaps rests on its insurance value: should the Canadian project not work out, then American exceptionalism might also apply to them.

No U.S. scholar has done more in this generation to make the case for American

I am grateful to my colleagues and friends Christopher Armstrong, Ramsay Cook, Michael Fellman, Susan Houston, and Marlene Shore and to the editor of the *American Historical Review*, for their helpful criticism of an earlier version.

¹ Seymour Martin Lipset, *The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective* (1963; New York, 1967).

exceptionalism than Lipset. He is unusual as a social scientist for the comparative historical approach he has taken to his subject. He persisted as a historical sociologist during a period when his discipline became functionalist and profoundly ahistorical. Perhaps even more unusual, he has been one of the few leading U.S. scholars to include Canada within the frame of his analysis. *American Exceptionalism* opens with the assertion: "Those who know only one country know no country."² *Continental Divide* begins: "Knowledge of Canada or the United States is the best way to gain insight into the other North American country."³ From the very beginning of his academic career, he has practiced what he has preached by using Canada as a contrast to heighten American distinctiveness on a comparative scale. He does Canadian scholarship the unusual honor of taking it seriously, finding it useful in his work on the United States. Gratification perhaps dulls our critical faculties.

Like Alexis de Tocqueville, who gave rise to the concept of American exceptionalism in the early nineteenth century, Lipset came north to Canada for confirmation of it. As Lipset reminds us in the preface to this, his twenty-third book, he set out as a young doctoral student in sociology at Columbia University fifty years ago looking for an explanation for American exceptionalism in an unlikely place, Saskatchewan. If a hostility to socialism marked the presence of American exceptionalism, he would then study the circumstances in which socialism did grow in North America for clues to that peculiar resistance. The sudden appearance of a socialist government in 1944 in the prairie west of Canada offered him a unique opportunity to learn why it might flourish in a Canadian province but not, apparently, in a U.S. state. He came at the problem as a Marxist, a committed social democrat who instinctively sought structural, materialist explanations of social and political epiphenomena.

The resulting book, *Agrarian Socialism*, first published in 1950 and reprinted with additional material in 1968, remains the classic account of the background, origins, social and economic context of the rise to power and first-term accomplishments of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF).⁴ However, he did not find the socialist "gene" in the soil of Saskatchewan. Thus *Agrarian Socialism* did not speak as directly as he might have hoped to the U.S. situation. His very clear political narrative and social analysis became diffuse and unfocused when it tackled the central questions of why socialism and why in this place. In the end, Lipset opted for a menu approach (sparse population, small democratic units of government, dependent and volatile monoculture, a "one-class" economy); no one explanatory factor seemed to stand out. Thus the comparative strategy did not at first work: on the face of it, Nebraska seemed as hospitable to socialism as Saskatchewan. Nor did his structuralist Marxism survive the encounter. His mention in quotation marks of a "one-class" economy is a reference to C. B. Macpherson, a contemporary Marxist

² Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword* (New York, 1996), 17.

³ Seymour Martin Lipset, *Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada* (New York, 1990), xiii.

⁴ Seymour Martin Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism: The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan, A Study in Political Sociology* (Berkeley, Calif., 1950). This book was reissued by Anchor Books in 1968 with a new preface by Lipset and five essays on various aspects of the subsequent Saskatchewan experience with socialism, emanating from a seminar at Washington University.

whose faith did survive his western experience. Macpherson applied a modified Marxism to explain the rise of right-wing Social Credit populism in neighboring Alberta.⁵

It was after *Agrarian Socialism* appeared, in discussing his work at the University of Toronto with the historian Frank Underhill and sociologist S. D. Clark, that Lipset began to look beyond economic and social structures to cultural values as an explanation for the resistance or susceptibility to socialism. Both scholars are frequently and generously cited in his various comparative writings.

Canadian historical scholarship in the immediate postwar period was in a phase of idealist reaction against the dominant economic and environmental determinism of the 1930s. Underhill, for his part, was at work on a history of Canadian liberalism, a doctrine that in his view had been shaped within the frame of a dominant ideological conservatism. Clark, having studied the triumph of church over sect in the Canadian context, was turning his attention to the way frontier protests erupted only to be blunted and absorbed by Canadian institutions. A. R. M. Lower had applied a Weberian culturalist approach to the "primary antithesis of Canadian History," what he called the "Two Ways of Life" that shaped our past: Protestant, individualist, liberal English Canada versus Catholic, communitarian, conservative French Canada. Underhill, a lapsed socialist who had written some of the more fiery parts of the CCF founding platform, the 1933 Regina Manifesto, had become an intellectual historian, ironically obsessed with what he believed to be the limited role played by ideas in Canadian politics; Clark, a historical sociologist interested in social change, was consciously out of step with an increasingly functionalist, behaviorist discipline concerned primarily with static equilibrium and deviance.⁶

Lipset credits Underhill with the notion of recurring historical outcomes warping a nation's character and thus shaping subsequent experience, and Clark for insight into the religious basis of political creeds. This excursion into Canadian history sharpened his sense of U.S. distinctiveness, but it also turned him to the sociology of Weber rather than back to Marx. Lipset seems to have fully shed his residual materialism by the end of the 1950s when a test of the upward social mobility variable, the quintessentially "American" social experience, did not demonstrate much difference between the United States and other Western countries.⁷

The conclusion that the source of American exceptionalism, with its resistance to socialism, lay in the American Creed appeared fully formed in *The First New*

⁵ C. B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System* (Toronto, 1953). In Canada, the appearance of a right-wing populist government rooted in millenarian Christianity was sufficiently unsettling to occasion a 10-volume series on this aberrant phenomenon in the 1950s funded by the Canadian Social Science Research Council and the Rockefeller Foundation. For the background, see Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing, 1900-1970* (Toronto, 1976), 166-68. Macpherson's remarkably durable interpretation has only recently been seriously challenged. See Edward Bell, *Social Classes and Social Credit in Alberta* (Montreal, 1993), for a review of the historiography and a devastating refutation of Macpherson's thesis.

⁶ See Berger, *Writing of Canadian History*, 160-207, for Underhill and Clark, and 112-36 on Lower; A. R. M. Lower, "Two Ways of Life: The Primary Antithesis of Canadian History" (1943), is rpt. in Carl Berger, intro., *Approaches to Canadian History: Essays by W. A. Mackintosh* (Toronto, 1967), 15-28.

⁷ Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* (Berkeley, Calif., 1959).

Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective (1963). Lipset explicitly disavows materialist interpretations of American distinctiveness, arguing instead that "basic national values" such as equality and achievement, crystallized in the American Revolution and enshrined in the Constitution, provided the dynamic ideological framework for American history.⁸ Here, he uses comparative history and survey data about Canada, Australia, Great Britain, France, and Germany to specify the unique value system driving American history.

When he subsequently reissued *Agrarian Socialism* in the later 1960s, Lipset faulted himself in the new preface for not considering the problem within the broader "national ethos" of Canada. He had initially assumed that Canada and the United States possessed the same North American values. He had discovered in his later research that Canada's comparative attachment to "hierarchical status, traditional religion, and governmental authority" then "informed later events."⁹ Third parties and socialism thus emerged in the Canadian context primarily as a function of this "more particularistic, more European" set of national values. By 1968, agrarian socialism had new roots in culture and values rather than in economy and society.

Two nations were created by the American Revolution, as Lipset has frequently observed. The first new nation's unique commitment to liberty, egalitarianism, individualism, populism, and laissez faire, all of which put a distinct stamp on its institutions and its history, could be more clearly seen by the second nation's adherence to hierarchical, elitist, authoritarian, collectivist, and statist values. This idea, suggested in *The First New Nation*, was later more fully worked out in a series of essays culminating in the book *Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada* (1992).

The First New Nation, appearing as it did along with Louis Hartz's *Founding of New Societies*, framed both the liberal sphere within which U.S. history worked out its destiny and the more traditional "European" historicist space within which Canadian history unfolded.¹⁰ Many Canadian scholars were grateful for the reassurance of a separate history from the United States, a matter then being brought into question economically and sociologically, however nervous they might be about the constraints placed on their destiny. I note, for example, that I have three of Lipset's books, now four, in my personal library.

But, in other respects, both Canadian scholarship and Canadian history had developed in such a way that Lipset's findings no longer addressed the central issues of the discipline. As Lipset moved from Marxism to liberalism, and from structur-

⁸ Lipset, *First New Nation*, 147.

⁹ Seymour Martin Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism*, rev. edn. (Garden City, N.Y., 1968), xvii. He did not, however, make any changes to the text.

¹⁰ Louis Hartz, *The Founding of New Societies: Studies in the History of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada, and Australia* (New York, 1964). Lipset cited Hartz's earlier work, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought since the Revolution* (New York, 1955), in *First New Nation*, 97-102, along with Underhill, Clark, and Lower, but he did not discuss its complementary analysis at any length. In *American Exceptionalism*, Lipset distances himself from Hartz (see p. 108), whose interpretation provided for more likeness than difference between the Canada and the U.S. fragments. These two books, *The First New Nation* and *The Founding of New Societies*, appearing more or less simultaneously, coupled with Hartz's occasional presence in Toronto, had a significant though momentary impact on Canadian historiography.

alism to analysis of an ideologically formed national character, Canadian scholarship (and U.S. historiography, too) passed him heading in the other direction. In the skeptical mid-1960s, the nationalist, idealist focus of Canadian history came under attack just as "consensus" history in the United States fell apart. In Canada, however, the nation itself seemed to be disintegrating under assault primarily from a resurgent French-Canadian nationalism in Quebec. Just as Vietnam raised doubts about the pieties of U.S. nationalism and American exceptionalism, similarly the Quiet Revolution in Quebec exposed the fiction that the "two solitudes" of Canada were somehow united in a common nationality. Whether Canada even existed as a social category in a meaningful sense became for the first time an open question.

The notion of a distinctive Canadian national identity was an early victim to this simultaneous academic skepticism about the baneful influence of nationalism on the writing of history and Quebec nationalist challenges to the political union. Canadian scholars became more impressed by the differences that divided than by the values, however statistically precisely they might be calculated, that united. These differences, it seemed, could not be satisfactorily reconciled, without grave distortion, within a pan-Canadian nationality. One of Canada's leading young historians, impatient with opinion-survey research on values and the eternally fruitless and sometimes dangerous quest for a unifying national myth, tossed off, half in jest, the proposal that Canadian historians should give up the search for the national identity we manifestly did not have and study instead the "limited identities" we did so patently display in such gaudy profusion.¹¹

Taken up and amplified, this pursuit of "limited identities" has occupied the attention of Canadian historians ever since.¹² The titles of Peter Novick's last three chapters in *That Noble Dream* might equally apply to Canadian history: "Every Group Its Own Historian," "The Center Does Not Hold," and "There Was No King in Israel."¹³ Canadian scholarship focused on the regional, ethnic, religious, class, gender, and racial identities that have distinguished Canadians one from another and generated conflict.¹⁴ This pursuit has been essentially materialist in its orientation and social in its focus. It has all served in one way or another to show that Canada has a history and an experience that is comparable to other modern societies in the West, that its differences are of degree, not kind.

Canadian history has not been set apart as something unique, but rather, in the sludge of footnotes and ritual incantations in the text, Canadian history merges

¹¹ Ramsay Cook, "Canadian Centennial Celebrations," *International Journal* 22 (1967): 659–63. Cook explores the relationship between nationalism and the writing of history in English and French in Canada in a series of collected essays; *Canada and the French-Canadian Question* (Toronto, 1966); *The Maple Leaf Forever: Essays on Nationalism and Politics in Canada* (Toronto, 1971); and *Canada, Quebec and the Uses of Nationalism* (Toronto, 1986, rev. edn. 1995).

¹² J. M. S. Careless popularized Cook's memorable phrase in an influential essay, "'Limited Identities' in Canada," inaugurating the fiftieth year of the *Canadian Historical Review*; see vol. 50 (1969): 1–10.

¹³ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (New York, 1988), 469–629.

¹⁴ Journals dedicated to each of these persuasions sprang up, among them (with their founding dates), *Histoire social/Social History* (1968), *Canadian Ethnic Studies* (1969), *Acadiensis* (1971), *Labour/Le travail* (1976), *Canadian Women's Studies* (1980). The belated response of the *Canadian Historical Review* to these new fashions is the subject of Marlene Shore's synoptic review of its contents, "'Remember the Future': The *Canadian Historical Review* and the Discipline of History, 1920–1995," *Canadian Historical Review* 76 (1995): 410–63.

indistinguishably with that of the West.¹⁵ The message is that Canada was not exempted from history, as an "exceptional" country in its own right, but rather with its fissures, failures, inequalities, compromises, tragedies, and socially constructed presents has been deeply mired in it. Canadian history since the 1960s has owed more to Marx than Weber.

This historiographical trajectory perhaps explains the tepid response of Canadian historians to Lipset's various writings on American exceptionalism from *The First New Nation* onward. Someone asserting the distinctive and unique values of a country that seemed to be coming apart, and stressing enduring values to scholars fixated on rapidly changing social structures, did not appear to be keeping up with his reading. The historian Ramsay Cook severely criticized Lipset for his failure to take French Canada and its distinct culture into account in his analysis. Thelma McCormack, a sociologist, complained that Lipset's analysis did not help with understanding how and why society changed over time.¹⁶ When the differences within a country were so great, what possible historical meaning could some statistical average along a scale of values have?

These impatient reactions to *The First New Nation* established the pattern of reception for his subsequent work. In Canada, national character analysis of the Lipset variety has been found wanting because it slights the regions and because Lipset's Canada seems to be a Canada without Quebec. The variations in values within the country, especially between Quebec and the rest of the country, have appeared greater and more important than those between Canada and other countries. The study of regional, linguistic, and social values and behavioral differences within Canada by region, language, religion, and class has grown into a fairly large academic enterprise. Its output can be sampled in David Elkins' and Richard Simeon's *Small Worlds* and Reginald Bibby's regular surveys of Canadian values, as well as the annual state-of-the-nation polls.¹⁷

Historically determined situations do change in surprising ways. Quebec, for example, shrugged off its Catholic, anti-statist traditionalism in the Quiet Revolution to become an aggressively modern capitalist, secular society. Saskatchewan, the seedbed of socialism in the 1930s, could also sustain centrist Liberal and right-wing Conservative governments as well. "English" Canada embraced a new bilingual, bicultural conception of nationhood with surprising eagerness. And, in the postwar era, waves of European, Caribbean, and Asian immigration dramatically changed the sociological landscape of Canada. These social and political transformations seemed to speak more forcefully to the malleability of Canadian culture rather than its determining permanence.

The use of socialism as a test for the presence or absence of exceptionalism has lost its validity as socialism has withered into a fairly mild social democracy all over

¹⁵ At York University, for example, the nation as a unit of analysis in social history has practically disappeared. For a decade or more, graduate students have been taught "Western Social History," an example of what Ian Tyrrell argued for in these pages, "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History," *AHR* 96 (October 1991): 1031-55.

¹⁶ Reviews of *The First New Nation*, by Ramsay in *Canadian Forum* 44 (1964): 166-68; Thelma McCormack, in the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 30 (1964): 612-13.

¹⁷ David J. Elkins and Richard Simeon, *Small Worlds: Provinces and Parties in Canadian Political Life* (Toronto, 1980); Reginald Bibby, *The Bibby Report: Social Trends Canadian Style* (Toronto, 1995).

the West. Socialism in Saskatchewan, as Lipset discovered, proved to be more illusory than real; the same could be said of British Columbia, Manitoba, and Ontario when the CCF/NDP ruled.¹⁸ By these standards, segments of the Democratic Party of the United States would qualify under the rubric. Currently, the Labour Party in Great Britain might be cited as an example of a power-seeking movement that has veered centerward and lost its socialist being in the process. Looking beyond labels to ideological content and legislative behavior, there may be more political convergence on the left in the late twentieth century than doctrines of exceptionalism would seem to allow. The United States has this kind of "socialism" in a different form.

And, finally, American exceptionalism cannot wholly shake off the taint of divine dispensation. Lipset insists that exceptionalism means simply a distinctive position in a matrix of values—not better, only different—and that exceptionalism is a "double-edged sword" as virtues are seen to have flip-side vices. Yet even Lipset asserts as "a scholarly conclusion" in the preface to *American Exceptionalism* "that the hand of providence has been on a nation which finds a Washington, a Lincoln or a Roosevelt when it needs him."¹⁹ This is not the kind of hypothesis that is easily verified, even in a comparative context.

Canadian historiography has not been as deeply influenced by "frontierist" interpretations, the wellspring of so much exceptionalist thinking in the U.S. case. Rather, traditional Canadian historiography has been more impressed with the opposite, namely the triumph of metropolitan power over environmental factors. Frank Underhill and A. R. M. Lower tried to make Canada into a North American nation, that is, frontier nation, but D. G. Creighton, Harold Innis, and J. M. S. Careless, by stressing the organizing power of the metropole, and emphasizing the linkage between the frontier and the city within a transcontinental and transatlantic, imperial commercial network, effectively undid their efforts.²⁰ Metropolitanism may have inoculated Canadian scholarship against exceptionalism, just as the next generation of social historians laid emphasis on the comparability of social institutions rather than their uniqueness.

Thus the argument and methodology of *American Exceptionalism* will sound all too familiar to attentive Canadian readers. Lipset tends to write the same book over and over again. This book has received a polite, deferential reception in newspaper reviews. Lipset's work gives a pseudo-scientific basis to some of the clichés and commonplaces of our respective national stereotypes. Its impressionism, selective choice of statistics, and fixation on the American Revolution have been noted, but in general Canadian critics remain grateful to Lipset for the attention he has paid to Canadian scholarship and Canada. It is not all that common to be churlishly challenged.

¹⁸ One reviewer noted at the time that Lipset's most important contribution in *Agrarian Socialism* was to show that the CCF in Saskatchewan was not socialist. See William K. Rolph, *Canadian Historical Review* 32 (1951): 160–61.

¹⁹ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 14.

²⁰ See Berger, *Writing of Canadian History*, 54–136, 208–37; J. M. S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolis and Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review* 35 (1954), rpt. in *Approaches to Canadian History*, 63–83; Careless, *Frontier and Metropolis: Regions, Cities and Identities in Canada before 1914* (Toronto, 1989).

The scholarly reviews, when they come, will do their utmost not to leave the impression that at a party of black-clad social scientists discussing Foucault, an elderly gentleman has shown up wearing a full Cleveland. It is hard to imagine a late twentieth-century Canadian historian who could conceive, much less write, as Lipset does in *Continental Divide*, a chapter on "The American Ideology" followed immediately by a second on "The Canadian Identity." This is no longer the space in which history as a discipline operates. There is nothing in *American Exceptionalism* that has not already appeared in *Continental Divide* and earlier work. Therefore, it is unlikely to discomfort Canadian scholars deeply enough for them to take issue with it, preoccupied as they are with smaller worlds of social conflict and resolutely unconcerned about history's role in shaping the nation, or even, for that matter, the fate of the nation.

There are some signs that a spirited counter-reaction has begun to set in against the indifference of Canadian historians to the "national" question. Conceiving of history without frontiers is one thing in a state with seemingly permanent or at least stable borders. It is quite another matter in a fragile polity where the state's borders are subject to repeated referenda and "nationality" is a matter of constant negotiation. In a memorable jeremiad, Michael Bliss, a distinguished historian actively engaged in contemporary constitutional battles, decried the intellectual evasion of responsibility represented by the fragmented sub-specialization of the historical profession. The consequences could be read in his subtitle: "The Sundering of Canadian History, the Sundering of Canada."²¹ Jack Granatstein, one of the country's most prolific political and military historians, is currently leading a crusade to launch a new Organization for the Study of Canada's National History intended to put political and constitutional questions back onto center stage. Where Lipset's work will stand in a neo-nationalist paradigm remains to be seen. Ironically in Quebec, history, having always served national causes, has now entered what might be thought of as a post-nationalist phase.²² That nation having been made intellectually if not yet politically, it can now be taken for granted.

Tocqueville, on a brief visit in the summer of 1831, found Canada quite unexceptional, altogether too much like Europe, beset by a suspicious, joyfully unambitious peasantry, envious of the neighbors.²³ Canadians were definitely not New Men in the eyes of French visitors. The reigning historical interpretations over

²¹ Michael Bliss's argument, first presented as the Creighton Centennial Lecture, was subsequently published as "Privatizing the Mind: The Sundering of Canadian History, the Sundering of Canada," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 26 (1991-92): 5-17. The social historians have replied, most notably Joy Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice," *Canadian Historical Review* 76 (1995): 354-76.

²² For a brief illustration of a historian's service to the nation in Quebec, see Jean-Pierre Wallot, "A la recherche de la nation: Maurice Séguin, 1918-1984," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 38 (1985): 569-89. Fernand Ouellet, *The Socialization of Quebec Historiography since 1960* (North York, Ont., 1988); Ronald Rudin, "Revisionism and the Search for a Normal Society: A Critique of Recent Quebec Historical Writing," *Canadian Historical Review* 73 (1992): 30-61. See also Jean-Paul Bernard, "L'historiographie canadienne récente (1964-94) et l'histoire des peuples du Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 76 (1995): 321-53.

²³ Jacques Vallée, ed., *Tocqueville au bas Canada* (Montréal, 1973); Stéphane Dion, "La pensée de Tocqueville—L'épreuve du Canada français," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 41 (1988): 537-52; Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, J. P. Mayer, trans. (London, 1994), 296-97, 320, 430.

the past generation would seem to agree. This is a judgment that would be extended to include Americans.

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Review Essay
The Nationalism of Cultural Uniqueness

J. VICTOR KOSCHMANN

"IS THE COUNTRY IN DECLINE ECONOMICALLY AND MORALLY?" "Is Japan about to replace it as the leading economic power?" With these questions and other similar ones, which hint at a crisis in American self-confidence, Seymour Martin Lipset introduces *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword*, his newest and most exhaustive attempt to vindicate a view of the United States as "exceptional," an "outlier" among nations. Although initially it might appear that his effort to "look again at the country in comparative perspective" is fueled by a genuine sense of crisis, by the end of the book one gets the impression that the crisis is mostly over.¹ He exults that American productivity is again the highest in the world, "after eight years of Japanese domination," and that "the American Dream is still alive"² despite a raft of problems, which Lipset locates on the negative side of the "double-edged sword": high crime and divorce rates, low voter turnout, drug abuse, broad disparity between rich and poor, a tendency toward moralism, declining civic engagement, and growing cynicism.

Given the central role of Japanese competition in this drama of crisis and renewal, it is only fitting that Lipset should devote his longest and penultimate chapter, "American Exceptionalism—Japanese Uniqueness," to comparing the United States with Japan. Moreover, in light of his own argument that the resurgence of American productive power in the international arena can best be explained with reference to those qualities he believes distinguish the United States as an exceptional nation, it is probably not surprising that his search for explanations of Japanese success leads him to the "counterpart to American exceptionalism," that is, Japanese and American theories of Japanese "uniqueness."³ Unfortunately for the persuasiveness of his study, he discovers these theories (known in Japanese as *Nihonjinron*—theories of Japaneseness) long after they have fallen out of favor among most East Asian specialists.

A *Nihonjinron* "boom" occurred in Japan in the early 1970s, in the wake of Japan's emergence as an "economic great power," Sino-American rapprochement, and China's revolutionary challenge to the Japanese road to modernity.⁴ An amalgam of Japanese introspection and foreign fascination, this boom generated an

¹ Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword* (New York, 1996), 17.

² Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 262, 287.

³ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 212.

⁴ Kano Tsutomu, "Why the Search for Identity?" *Japan Interpreter* 8 (Spring 1973): 153–58.

enormous literature on what might loosely be called the Japanese national character.⁵ Although its heyday was the 1970s, *Nihonjinron* is by no means dead, as Lipset's study and many others attest.⁶ Indeed, it will most likely remain alive and well so long as scholars of development continue to explain economic behavior according to what Bryan Turner has called internalist arguments, that is, those that focus on "characteristics internal to societies considered in isolation from any international societal context."⁷ One current form of internalist argument reaches beyond Japan per se to attribute East Asian economic dynamism to Confucian tradition.⁸ Yet Edward Said's *Orientalism*, published in 1978, has sensitized an increasing number of Japan scholars to the historical legacy and political implications of cultural essentialism,⁹ and, despite its continued and often unrecognized prevalence, *Nihonjinron* is now generally treated pejoratively.

The version of *Nihonjinron* that Lipset adopts is not especially sophisticated or nuanced. Although he sometimes cites relatively complex, recent examples of the genre,¹⁰ his own explication relies heavily on the relatively crude notion that Japan is simply a "group-oriented" society that has "modernized economically while retaining many aspects of its preindustrial feudal culture."¹¹ The United States, on the other hand, is an "individualistic" society with no feudal residues. Selectively employing some of the foundational works in the postwar American approach to Japan Studies, which are premised on modernization theory, Lipset refigures Japanese social and political history in terms he is accustomed to using to describe Europe (for example, the "post-feudal alliance of throne and altar"), even though they are incongruous in the Japanese context. He bolsters his group-orientation thesis by selecting quotes and generalizations from English-language social-scientific writing on Japan, taking special note of Ronald Dore's conclusion, at the end of *Taking Japan Seriously*, that, "In the dimension . . . which I have called 'individualism-collectivism,' 'individualism-groupism,' the United States and Japan stand at opposite ends, with Britain somewhere in the middle."¹² Lipset also draws supporting evidence from social-psychological and psychoanalytic studies in the tradition of the "culture and personality" school in postwar American anthropology, and Japanese reviews of Japan's national character (*kokuminsei*).

For example, based on his own and others' examinations of data from periodic Japanese surveys of "national character," he concludes that from the 1960s to the

⁵ Minami Hiroshi, "The Introspection Boom: Whither the National Character," *Japan Interpreter* 8 (Spring 1973): 159–75.

⁶ For a critical study of more recent Japanese versions of *Nihonjinron*, see H. D. Harootunian, "Visible Discourses/Invisible Ideologies," *Postmodernism and Japan*, Masao Miyoshi and H. D. Harootunian, eds. (Durham, N.C., 1989), 63–92.

⁷ Bryan S. Turner, *Marx and the End of Orientalism* (London, 1978), 10.

⁸ A sophisticated, recent contribution to this discourse is *Confucian Traditions in East Asian Modernity: Moral Education and Economic Culture in Japan and the Four Mini-Dragons*, Tu Wei-ming, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1996).

⁹ For an early attempt to think along with Said in the context of Japan Studies, see Richard H. Minear, "Orientalism and the Study of Japan," *Journal of Asian Studies* 39 (May 1980): 507–17.

¹⁰ For example, *The Political Economy of Japan*, Vol. 3: *Cultural and Social Dynamics*, Shumpei Kumon and Henry Rosovsky, eds. (Stanford, Calif., 1992).

¹¹ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 212.

¹² Ronald Dore, *Taking Japan Seriously: A Confucian Perspective on Leading Economic Issues* (Stanford, Calif., 1987), 245.

1980s the Japanese tended to revert to traditional ways.¹³ He cites the work of an American political scientist, Scott Flanagan, who has coded the survey data according to his own criteria of "traditional" versus "modern."¹⁴ Flanagan found that between 1963 and 1988, change in responses was predominantly toward the traditional. In other words, respondents had "become more traditional and less Western."¹⁵ Lipset proceeds to apply this master dichotomy between traditional and modern (that is, "Western") in arbitrary ways. He not only appeals to "the continued strength of traditional values" to explain an "increasing lack of confidence in science" among survey respondents but goes so far as to observe that

Perhaps the best example of the strength of traditional practices even when they appear dysfunctional for an economically developed society is the nation's refusal to adopt the system of street names and consecutive numbers on buildings that exists in the West . . . The Japanese had an opportunity to change after the war when the American occupation forces assigned alphabetical or numerical names to streets. But this system, apparently so much more functional for commerce in a large city like Tokyo, was largely discarded as soon as the occupation ended.¹⁶

What better example of the narrow-minded tendency in postwar modernization theory to equate modernity with American practice and/or a rigid concept of instrumental efficiency?

Lipset's use of the Flanagan study to show strong "traditional" tendencies in the contemporary Japanese national character dramatizes the ahistorical foundation of his argument. For Flanagan, as for Lipset, "traditional" is an abstract label to be assigned on the basis of some apparent similarity between a present-day attitude or tendency and one that supposedly existed among the Japanese at some time in the past. Underlying this labeling procedure are the assumptions that the identity of "the Japanese" who manifest that attribute has remained constant and homogeneous down through the centuries and that these Japanese consistently transmit such attributes or tendencies to younger generations. Any deviation must be understood as only a temporary weakening or submersion of the selected tendencies prior to their reemergence at a later date (for example, the resurgence of "traditional" values in the 1960s and 1970s).

However, such notions of the traditional are rarely able to withstand meticulous historical investigation. Recent studies of the history of industrial relations in Japan, for example, make it very difficult to sustain a view of postwar "Japanese management" as the simple manifestation of traditional tendencies, because practices have varied greatly in the course of twentieth-century Japanese history, and the practices usually associated with Japanese management were put solidly in place only in the 1940s.¹⁷ Other institutions once thought by Japanese as well as

¹³ Lipset refers, for example, to Research Committee on the Study of the Japanese National Character, *A Study of the Japanese National Character*, vol. 9 (Tokyo, 1994); and Chikio Hayashi, "Statistical Study on Japanese National Character," *Journal of the Japanese Statistical Society*, special issue (1987).

¹⁴ Scott C. Flanagan, "Value Cleavages, Contextual Influences, and the Vote," in *The Japanese Voter*, Flanagan, ed. (New Haven, Conn., 1991), 84–102.

¹⁵ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 221.

¹⁶ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 223.

¹⁷ Andrew Gordon, *The Evolution of Labor Relations in Japan: Heavy Industry, 1853–1955* (Cam-

non-Japanese scholars to be rooted in pre-Meiji "tradition," such as the modern imperial institution,¹⁸ rural patriarchy and the restriction of women's roles to household functions,¹⁹ and various other forms of discrimination,²⁰ have all recently been reinvestigated and shown to be modern inventions for modern purposes, mostly related to formation of the nation-state.²¹ Lipset, however, still assumes that the "male-dominant family" that is evident in present-day Japan must be understood as "traditional."²² Without a doubt, patriarchy is prevalent in both pre-modern and modern Japan, but that does not mean that in the modern context it is always best explained as a vestige or revival of its pre-modern predecessors.

Furthermore, scholars have recently demonstrated that many post-World War II Japanese institutions were put in place during the 1930s and wartime. With respect to the United States, Lipset argues, "The Great Depression produced a strong emphasis on planning, on the welfare state, on the role of the government as a major regulatory actor." He also points out that, in the 1930s in America, "Class factors became more important in differentiating party support," even though in his view the United States reverted to its "exceptional" ideology of class-blind *laissez faire* as a result of rapid economic growth during the postwar era.²³ What of the impact of the Depression and World War II on Japan? This he does not even mention, despite his contention that in Japan the government plays a major regulatory role. That is, in the Japanese case, Lipset apparently does not feel he needs to refer specifically to the impact of depression and total war because he believes that postwar Japan's deemphasis of *laissez faire*, institutionalization of government economic regulation, and "groupist" values can all be adequately explained by appealing to post-feudal residues and tradition.

In fact, recent research in both the United States and Japan has begun to show conclusively that much of what is thought characteristic of postwar Japan in the way of institutions, social structure, and values can actually be attributed at least in part to the impact of wartime mobilization, beginning in the 1930s and extending through the end of the war in the Pacific.²⁴ Fundamental aspects of postwar

bridge, Mass., 1985); Rodney Clark, *The Japanese Company* (New Haven, Conn., 1979), 45–47; Koji Taira, *Economic Development and the Labor Market in Japan* (New York, 1970), 153–60.

¹⁸ See Taki Koji, *Tenno no shozo* [Portraits of the Emperor] (Tokyo, 1988); Asukai Masamichi, *Meiji taitei* [The Meiji Sovereign] (Tokyo, 1989); Yasumaru Yoshio, *Kindai tennozo no keisei* [Formation of the Imperial Image] (Tokyo, 1992); Takagi Hiroshi, "Nihon no kindai to koshitsu girei" [Japan's Modernization and Imperial Ritual], *Nihonshi kenkyu* [Studies in Japanese History] 320 (1989); and Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996).

¹⁹ See Koyama Shizuko, *Kihan to shite no ryosai kenbo* [Good Wife, Wise Mother as a Norm] (Tokyo, 1991); and Itagaki Kuniko, *Showa senzen/senchuki no noson seikatsu* [Rural Life during and before World War II] (Tokyo, 1992).

²⁰ See Hirota Masaki, "Nihon kindai shakai no sabetsu kozo" [The Discriminatory Structure of Modern Japanese Society], in *Sabetsu no shoso* [Aspects of Discrimination] [Nihon shiso taikai 22], Hirota Masaki, ed. (Tokyo, 1990); and Tomiyama Ichiro, *Kindai Nihon shakai to okinawajin* [Modern Japanese Society and the Okinawans] (Tokyo, 1990).

²¹ John Dower has recently called attention to the importance of the "invention of tradition" paradigm in facilitating criticism of "Nihonjinron-style arguments." See Dower, "Nihon wo hakaru I—Eigoken ni okeru Nihon kenkyu no rekishi jojutsu" [Taking the Measure of Japan: A Historical Narrative of Japan Studies in the English-Speaking World], *Shiso* [Thought] (September 1995).

²² Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 241–42.

²³ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 37, 22, 38.

²⁴ John W. Dower, "The Useful War," in *Showa: The Japan of Hirohito*, Carol Gluck and Stephen R.

thought, social structure, education, economic institutions, labor relations, and communications can only be fully understood in relation to Japan's mobilization for total war.

Well-informed readers will also find it disconcerting that Lipset cites penetrating, English-language broadsides against *Nihonjinron* as if they were virtually neutral. Having cited approvingly the statement from Peter N. Dale's ascerbicly critical study, *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness*, that the "reiterated refrain underlying the literature on Japanese identity is that of uniqueness," Lipset merely inserts in a footnote, in very small print, the remarkable understatement that Dale and others "believe the emphasis on uniqueness is exaggerated."²⁵ With regard even to such indefatigable critics of *Nihonjinron* as Sugimoto Yoshio and Ross Mouer, Lipset merely reports that they "take note of the agreement among many Japanese that their culture is 'uniquely unique' and consequently cannot be understood by Western scholars."²⁶ Is Lipset's own investment in the parallel between American exceptionalism and Japanese uniqueness so essential to his argument that it leads him to minimize the devastating critique to which *Nihonjinron* has been subjected?

In any case, "Japan" clearly plays a major role in Lipset's renewed attempt to define the United States and its "exceptional" creed. In his view, Japan is America's most significant Other, not only because of economic competition but also because Japan has so often been represented as its polar opposite. What, then, are the elements of his argument for American uniqueness? According to Lipset, the United States is "qualitatively different" from other nations in that, from the beginning, it defined itself ideologically. That is, while "other countries" (excepting the former Soviet Union) have defined themselves with reference to "a common history as birthright communities," the United States has based itself on ideology, that is, the American Creed of "liberty, egalitarianism, individualism, populism, and laissez-faire." Therefore: "Being an American . . . is an ideological commitment. It is not a matter of birth. Those who reject American values are un-American."²⁷

Apparently following Talcott Parsons and his legacy in American social thought, Lipset treats values as societal, that is, national, in purview:

Values are well-entrenched, culturally determined sentiments produced by institutions or major historical events, for example, a new settler society, a Bill of Rights, Protestant sectarianism, wars, and the like. They result in deep beliefs, such as deference or antagonism to authority, individualism or group-centeredness, and egalitarianism or elitism, which form the organizing principles of societies.²⁸

How is the legacy of such institutions and events formed and transmitted from a nation's past into its future? Lipset responds by borrowing from Max Weber the simile of dice that become increasingly loaded in the course of a game:

Graubard, eds. (New York, 1992), 49–70; and *Soryokusen to gendaika* [Total War and "Modernization"], Yamanouchi Yasushi, J. Victor Koschmann, and Narita Ryuichi, eds. (Tokyo, 1995).

²⁵ Peter N. Dale, *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness* (New York, 1986); Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 325, n. 5.

²⁶ Yoshio Sugimoto and Ross Mouer, *Images of Japanese Society: A Study in the Structure of Social Reality* (London, 1992); Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 212.

²⁷ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 26, 31.

²⁸ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 25.

According to Weber, by conceiving of a nation's history starting as a game in which the dice are not loaded at the beginning, but then becomes biased in the direction of each past outcome, one has an analogue of the way in which culture is formed. Each time the dice come up with a given number, the probability of rolling that number again increases.²⁹

(Note that, in Lipset's usage, terms such as "values," "ideology," "beliefs," and "culture" all pertain primarily to the level of the society, or nation-state, and he appears to use them interchangeably.)

Lipset argues that the Constitution and the Bill of Rights are the sources of a tendency in the American political culture to be "anti-statist, legalistic, and rights-oriented"—a tendency conveyed to later generations via Weber's loaded dice. He also cites a Canadian historian's account of how "in the United States in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the left-disposed forces favoring populism, egalitarianism, and the like tended to win the major conflicts, starting with the Revolution, moving to the war hawks of 1812, the Jacksonian period, and the Civil War . . . [E]ach outcome gave the egalitarian side an advantage in the next major domestic conflict."³⁰

In a manner consistent with his emphasis on continuity, Lipset frequently has recourse to "historical" argument. Yet he bases the majority of his conclusions on polls and surveys, which, he believes, can "provide quantitative indicators of attitudes and values which can be compared longitudinally or cross-nationally." Of course, as those who have tried know, it can be extremely difficult to translate survey questions so as to avoid misunderstandings, accommodate different attitudes toward polling, and allow for context-specific interpretations; even very ordinary expressions are often not transparent across languages and historical/spatial contexts. Yet Lipset never systematically confronts these issues; he assumes that cross-national polling data can be taken at face value.

The use of survey data raises other issues as well. Lipset claims that the United States is different qualitatively, but his primary data, the surveys, are quantitative. How, in his methodology, is quantity transformed into quality, and what is involved in that transition? Quantities are serial and purely relative; they respect no national or other borders but merely provide a statistical distribution across all individuals tested, whether "Americans," "Japanese," or "Germans." How, then, can they be construed to reveal an American "ideology" or "culture" that is qualitatively different from the Japanese or German equivalents? The answer, of course, is that survey researchers determine a priori which respondents will count as Americans, Japanese, etc. Regardless of whether their determination is based on legal citizenship, residency, self-designation, or some other criterion, once certain respondents are designated as "American" (and so long as the statistical sample is selected randomly), they are assumed to be members of the American nation whose answers can be taken to represent "American culture." When it comes to considering which polling data he will take to represent the United States, Lipset seems content with such a nominalistic determination of who will count as American. Yet, as we have seen, he also insists that American identity is not a birthright but requires commitment to the American Creed. No doubt, some of

²⁹ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 23–24.

³⁰ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 20, 24.

those born with American citizenship disagree with and behave in ways contrary to that creed and thus, by Lipset's definition, disqualify themselves as authentic Americans, even though they might have been included by the survey researchers. In other words, Lipset's argument implicitly appeals to two "Americas"—the commonsense, nominal "America" sampled by the survey researchers (what we might call, following Hegel, America in-itself) and the authentic America that is constituted through purposeful conformance to the American Creed (America for-itself). Put another way, America for-itself is mobilized America, America fighting back against the Japanese challenge and winning "after eight years of Japanese domination." It is also the America that is in the throes of crime, divorce, and disorderliness. But above all, it is America as a social and cultural totality that is greater than the sum of its parts, whereas the "America" sampled in the surveys is no more than just the "parts," a statistical population.

Lipset argues in Chapter 5, "A Unique People in an Exceptional Country," that Jews epitomize "America" (read as America for-itself). They have "faced much less discrimination"³¹ in the United States than elsewhere, and they have done "extraordinarily well in the economic, political, and social structures of [this] country."³² Moreover, "It has been argued that the ability of Jews to do so well in America reflects the fact that Jewish characteristics and values have been especially congruent with the larger national culture." He also remarks, "The linkages of Protestant sectarian and Jewish values to the bourgeois or market ethic, and the classical laissez-faire liberalism of Americanism, are to be found in the closing decades of the twentieth century in the relationship of Margaret Thatcher to the Jews. She admires them as hardworking, self-made people who believe that 'God helps those who help themselves.'"³³ This connects provocatively to parallels I draw below between Lipset's views and British conservatism with respect to the relationship between race and culture.

In light of the contrast that Lipset makes between the Jews, as the prime exemplars of the American character, and the Japanese, as its most significant external Other, it seems a shame that he missed the 1971 Japanese bestseller, *Nihonjin to Yudayajin* (The Japanese and the Jews), a major contribution to the *Nihonjinron* genre that was also published in English in 1972.³⁴ Written by a Japanese under the supposedly Jewish pseudonym of Isaiah Ben-Dasan, the work purports to compare the Japanese and Jewish cultures. However, as David G. Goodman and Masanori Miyazawa have recently pointed out, it would be more accurate to say that it "uses Jews and Judaism to establish Japanese uniqueness." Indeed, according to them, in this work, "Yamamoto Shichihei [the author] became the Jew Ben-Dasan and in the guise of a Jew gave the Jews' blessing to Japan's ineffable uniqueness. Never had the monological nature of Japanese debates about

³¹ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 151.

³² Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 174.

³³ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 152, 153.

³⁴ Isaiah Ben-Dasan, *Nihonjin to Yudayajin* (Tokyo, 1970); Isaiah Ben-Dasan, *The Japanese and the Jews*, Richard L. Gage, trans. (Tokyo, 1972).

the Jews been more obvious.”³⁵ The book would have provided Lipset with further grist for his comparative-culture mill.

Yet, especially when we view the United States as America for-itself, in the manner put forward by Lipset, it becomes clear that this “America” has internal Others as well. This America for-itself does not necessarily include all who can vote in American elections, or who are drafted to fight American wars, or who might have other reasons for considering themselves to be Americans in good standing. It does not include those who refuse to adhere to the American Creed; therefore, it does not include many intellectuals (see Chapter 6: “American Intellectuals—Mostly on the Left, Some Politically Incorrect”), nor does it include African Americans, who are dealt with in Chapter 4: “Two Americas, Two Value Systems: Blacks and Whites.”

Lipset deplores the American racism that has caused African Americans to be defined and treated “not according to their personal merits but according to their ancestry, their race, and their ethnic group.” At the same time, his exploration of controversies surrounding affirmative action, which he defines as a “group-oriented” policy that conflicts with the individualism of the American Creed, persuades him that “white opposition to various forms of special governmental assistance for blacks and other minorities is in part a function of a general antagonism to statism and a preference for personal freedom in the American value system.”³⁶ In other words, some of his data appear to him to support the view that “American opposition to governmental enforcement of group rights for blacks is more a reflection of general principle than of racism.” He also argues that pessimistic accounts of black poverty and social pathology serve merely to encourage racism, and that it “is important to recognize that the situation of a major portion of black America was improving during the sixties and seventies.”³⁷ He concludes, “To rebuild the national consensus on civil rights and racial justice, affirmative action should be refocused, not discarded . . . Moving away from policies that emphasize special preferences need not—indeed, must not—mean abandoning the nation’s commitment to guaranteeing equal opportunity for disadvantaged citizens.”³⁸

Lipset’s specific approach to affirmative action is of less concern here than the assumptions underlying that approach. As noted above, he finds the basis for the country’s uniqueness in his belief that its self-definition is performative rather than nominal, that is, that “being an American is an ideological commitment.” In Europe, by contrast, “nationality is related to community, and thus one cannot become un-English or un-Swedish.”³⁹ Yet Paul Gilroy and other writers who have called attention to the New Right rhetoric of Enoch Powell and later ideologues in Britain’s Thatcherite era point to an implicitly performative dimension there as well. In the 1960s, Powell asked rhetorically, “what kind of people are we?” and then, in effect, answered in such a way as to exclude black immigrant citizens from

³⁵ David G. Goodman and Masanori Miyazawa, *Jews in the Japanese Mind: The History and Uses of a Cultural Stereotype* (New York, 1995), 179, 181.

³⁶ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 116, 143.

³⁷ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 146, 135.

³⁸ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 149–50.

³⁹ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 31.

authentic membership in the British nation ("‘We’ were not criminals, Rastafarians, aliens or purveyors of arranged marriages"). Powell argued that authentic membership in the English nation "derives from . . . historic ties," and to that extent his perceptions conform to Lipset's formula for European nationality. Nevertheless, for Powell and other purveyors of this new racism, this did not mean that one could not "become un-English," as the exclusion of black citizens of the United Kingdom from true membership in the British nation was precisely the effect of their demand for cultural conformity.⁴⁰

To what extent does Lipset's own distinction between authentic and inauthentic membership in the American nation implicitly endorse a similar form of exclusionism? The situation of blacks in the United States differs from that in Britain in that, as Lipset notes, "blacks have been here [in the U.S.] almost from the beginning." Yet Lipset's data show that African Americans still refuse to conform to the American Creed, as Lipset defines it. He observes, "Blacks are much more disposed than whites to favor state intervention rather than to emphasize individual initiative as the way to improve their situation . . . Most blacks, in effect, favor a socialist group solution, most whites a laissez-faire, individualist one."⁴¹ There are, indeed, then, "two Americas, two value systems." But they are far from equal, symbolically or actually, in Lipset's scheme: one is white and authentically American, the other black and, in effect, un-American.

Lipset illustrates his "ideological" criterion for American national belonging by setting up "qualitative" contrasts between authentic (white) Americans (including some other minorities, such as Hispanic and Asian Americans), on the one hand, and Japanese and African Americans on the other. In both cases, "culture," as the property and the criterion of nationality, is the unit of comparison. In the Japanese case, Lipset implies that a relatively unchanging national character can be taken as the determinant of Japanese values and behavior; he even has little difficulty taking at face value some Japanese respondents' view that they are more "selfish" than Americans, observing that "analysis of the 1990 World Values data indicates that the belief that the Japanese are much more intolerant and xenophobic than Americans is true."⁴² When it comes to African Americans, Lipset is more circumspect. When African Americans tend to blame themselves "for their current situation" in surveys, Lipset points out that such beliefs have the negative consequence of reinforcing "racist attitudes and stereotypes."⁴³ That is, in the domestic context, he is wary of characterizing people on the basis of "race"

⁴⁰ Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (1987; rpt. edn., Chicago, 1991), 46–51; also see Anna Marie Smith, *New Right Discourse on Race and Sexuality: Britain, 1968–1990* (Cambridge, 1994), 129–82. Smith quotes Powell: "The West Indian or Asian does not, by being born in England, become an Englishman. In law he becomes a United Kingdom citizen by birth; in fact he is a West Indian or an Asian still" (p. 159).

⁴¹ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 115, 147.

⁴² Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 224. The *Japan: 2000* draft report, prepared at the Rochester Institute of Technology under the auspices of the CIA, included a variety of similarly derogatory characterizations of Japanese; it also paralleled Lipset's Japan–U.S. contrast by positing a post–Cold War, bipolar world structure in which Japanese culture ("Japanese paradigm") confronted "Western" culture ("Western world paradigm"). For accounts of the draft report, see "C.I.A. Report on Japan Economy Creates Furor at Institute," *New York Times*, June 5, 1991; and Bruce Cumings, "The America That Can Say Yo! C.I.A.'s Japan 2000 Capers," *The Nation* (September 30, 1991): 366–68.

⁴³ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 133.

(especially in the spurious, biological sense), preferring to categorize them on the basis of differences in values and "ideology," that is, culture.

Lipset's "qualitative" distinctions are indeed comparable to the above-mentioned "new racism," which has replaced biological notions of racial difference with cultural ones. The burning issue in Britain became "black culture," not black faces, and thus anyone was supposedly accepted regardless of skin color so long as they successfully conformed to mainstream, "British" values. Yet this "new racism" was no less exclusionist than the old, insofar as "culture" was made the primary criterion of national belonging. As Paul Gilroy argues, British "populist racism does not recognize the legal membership of the national community conferred by its legislation as a substantive guarantee of Britishness. 'Race' is, therefore . . . being defined beyond these legal definitions in the sphere of culture." At the same time, nations are viewed, above all, "as culturally homogeneous 'communities of sentiment.'" Therefore, "black" cultural differences "become the focus of resentment because they will not allow blacks to yield to Britishness."⁴⁴

Lipset might argue that a nation constituted around the American Creed is qualitatively different from the British "community of sentiment" that is referred to by Gilroy, because, as Lipset writes,

Our national ideology—Americanism—is not merely a context, an environment that bounds or guides individual action; it is a set of values that requires reasoning and reflection in order to produce responsible consequences. The idea that we can be better moral agents by passively soaking up the values of the social context in which we find ourselves is antithetical to the principles of our democratic culture . . . A morality grounded in a recognition of individual autonomy is therefore vitally flexible.⁴⁵

Nevertheless, like the British conservatives, Lipset sets forth a normative code of thought and behavior as the measuring rod of national identity, thereby instituting a disciplinary regime that stigmatizes as marginal those who fail to conform. That in the American case people are being asked to conform to a regime of "individual autonomy" rather than "soaking up the values of the social context" merely escalates the degree of self-discipline such conformance requires.

Clearly, Lipset's impassioned argument on behalf of American exceptionalism must be understood as akin in meaning and significance to the theories of Japaneseness, or *Nihonjinron*, he cites so approvingly. In effect, he has produced a theory of Americanness, or "*Amerikajinron*." Kosaku Yoshino characterizes such theories as "cultural nationalism," which he defines as "a set of ideas and activities which regenerates the national community by creating, preserving or strengthening a people's cultural identity when it is felt to be lacking, inadequate or threatened."⁴⁶ He labels *Nihonjinron* as a form of "culturalism," that is, "cultural determinism or reductionism," and points out that the "endless discussions of Japanese uniqueness are, if more precisely put, discussions of difference but difference of a specific kind. Japanese identity is the anti-image of foreignness and, as such, can only be affirmed

⁴⁴ Gilroy, "There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack," 59–60, 61.

⁴⁵ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 275–76.

⁴⁶ Kosaku Yoshino, *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan: A Sociological Enquiry* (London, 1992), 36.

by formulating the images of the Other; namely, the West.”⁴⁷ As we have seen, Lipset employs precisely this strategy in reverse, “comparatively” positing the American ideology as the anti-image of Japaneseness (and of African-American-ness). Naturally, when defined in relation to such an anti-image, a national culture can never be *sui generis*, as Lipset seems to claim, because it can only be described in contrast to its Other(s). Moreover, in the case at hand, the mutually defining opposition between Americanness and Japaneseness itself has a history, which includes modern Japanese reactions against the hegemonic thrust of European and American “universalism.”⁴⁸

Regarding the impact of theories of Japaneseness, Yoshino observes, “There is little question that extensive printed works on Japanese uniqueness (the *nihonjinron*) have been a key factor promoting imagination among ‘the Japanese’ (or at least educated Japanese) that they comprise a ‘community’ sharing a uniquely Japanese cultural ethos, despite the fact that those who inhabit the ‘Japanese space’ comprise diverse groups and cannot see for themselves how people in social groups and regions other than their own feel, think and behave.”⁴⁹ Clearly, Lipset’s argument is culturally nationalist by Yoshino’s definition. That is, writing “as a proud American,”⁵⁰ Lipset sets out to “regenerate the national community” in the wake of crisis. Unfortunately, like other such national communities, Lipset’s “America” tends to be racially and culturally exclusive.

⁴⁷ Yoshino, *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan*, 10–11.

⁴⁸ For a nuanced, persuasive account of one such reaction in the context of the 1920s and 1930s, see Leslie Pincus, *Authenticating Culture in Imperial Japan: Kuki Shuzo and the Rise of National Aesthetics* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996).

⁴⁹ Yoshino, *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan*, 86.

⁵⁰ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 14.

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Review Essay

Against Exceptionalisms

MARY NOLAN

AMERICA "HAS BEEN EXCEPTIONAL all through its history," proclaims Seymour Martin Lipset, and the nature of that exceptionalism lies in enduring American values.¹ The most important of these deep beliefs—liberty, egalitarianism, individualism, populism, and laissez faire—make America "the most anti-statist, legalistic and rights-oriented nation."² Pervasive acceptance of this "American Creed" produces intensely moralistic political and social conflicts but precludes class conflict, socialism, or even a developed welfare state. Americanism as ideology is, Lipset admits rather tentatively, "something of a double-edged sword," for it promotes not only "personal responsibility, independent initiative and voluntarism" but also "self-serving behavior, atomism, and a disregard for communal good."³ Nonetheless, the American Creed, which developed from the founding institutions and principles of the United States, has in Lipset's complacent view produced and reproduced a uniquely economically powerful, politically liberal, and morally admirable nation. While other countries might now be inching slightly closer to the promised land, as "they develop and 'Americanize,'" the extent to which America "remains unique is astonishing."⁴

To a historian of Germany, and to many Germans who have analyzed America and Americanism, both the assertion of American exceptionalism and the specific terms in which Lipset defines it are puzzling and problematic. Germans have certainly not ignored the issue of American uniqueness. It was Werner Sombart, after all, who in 1904 coined one of the classic formulations of exceptionalism with his *Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?*⁵ But twentieth-century Germans have not defined the essence of America in Lipset's ideological terms, nor have they accepted American self-definitions at face value as Lipset does.

Just as Germans have interrogated American exceptionalism, so have historians of modern Germany questioned the validity of exceptionalist arguments. German history and historiography have been haunted by debates about the uniqueness of German society, culture, and politics. Germany's *Sonderweg* or special path is more often defined in terms of deficiency and distortion than positive achievements. Despite its economic development and successful state building, modern Germany

¹ Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword* (New York, 1996), 28.

² Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 20.

³ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 268.

⁴ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 292.

⁵ Werner Sombart, *Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?* (London, 1976).

did not have a bourgeois liberal revolution; it did not develop a robust civil society, democratic institutions, or a liberal intellectual culture. In debating the validity of such claims about Germany, many historians have developed a healthy skepticism about the purportedly typical development in other countries against which the German *Sonderweg* and American exceptionalism have been posited.

GERMANY FEATURES PECULIARLY in Lipset's exposition of American exceptionalism. It is not the object of systematic comparison, as are Canada and Japan but, rather, pops up here and there in discussions of economic competitiveness and patriotism, voluntary associations and welfare provisions. Should Germany be inserted into the arguments about Canada, where the question of class politics predominates, or into the analysis of Japan, where the group is emphasized over the individual and gender relations are more traditional? We learn how America differs from Germany (as well as a host of other countries) in terms of such things as individualism among business managers, hours worked, and the density and typology of voluntary associations, but these constitute a laundry list of peculiarities, not examples of uniqueness in relationship to other nations that form a coherent category. These difficulties notwithstanding, there are serious grounds on which to question both the explicit single-issue comparisons and the implied contrasts of class development, political systems, and enduring values.

Let us take the contrast between Germany's strong and relatively egalitarian welfare-state system and America's much less developed and redistributive one. Lipset attributes the high degree of income inequality and poverty and the low level of welfare programs in the United States to anti-statism and individualism. In Germany and Britain, aristocratic-based conservatism, with its *noblesse oblige* communitarian values and dislike of capitalist competitiveness and materialism, created strong welfare systems. Lipset's global description of the contemporary differences between Europe and America is accurate but unoriginal and ignores significant variations among European nations.⁶ His explanation for these varied outcomes is ahistorical and decontextualized, moving as it does from unchanging and presumably universal values dating from some unspecified but pre-industrial foundational era to the present. It overlooks the complexities of class conflicts, state formation, socialist and feminist interventions, and the discursive transformations of conceptions of citizenship, rights, needs, and social obligations.⁷ Only by ignoring the influence of all these factors on both welfare states and individual options can Lipset glibly assert that Americans choose to work longer hours and to vacation less than Germans do.⁸

Americans, Lipset notes, are deeply patriotic, expressing pride in being American in much greater numbers than Germans express pride in being German. Viewing

⁶ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 252.

⁷ To explore such influences, see Peter Baldwin, *The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases of the European Welfare State, 1875-1975* (New York, 1990); *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States, 1880s-1950s*, Gisela Bock and Pat Thane, eds. (London, 1991); Peter Gourevitch, *Politics in Hard Times* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986); and *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*, Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, eds. (New York, 1993).

⁸ Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, 60.

patriotism positively, Lipset fails to inquire where positive love of country ends and irrational or xenophobic nationalism begins. This is a limited perspective for America, an impossible one for Germany. In the wake of National Socialism, German patriotism is a contested category. Should one profess loyalty to the democratic constitution, take pride in German culture and economic development, or express devotion to the Fatherland? Open professions of nationalist pride are likely to provoke censure at home and abroad, but critiques of German national character and past behavior meet a mixed response. Daniel Goldhagen's sweeping condemnation of Germany in *Hitler's Willing Executioners* (1996) as thoroughly anti-Semitic and exterminatory was applauded in Germany, but recent exhibitions linking the Wehrmacht to genocide on the Eastern Front have been roundly criticized as distorted and unfair.

Survey research, on which Lipset relies heavily, asks the same question in different countries but ignores the distinctive political and discursive contexts, the complex historical trajectories in which terms such as patriotism and nationalism are embedded. The answers elicited are not easily comparable. Moreover, neither the status of patriotic pride as a core attitude nor its relationship to other enduring values in Lipset's argument is clear. Had one polled Germans at the turn of the century, for example, or in the late 1930s, far more than the current 20 percent would have expressed pride in being German.

In his analysis of patriotism, as in that of basic beliefs and commitments more generally, Lipset cannot account for shifts, reversals, and redefinitions. His assertion of exceptionalism is premised on the continuity of values and resulting political practices over several centuries. Are the core values of other societies similarly immutable? If so, how does one account for the very different political attitudes and practices that have evolved in a country such as Germany over the course of the last century? Values are as much the product of complex historical developments and deliberate interventions by states, groups, and individuals as they are the creators of political institutions and behaviors.

Arguments about American exceptionalism invariably culminate in the proud conclusion that America had no socialism. Such a sweeping and negative formulation hardly captures the complex nature of class politics and class consciousness in the United States.⁹ It ignores the high degree of state and employer violence and coercion and is silent on racial conflict. Of greater importance, such an assertion assumes that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was a monolithically class-conscious Europe, with strong socialist trade unions and political parties in contrast to an America of business unionism and two-party, machine politics. But there was no one pattern of class formation, no one articulation of class consciousness, no one form in which the economic, political, and cultural demands of workers was expressed organizationally or ideologically. France had syndicalist unions and a multiplicity of socialist parties, which weakly coalesced only after the turn of the century. British trade unions did not begin to

⁹ For an introduction to the debates against American working-class exceptionalism, see Eric Foner, "Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?" *History Workshop Journal* 17 (1984): 57–80; Sean Wilentz, "Against Exceptionalism: Class Consciousness and the American Labor Movement, 1790–1920," *International Labor and Working Class History* 26 (Fall 1984): 1–24.

break their alliance with the Liberals until the 1890s, and the Labour Party was small, weak, and most definitely not Socialist until after World War I. If any country was exceptional in the size and strength of its socialist party and trade unions, it was Germany. And there, as well as elsewhere, large numbers of workers supported political Catholicism, voted for bourgeois liberal parties, or remained distant from political organizations and electoral politics.¹⁰

In the interwar years, when welfare states first developed, there was similar diversity. In the 1920s, the laissez-faire United States looked different from Germany with its well-developed social policy, but New Deal America differed more from Britain. In the post-World War II decades, patterns of class politics and welfare states shifted again, but there was never a single European model, deriving in teleological fashion from a shared feudal past and statist and communitarian values.¹¹

CLAIMS TO EXCEPTIONALISM are hardly the exclusive preserve of Americans studying America. In the last two centuries, Germans have anguished over their relationship to West European and American thought, values, and models of economic, social, and political development. While more conservative voices proudly asserted Germany's distinctiveness and its mediating position between West and East, others of a liberal or leftist bent advocated piecemeal emulation or far-reaching adoption of foreign models that were deemed desirable or seen as hegemonic.

Since Nazism, historians of Germany have explored "the peculiarities of German history," initially in terms of intellectual history and values, later in terms of socio-political development. First the German mind or national character, then cultural developments from Luther or Hegel or Bismarck were examined and found to be both unchanging and productive of authoritarianism, intolerance, and inequality. More recently, the German *Sonderweg* has been defined in social structural terms. The emergence of industrial capitalism was not accompanied by the development of democratic political forms and bourgeois-dominated civil society; rather, the Prussian aristocracy retained political and cultural power. The ultimate cause of National Socialism was rooted in this lack of a bourgeois revolution and incomplete modernization.¹²

Arguments about Germany's "special path" assume the existence of a "correct" road, down which Britain, France, and America traveled as they developed industrial capitalism, bourgeois civil society, and liberal democracy. This exceptionalist argument is doubly flawed, as David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley first argued and many others have elaborated, for it simplifies and distorts many aspects of German social and cultural development while completely ignoring others.¹³ Take voluntary associations, for example. Lipset argues that America is exceptional in the number and diversity of such organizations, which are the building blocks of civil

¹⁰ See *Working-Class Formation: Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States*, Ira Katznelson and Aristide R. Zolberg, eds. (Princeton, N.J., 1986).

¹¹ See note 6 above.

¹² Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *The German Empire, 1871-1918* (Leamington Spa, 1985).

¹³ David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History* (London, 1984).

society and promote political engagement. But Germany, in contrast to countries such as France or even Britain, has a notable density and diversity of voluntary associations—and has had since the nineteenth century. This challenges any simple correlations among voluntary associations, civil society, and liberal democracy and suggests that social scientists should pay less attention to quantifying civil society and more to understanding the qualitatively different meanings of associational life in different contexts. Societies can be, and since the nineteenth century have been, bourgeois without necessarily being liberal.

By focusing on incomplete modernization, arguments about German exceptionalism have ignored the messiness of modernity. By stressing the persistence of traditional values and antimodernist rhetorics, they have ignored the irrationalities, inequalities, and gendered and racist assumptions of liberal theory and modern science. Arguments about American exceptionalism promote their own silences and omissions. Changes in economic and social structure, in gender relations, in the social and discursive construction of race are neglected, for the values at the center of American exceptionalism are purportedly impervious to these forces. Finally, in both Germany and America, arguments about exceptionalism avoid any serious comparative analysis of twentieth-century capitalism.

America looks different if cast as a capitalist nation, as *the* twentieth-century capitalist nation, that has dominated the global economy until recently (or still does and will for the foreseeable future, in Lipset's view). While America is unquestionably successful and powerful, it is neither unique nor destined to remain hegemonic. The American model of economic modernity has neither totally conquered and coerced other nations nor seduced them into slavish imitation. Rather, it has both sought to impose itself and been embraced by others, albeit in negotiated form. America was seen as providing a model of development that could be selectively emulated, a language of modernity that could be spoken with quite distinct national accents. The goal was to become Americanized while remaining oneself. American exceptionalism, which proclaims the moral and material superiority of the United States, denies the possibility of such emulation and negotiation. The ideology of exceptionalism thus stands in sharp and ironic contrast to much of American foreign and economic policy, from modernization theory to structural adjustment programs, which are premised on America as the only economic and political model.

Germans did not see imitating America as easy or always desirable. America was, after all, a non-European other, strange, intriguing, at times frightening, and always open to multiple readings. In the nineteenth century, America was seen as immature, closer to nature, and of marginal relevance to German identity and development; in the twentieth, it was regarded as advanced, as the modern, rationalized, functional, and materialistic future toward which Germany might well be heading, for better or worse. Throughout, it was placed under the broad rubric of Western capitalist nations. From the 1920s on, the pervasive and passionate German debates about Americanism, anti-Americanism, and Americanization circled around which aspects of America could and should be emulated, not on American exceptionalism. It was above all America's economic success that Germans wanted to imitate, its production methods and products they felt forced

to copy. Germans defined and debated America in terms of mass production, mass consumption, and popular culture, not the American creed. They focused on American economic and political interventions more than on the values behind American institutions, on changing gender relations and youth culture more than on timeless moralism and individualism.¹⁴

In these debates, many of Lipset's characterizations of America have been challenged. Lipset perceives strong individualism, while many Germans are overwhelmed by monotonous homogeneity and stifling conformity. Where he finds egalitarianism, many Germans discover cultural leveling on the one hand and startling inequalities in wealth and welfare on the other. While Lipset praises American *laissez faire*, many Germans note American economic and political intervention throughout the world.

The repeated assertion of American exceptionalism masks the complex nature of American society and its similarities with and interconnections to other nations. It dismisses the ways the rest of the world sees the United States. In both Germany and America, exceptionalist arguments produce inadequate history, limited self-understanding, and arrogant politics.

¹⁴ Mary Nolan, *Visions of Modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany* (New York, 1994); Michael Ermarth, ed., *America and the Shaping of German Society, 1945-1955* (Providence, R.I., 1993); Reiner Pommerin, ed., *The American Impact on Postwar Germany* (Providence, 1994).

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

WILLIAM H. MCNEILL. *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 198. \$22.00.

As he did in *Plagues and Peoples* (1976), William H. McNeill once again suggests the crucial importance of a largely undocumented and hitherto neglected subject. This time, McNeill focuses on coordinated group movements that induce what he calls "muscular bonding," emotional ties that help promote communities and social cohesion. While not as exciting as *Plagues and Peoples*, this new work is filled with insights and will undoubtedly inspire historians to delve more deeply into this aspect of the human past.

After describing the emotional effect of rhythmic movement as "a feeling that (the group is) one," McNeill employs anthropology to explore the place of dance in prehistory. According to him, community dancing is unique to humans, although chimpanzees can learn it. McNeill argues that the invention of coordinated, rhythmic movement was essential to human survival, probably as early as a million years ago when *homo erectus* roamed the earth. Along with the use of speech, which dancing preceded, rhythmic group movement provided hominids with crucial advantages over other beasts in hunting, food-sharing, and nurturing their young. Thus, community dancing is deeply ingrained in the human psyche.

McNeill demonstrates the importance of coordinated group movement in historic times by examining three areas: community-building, religion, and war. In the chapter on communities, McNeill suggests a link between dance, trance, and shamanism. He also points out the role of rhythmic, coordinated movement in relieving the tedium of agricultural work; indeed, "muscular bonding" makes field hands more efficient, thus increasing grain surpluses. Finally, McNeill notes the tendency for subgroups in the counterculture to consolidate around dance. The tarantella of medieval Europe and the Ghost Dance of Native Americans are two examples.

Under religion, McNeill describes the interplay between the staid religious "establishment" and various new cults that often have emotional, rhythmic dances at their core. Here he examines the Mormons, Shak-

ers, Pentecostals, Japan's Soka Gakkai, and Muslim whirling dervishes. Perhaps the most interesting insight concerns the ancient Hebrew prophets, who often employed ecstatic dances, but whose contribution to Judaism has come down to us mostly in literary texts.

McNeill is on the most solid ground when he delineates the effects of coordinated group movement and drill on the military. Mass tactics were practiced on either end of the Eurasian continent by the Greeks and the Chinese at about the same time. The Greek phalanx and Athenian oarsmen are well-known cases, but McNeill's examination of Chinese warfare during the Warring States period is exceptional. Thereafter, McNeill contends, mass tactics died out in the face of mounted warriors, but the Europeans and Chinese rediscovered drill and group formations during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In China, the mass tactics of Ch'i Chi-kuang allowed the Manchus to conquer the steppe and create an enlarged empire, while Maurice of Orange's emphasis on coordinated group movement empowered the Europeans to subdue large parts of the globe. As a sidelight, McNeill also inquires into the role of mass calisthenics in forming modern national identities.

This book is a delight, clear and easy to read, but it may not convince everyone. Over the course of his work, one of McNeill's central contentions has been that written documents may be unsatisfactory for recovering the past. He uses anthropology, psychology, and other social sciences liberally. If one is the kind of historian who is wedded to the written record and uncomfortable with inferential reasoning, this book will provoke skepticism. But if one accepts McNeill's approach, methods, and assumptions, then this could be another in a long line of groundbreaking studies.

To take my field of premodern Japanese history, for example, this work suggests several avenues of research. All historians of Japan know of the customs prevailing during the spring transplanting of wet-rice. Japanese farmers used drums and songs to make the backbreaking labor easier to bear and swifter to complete. One can only wonder how old this custom is and what role it may have played in the renowned cohesion of the village from 1300-1945. In the area of religion, the thirteenth-century Pure Land Buddhist monk Ippen danced his way across Japan, making converts all

the while. During the troubled times of the sixteenth century, the dispossessed of Kyoto started dance crazes.

In fact, I wonder why McNeill did not inquire more deeply into Japanese, Chinese, and other non-Western historical traditions. The English-language studies are now available for such an inquiry. Despite this shortcoming, his book should be cherished for the insights it offers and esteemed as a precursor of future studies.

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✱ UMBERTO ECO. *The Search for the Perfect Language*. Translated by JAMES FENTRESS. (The Making of Europe.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1995. Pp. x, 385. \$24.95.

This volume is part of a series created by five European publishers of different nationalities to foster understanding of the European past and perhaps to facilitate the evolution of a united Europe. Umberto Eco had to be cognizant of the intent of the series in his narration of the search for a perfect language (a language that mirrored without distortions the true nature of objects). He excludes, plausibly, any pre- and extra-European searches. Eco locates the intersection between the search for a perfect language and the emergence of a European identity in the eleventh century, when the awareness of multitudinous vernacular idioms had grown strong enough to become a stimulus for new perfect language searches. He cites as the key indicator for the change the many contemporary depictions and narratives of the Tower of Babel story (Genesis 11:1-9). Despite its declared importance, however, Eco does not use this stipulated node as a major turning point in his own account; rather he shapes that account according to the symbolic value of the Tower of Babel narrative. Of the two possible perspectives on that narrative, the first makes the pre-Tower age the ideal period in which the perfect language is present, while the post-Tower period brings a troublesome *confusio linguarum*. Eco considers the second perspective as the optimistic one, since he celebrates the post-Tower period as a great opportunity for humanity to develop in plural ways.

For centuries, the first perspective inspired a search that aimed at the recovery of the one perfect language. Until the time of the late Church Fathers, Hebrew was the prevailing choice, and it enjoyed a brief revival in and after the Renaissance. Linguistic speculations in the context of cabalistic mysticism offered a bridge between the two periods of Hebrew prominence. The emergence of a global world, in which many groups could not easily be linked to the biblical world, directed the monogenetic search also toward the Egyptian and Chinese languages as well as, much later, the constructed Indo-European language. Expressive of the strongly secular trend were the new perfect languages that were not based on a natural or a divinely

instituted language but were constructed according to philosophical matrices for the cosmic order. These attempts to find the perfect language shared with the earlier ones the motives of establishing world peace and brotherhood but not those of religious conversion and the unification of the Eastern and Western churches.

Eco gives intricate accounts of the methods according to which these languages were constructed. At this point, the reader would benefit from a more extensive discussion of the differences Eco sees between a perfect and a universal language, reaching beyond the purely functional into the religious and philosophical implications. The issue seems particularly acute in the 1600s and 1700s, so fertile with language schemes as shown in the works of James Knowlson, Vivian Salmon, Mary M. Slaughter, and Robert E. Stillman. Eco draws a very clear boundary between the perfect and the international auxiliary languages (such as the merely universal languages Volapük and Esperanto), in which the philosophical matrix is reduced to humanitarian hopes for unobstructed communication in an ever smaller world. The ultimate failure of these auxiliary languages makes Eco speculate on what would be needed for their success, but in the end he prefers the plurality of languages anyhow. That preference makes Eco a proponent of a united Europe of mother tongues, choosing the plurality of cultures over any synthetic unity, including a perfect or a universal language.

Eco has produced a fine account of a topic that obviously fascinates him, although he does not consider the search for the perfect language a promising endeavor. He also copes quite well with the difficult problem of establishing plausible connections between the search for a perfect language, an endeavor of an ahistorical nature, and the specific historical developments in which it was conducted. For him, the failure of the search is compensated for by the insights and new disciplines it yielded and by making the confusion of languages more of a gift than a curse. Historians are provided with an introduction to a segment of human development that is often ignored but that has particular implications for historiography in an age when linguistic preferences are prominent. The book, by necessity a selective account, is a reliable guide for those unlikely to refer to more specialized treatments of the topic. It reads well and has an informative bibliography.

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DAVID D. ROBERTS. *Nothing but History: Reconstruction and Extremity after Metaphysics*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 324. \$40.00.

The discipline of history generally consists of the hierarchical gradation from historiography to historiology to historiosophy. Historically, that which began

with historiography culminated in the historiosophy of G. W. F. Hegel, who, writing as if Immanuel Kant had never criticized the proofs for the existence of God, maintained that *Geist* actualized its potentiality in time. Thus began a divinization of history that has continued to the present day, if only in secularized forms. Since Hegel, this tripartite approach to history has developed chronologically in reverse, so that today "nothing but history" remains.

In this context, David D. Roberts wrote the book under review, the aim of which is "to understand this reduction to history, first by asking how it has played out in our own intellectual history over the past century or so, then by seeking to assess the cultural possibilities it affords us" (p. xi). To accomplish this purpose, Roberts discusses the thought of Hegel, Giambattista Vico, Friedrich Nietzsche, Wilhelm Dilthey, Benedetto Croce, Hans-Georg Gadamer, Richard Rorty, and Michel Foucault, with particularly impressive sections on Martin Heidegger and Jacques Derrida. One of the fundamental assumptions of many in this group, and Roberts appears to accept it, is that we are living in a "postmetaphysical" era, an assumption that borders on being considered an ontological fact.

The problem is that philosophy itself can only be understood in a historical context, with the historical context gradually becoming more important than philosophy itself, to the point that some have proclaimed the death of philosophy. We are left, therefore, with only historiographical problems with regard to writing cultural and intellectual history. This view is coupled with the existential position that the only thing of which we can be certain is the present moment. As a consequence, any interpretation of the past *and* the future can be considered, at best, only theoretical and speculative. This combination leads to difficulties in the interpretation of history.

Which should the historian emphasize, the past or the future? Does the historian stress only the past and thus write a "conservative" history, seeking only to deal with the past "as it was," in the tradition of Leopold von Ranke; or, in the attempt to shape the future for political and moral reasons, does the historian engage in "creative" interpretations of the past, thus bordering on becoming a political propagandist? Does the historian engage in Derridean playful disruption or in Heideggerian disengagement, making, for example, the study of history a kind of therapy, in keeping with the spirit of that modern substitute for metaphysics, namely, psychology? In any case, there is little difference in method between the historian and the writer of fiction. But the historian's narrative is written in the midst of important extenuating circumstances, such as the historian's own psychology, his or her place in society, the nation, the world, and all of history to the present moment. To what extent should these latter elements be "deconstructed" from the narrative and then be "reconstructed" in language that is understandable? (pp. 261–62).

Roberts, seeking to moderate between extremes, proposes a "weak but reconstructive cultural history" (p. 317), suggesting a modified alignment between Jürgen Habermas's hermeneutics and Derridean disruptive play, expanding "our capacity to learn through historical inquiry" and adjusting "our present commitments on the basis of what we learn" (p. 315). So, for Roberts, historians can take a decided political stance from the perspective of the present with an eye to the future, while not being paralyzed by the fact that, in so doing, historians themselves become the oppressive "victors" of history.

This strategy is based on the presupposition that "we are fundamentally historical creatures" (p. 160), an idea that is biblical in origin, where Jahweh was the God of history. To say that we are fundamentally historical creatures is tautologically true, for if history is concerned with human doings, all human doings are historical. But if it is tautological, then one can either *believe* it or reject it out of hand. Because it is a matter of belief, we are in the midst, not of historiography or philosophy, but of *religio*, a position with which Vico would agree.

Two other positions of Vico's are therefore worth considering. First, he maintained that the same types of events recur *ad nauseam*. Once we admit the recurrence of types of events, we are immediately confronted with the presupposition that there is a human nature and can move readily from there to an aesthetic appreciation of—say it ever so quietly—Platonic Ideas, a position that Stephen Greenblatt perhaps unwittingly approached (p. 273). Second, Vico maintained that the order of ideas follows the order of institutions. Under the supremacy of the church, theological ideas were hegemonous; under the supremacy of the state, political, social, and economic ideas became hegemonous. With Kant, philosophy was freed from the stranglehold of the church. It is now time to free philosophy *and* history from the stranglehold of the state.

These remarks notwithstanding, Roberts has written a provocatively challenging book, and it should be read by all professional historians, and others, who wish to understand the contemporary status of the discipline of history.

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STEPHEN K. SANDERSON. *Social Transformations: A General Theory of Historical Development*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1995. Pp. xii, 452. Cloth \$62.95, paper \$22.95.

A couple of my graduate students recently described world history theory as the last redoubt of positivism. At the start of the colloquium that occasioned this indictment, I had acknowledged that few historians provide more than implicit models. Historians have left explicit world history theory to social scientists, mostly exponents of world-systems theory. For in-

stance, Stephen K. Sanderson edited *Civilizations and World Systems: Studying World-Historical Change* (1995), one of the books we read in the colloquium.

My students' complaint and my own admission may serve to introduce Sanderson's latest and most ambitious book. His theory of evolutionary materialism will appear old-fashioned to post-structuralists. Historians unfamiliar with sociological discourse may be puzzled as to why Sanderson complicates his argument about worldwide social change with the term evolution. They also may wish for a more sprightly style.

What Sanderson calls his theoretical strategy of evolutionary materialism focuses on global transformations in the mode of social organization such as the Neolithic Revolution. He argues that "demographic, ecological, technological, and economic forces" best explain fundamental change (p. 389). Instead of a single theory, he offers a quiverful of sometimes contradictory theories borrowed from cultural materialism, world-systems theory and other forms of contemporary Marxism, and conflict theory derived from Weberian historical sociology. On any specific topic he prefers parsimonious explanations that fit all cases, such as in the transition from feudalism to capitalism in both Western Europe and Japan. For example, late medieval population decline in Western Europe is unlikely to have been important for the end of feudalism because Japan did not experience a comparable demographic breakdown.

Throughout his book, Sanderson provides careful reviews of the English-language scholarship produced by researchers in several disciplines. On this basis, he weighs different explanations of the major transformations in human history: the origins of agriculture, agrarian civilizations and states, and pre-industrial capitalism. Sanderson characterizes the origins of agriculture as a case of parallel evolution throughout the world and explains it as a slow and reluctant response to population pressure. Again rejecting diffusionism, he sees the origins of civilization and the state as developments occurring independently around the globe. He argues in favor of "conflict versions of population pressure theories" in which "elites and the state arise through a struggle over scarce resources" (p. 86).

Although far from an apologist for capitalism, Sanderson regards its evolution as the inevitable result of the merchant mentality. Capitalism emerged during the long sixteenth century as the result of interaction between five preconditions shared by Western Europe and Japan: "small size [of individual countries], location on a large body of water, temperate climate, growing population density, and feudal political relations permitting mercantile freedom and independence," combined with "the process of long-term historical expansion of world commercialization" over the course of the previous 4,500 years (pp. 173-74). Making capitalism precede the Industrial Revolution, he allies himself with Immanuel Wallerstein, one of the three sociologists to whom he dedicates his book.

Sanderson devotes two chapters to the modern world-system, during which the pace of evolution has quickened. He offers explanations of institutions of modernity as varied as state socialism and mass education.

Sanderson's view of human history is pessimistic. He thinks that, except in the last hundred years, "social evolution has been largely regressive" for ordinary people (p. 336). He concludes with a cheerless sketch of the present influenced by Pitirim Sorokin and with speculation about the collapse of Western capitalist civilization, perhaps as early as the twenty-first century. "Nothing is forever" (p. 380).

Historians may smile, either smugly or uneasily, at Sanderson's scorn for the "idiographic outlook" that characterizes their discipline (p. 402). He appears to view history as the intellectual "periphery" that supplies raw materials for the social science "core" to fashion into sophisticated goods. At least in part, his book seems intended to serve as a textbook for advanced sociology students. Yet historians can learn a good deal from Sanderson. He is not an ideologue who makes evolutionary materialism explain everything, and he recognizes that only skimpy evidence is available to support some of his generalizations. I shall recommend to my critical students Sanderson's heroic venture at explaining the turning points in prehistory and history.

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JOHN P. POWELSON. *Centuries of Economic Endeavor: Parallel Paths in Japan and Europe and Their Contrast with the Third World*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 483. \$45.00.

John P. Powelson has capped several decades of research in development economics with this magnificent study in comparative history, a book that will be of great value not just to economists and historians but also to political scientists and sociologists like myself. For a good many years, traditional ideas about the "Industrial Revolution" that were influential among economic historians and theories of "modernization" and Max Weber's related notion of a "Protestant work ethic" that once appealed to many sociologists have been under severe challenge. Such theoretical perspectives encouraged students of economic development to look for exceptional "propellants," often of a cultural kind, that made development happen in Europe, European settler societies in other parts of the world, and a few exceptional non-European cases such as Japan after the Meiji Restoration. One challenge has come from Immanuel Wallerstein's "world-systems theory," which suggests that initial development in Europe and its consequential trade and colonialism caused development elsewhere to be retarded or reversed (*The Modern World System* [1974]). Another challenge was presented by Eric Jones, who, in *The European Miracle* (1981) and *Growth Recurring* (1988), contended that there was a general propensity in human society

toward "extensive growth" (when economic growth is constantly outstripped by population increase, so that per capita income does not grow), but that this was usually prevented from tripping over into "intensive growth" (rising per capita incomes) by the "rent-seeking" activities of exploitative landowners; in other cases, including that of Song China, accidents such as natural disasters or invasions snuffed out intensive growth. The case of Europe was thus explained almost negatively. Why were such accidents and rent-seeking activities avoided?

Powelson's book brings together and synthesizes many earlier strands of thinking, but he adds some distinctive arguments of his own and sets his thesis in the widest possible comparative context. His central thesis is that the institutions necessary for economic development are crucially formed through a "power-diffusion process," which operated most effectively in Japan and northwestern Europe (pp. 13–21). He begins by pushing back the beginnings of economic growth and the institutions that facilitated it in Japan to long before the mid-nineteenth century; Japanese economic growth was by no means as derivative of European processes as has generally been thought. In both Europe and Japan, the power-diffusion process operated as follows: "Beginning in medieval times, lower-level . . . interest groups allied themselves with upper-level groups, exacting power in return. For example, as nobility, kings, or church competed with one another, peasant groups might join forces with either side, demanding greater power or freedom if their side won . . . These arrangements, across social clusters, will be called *vertical alliances* . . . The application of vertical alliances to enhance power is referred to as *leverage*" (pp. 5–6).

In the following two chapters, Powelson depicts the consequences for institutions and modes of behavior favorable to economic growth of the longterm struggles, bargaining, and negotiation between emperors and shoguns, shoguns and daimyo, and the holders of various rights and obligations in the Japanese manor, all before he turns his attention to the more familiar ground of the institutional development of northwestern Europe. The two had this in common: "In thousands upon thousands of conflicts, no group could impose its will; each learned to settle for some positive sum short of its ideal. Thus were the rules of the market, corporate enterprise, parliamentary government, financial system, and commercial laws fashioned and endowed with sustaining power. More important, the various groups came to value long-term ends more than short-term ones, and they learned that negotiation and compromise, not confrontation and violence would best achieve them" (p. 11).

The rest of the book consists largely of Powelson showing why this pattern did not eventuate elsewhere, in spite of often favorable beginnings. Broadly speaking, authoritarian rulers unchecked by an internal balance of power were able to impose both a short-term view and institutions ill-suited to economic

growth. Highly illuminating chapters deal with Africa, India, China, Russia, Spain and Portugal, Mexico and Central America, South America, and the Middle East. In his final chapters, Powelson fascinatingly compares Novgorod and the medieval Italian city-states with today's Four Tigers of the Far East; examines "the German miracle" (for he argues that German history combines both "European" and "non-European" features); and provides a prospective glance into the twenty-first century.

It is difficult in a short review to do justice to Powelson's wealth of learning. In particular, I do not wish to give the impression that his account of the conditions of economic growth is excessively mono-causal. The power-diffusion process is undoubtedly of central importance in his analysis, but explaining why it happened or did not happen in various parts of the globe actually involves reference to many varied factors. Powelson acknowledges the points on which his work is consonant with Jones's, and he discusses at some length the similarities and differences between his own theory and that presented in Douglass C. North's *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (1990), written concurrently with his book (pp. 70–73). Powelson relies less on path-dependency analysis, although his account is not incompatible with that approach, and North remains more narrowly economic in his focus.

Strangely, it strikes me that Powelson's way of thinking most closely resembles that of someone who does not even appear in his extensive bibliography, the sociologist Norbert Elias. The omission is hardly surprising, since Elias's writings are only tangentially concerned with economic growth. The account of European state-formation processes in Elias's *The Civilizing Process* (1939) offers several parallels to Powelson's ideas. The "power-diffusion process" appears to be identical with what Elias (and Karl Mannheim before him) called "functional democratization." Powelson's "leverage" is remarkably similar to Elias's account of "the royal mechanism"; and Elias, like Powelson, stresses how vertical alliances between rulers and lower strata against the warrior elite enhanced the power of both kings and commercial interests. The internal pacification of territory—the importance of people ordinarily being able to live in peace together—is important to both writers, although Elias sought to explain changes in typical behavior, mentality, or habitus, and Powelson is concerned with economic growth. In his eagerness rightly to demonstrate the deleterious consequences of overpowerful central rulers, Powelson perhaps understates the importance of the growth of central power within a balance of power as an agent of pacification. Elias's account of "parliamentarization" (in Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* [1986]) is similar to Powelson's. Finally, Elias stresses how lengthening chains of interdependence exert pressures on people toward greater habitual foresight; the longer-term view is also important in

Powelson's theory. I mention these similarities not to diminish the importance and interest of Powelson's book but rather the opposite: to show how they interlink with wider concerns in the study of long-term social development. More even than North's book, Powelson's work deserves to be read by the whole spectrum of historians and social scientists.

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GEORGE REID ANDREWS and HERRICK CHAPMAN, editors. *The Social Construction of Democracy, 1870–1990*. New York: New York University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 391. \$40.00.

Winston Churchill famously remarked in the House of Commons in 1947 that democracy was the worst form of government except for "all those other forms that have been tried from time to time." It is useful to remind ourselves just what an oddity democracy is. For nearly all of human history across most of the planet, government has been exercised in an arbitrary and authoritarian way; "all those other forms" were the norm for most of our ancestors. Democracy is a recent growth, and it is mostly the product of the rising tide of modern liberalism. In this broad historical context, American "conservatism" is a disguised form of liberalism, not at all what Europeans or Latin Americans understand by that term.

The purpose of this first-rate collection of fifteen essays is to explore the social conditions that make democracy possible and also (a notable theme in the book) those that inhibit it. Editors George Reid Andrews and Herrick Chapman make a valiant effort at developing some general interpretations in their introductory essay. They give a deferential nod to Barrington Moore (*Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* [1966]) and, among other things, provide some valuable and persuasive reflections on the connections between democracy and the international economy. (Does "globalization" really bode well for democracy? Almost certainly not). At the end of the day, however, precise formulations elude them.

But if at times Andrews and Chapman seem to be struggling, that is not really their fault. In the first place, the subject of the social bases of democracy is endlessly complex and slippery, and what we know about it does not permit much in the way of hard-and-fast explanation. In the second place, they are conscientious editors who understandably want to base their discussion on the fifteen essays they have commissioned. These essays are case studies taken from the historical experiences of particular parts of the world: the United States; Europe (France and Germany are represented and, in one essay, Eastern Europe, but not Scandinavia, where arguably the world's highest quality democracies are to be found); Latin America (Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico, but not Chile, Uru-

guay, or Costa Rica); and Japan. The world's largest democracy, India, is not discussed, and all that noble old England rates is a paragraph or two in Charles Tilly's concluding essay. This is often a problem we encounter in collections that, like this one, come from conferences, however enjoyable. Every essay in this book is worth reading—the editors have displayed excellent judgement in their selection—but what the book amounts to is fifteen admirable journal articles bound up together.

Indeed, the only lesson I learned from this stimulating volume (and it hardly came as a surprise) is that the historical routes both to and from democracy are almost endlessly variable. The impression is probably reinforced by the fact that most of the essays deal with specific countries. This gives the collection its strength, but by the same token it underlines (no doubt unintentionally) the incommensurability of national histories. France is not the United States, Argentina not Japan.

Given the strong and (as far as I am concerned) commendable interest in social history of all the contributors to this volume—they eschew the "linguistic turn" and the refined pointlessness of other recently modish approaches—they tell us a great deal about the interactions of different social classes in the development (and decay) of democracy. There seem to be no rules at all. Elites and middle classes can either promote or destroy democracy, depending on the circumstances. Working-class mobilization, on the other hand, on most occasions promotes democracy. It is difficult to think of a case where it has not. But it can also be undermined by its own success, when rising levels of prosperity turn workers (at least in their own self-perception) into middle-class conservatives. The recent electoral strength of the Republican party in the United States is an eloquent example of this process, but similar examples can easily be found elsewhere.

Tilly, at the end of a brightly concluding essay, reminds us of a very important point: democracies can easily decay, and: "That is why sites of Democracy always display the sign UNDER CONSTRUCTION" (p. 385). Reading this in an American election year—with big money playing its usual preponderant role, the ideological differences between the main contenders paper-thin, one of the two candidates often unable to frame a coherent sentence in the English language, and barely one half of the electorate bothering to vote at all—I can appreciate that even the most venerable democracies are sometimes under strain and in urgent need of repair. Yet who, in 1996, seems inclined to tackle the job?

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ANDREW W. ROBERTSON. *The Language of Democracy: Political Rhetoric in the United States and Britain, 1790–1900*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 264. \$35.00.

We have heard many calls for comparative studies in the past generation, but few scholars have actually undertaken them. The difficulties of mastering the histories of two distinct cultural and geographic areas, as well as linguistic hurdles, have discouraged all but a few, usually senior, scholars. But Andrew W. Robertson has written a monograph that employs insights from both sides of the Atlantic to illumine the movement toward democratic politics in the United States and Britain. It is a rich and challenging project, both because British and American political culture and institutions represent variants that stem from common roots and because the two countries are, as Oscar Wilde remarked, "divided by a common language," wherein the same words can carry different meanings.

Rather than treating the two nations with their separate casts of characters and distinct legislative and party histories simultaneously, Robertson wisely alternates chapters on American and British political discourse. As a result, he can delineate developments in each nation coherently while calling attention to contrasts. In both Britain and the United States, Robertson argues, political discourse moved from oral electioneering to chiefly printed appeals and then to a mixed approach that included printed texts and visual images, especially cartoons (which are liberally reproduced and analyzed). In Robertson's judgment, American politicians and publicists, including British immigrants of the 1790s like William Cobbett—who later migrated back to England in time to influence the style of reform debates—pioneered democratic rhetorical techniques.

The common baseline for American and British electioneering rhetoric was the "laudatory" style, which praised the superior wisdom and morality of the man who "stood" for election. In America, however, this style scarcely survived George Washington, as a fierce competition for the votes of an ever-expanding electorate led after 1790, to the adoption of a "hortatory" rhetoric that called on voters to support political principles rather than virtuous men. By the 1830s, when Americans were employing an increasing range of rhetorical modes (including the "admonitory" style of reformers) and the "familiar" approach of politicians who sprouted nick-names like "Old Hickory," British rhetoric was decidedly *réfardataire*. Indeed, it was not until the 1880s, after the British electorate had been substantially expanded by the first and second Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867, that the two rhetorical streams began to converge. From Abraham Lincoln and William Gladstone, Robertson explains, both nations learned "new rhetorical forms" (p. 217) from practitioners who were admired on both sides of the Atlantic.

Some of Robertson's most arresting observations derive precisely from his comparative approach. For Americanists, who are often ignorant of the extent to which parliamentary duties discouraged the development of cheap, widely available political printing until the 1850s and 1860s, this book will prove instructive.

America's relative freedom of speech and printed mass media were encouraged by public policies that British rulers feared. Viewed from Robertson's perspective, the impact of America's Revolution was far-reaching.

Robertson also stakes out controversial positions regarding the relationships between oratory and printed forms of public address and their histories. He contends that public speaking was "the dominant form of political communication" (p. 9) in the eighteenth century and became more or less obsolete during the nineteenth century, when Nathaniel Hawthorne observed that "speeches have no effect till they are converted into newspaper paragraphs" (p. 114). Robertson believes that a flourishing eighteenth-century culture of "stump speech" (p. 23) was supplanted by the printed oratory of newspapers and pamphlets in the century that followed.

Perhaps. The evidence for a vigorous culture of political oratory in the eighteenth century is scarce, however. Judges sometimes gave political lectures to grand juries, and in Boston the town meeting initiated annual orations to commemorate the "massacre" of 1770. But according to my own research (*Knowledge is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700–1865* [1989]) and that of Harry S. Stout ("Religion, Communications, and the Ideological Origins of the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly* [1977]) and Rhys Isaac (*The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* [1982]), as well as the evidence of the Virginian Robert Munford's play, *The Candidates* (ca. 1770), public address outside of preaching was rare in colonial America. More likely, as the rise of Independence Day orations suggests, the same forces that spawned the flowering of printed political addresses also generated the golden age of stump speaking and congressional oratory. It is true that more people read Daniel Webster's debate with Robert Hayne than witnessed it from packed Capitol galleries. But great public performances, and the thousands of lesser ones, cannot be understood only as printed texts any more than can the lectures of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Wendell Phillips, or Frederick Douglass or the widely reprinted Abraham Lincoln–Stephen Douglas debates. Oral performance and printed oratory flourished together, sustained by a culture in which the social experience of oratory possessed a power and appeal for men and often for women that this book, as learned and instructive as it is, does not consider.

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LUCY BLAND. *Banishing the Beast: Sexuality and the Early Feminists*. New York: New Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 411. \$25.00.

The breadth of the agenda of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century women's movement has received increasing acknowledgment in recent years. This has been most especially the case with regard to the sexual politics of the movement, a concern fostered and

informed by the work of Michel Foucault. Lucy Bland's book reflects both this current concern among feminist historians and the influence of Foucault. In consequence, much of the material presented here, together with the arguments that organize it, will already be familiar to specialists in the field. What this work offers is a valuable new synthesis of such material together with a fresh interpretation. It is written in a lively style that will make it accessible to a wide readership.

Bland uses the unifying term "feminist" throughout the book in an unquestioning way that may make some historians of this field uneasy. In other respects, however, she is notably sensitive to the varieties, perplexities, and contradictions of debates in the women's movement of this period. More particularly, she questions how it was that the feminists of this era were able to speak out about the ordering of sexual relations in their society, what languages and conceptualizations of sexuality were available to them, and how their discussions were limited by the frameworks with which they had to work. Bland reviews feminist adoption of ideas, values, and terminology from the discourses of religion, science, medicine, morality, and the emerging new fields of sociology and sexology. She examines the extent to which discussion was limited by such frameworks and the extent to which feminists were able to suborn them to their own purpose. Her discussions of the influence of Darwinism, eugenics, and new notions of sexual health are especially thoughtful. Bland's analysis of the meshing of class, race, and gender difference in some of these debates is particularly illuminating. So, too, is her charting of the shift in the meaning of the word "sex" from a purely biological category to the catch-all designator of sexual behaviors.

Bland's approach and the findings it generates lead her to question to good effect some of the polarities that have organized previous discussions. She rejects, for example, any easy distinction between voluntarist and "social-purity" approaches to sexual reform among women's-rights activists in this period. Bland questions interpretations of sexology that emphasize its creation of homosexuality as deviancy. She credits sexology with creating the conditions for the emergence of homosexual identities but also acknowledges that it eventually led to the labeling of homosexual preference as pathological. Similarly, she recognizes how a new acknowledgment of sexual desire in women was circumscribed by conceptions of healthy and health-giving sexual expression as heterosexual, penetrative sex.

In her concluding chapter, Bland draws some helpful parallels between a range of current feminist concerns and the efforts of past women's rights activists. She suggests how a number of dilemmas that she encounters as a feminist campaigner of today relate

directly to the past experience examined in this thoughtful and stimulating work.

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STEPHAN PALMIÉ, editor. *Slave Cultures and the Cultures of Slavery*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1995. Pp. xlvii, 283. \$35.00.

Most historians in the United States are aware that interest in the African diaspora is growing as we transcend a Eurocentric model of American culture. We are perhaps less aware that interest in the African diaspora is growing in Europe as well. Immigration from the Anglophone Caribbean has inspired increasing attention to race and race relations in Britain. Massive immigration from Suriname to the Netherlands has sparked widening interest in the history and culture of the peoples of this former Dutch colony. Interest in race and race relations in global context is growing in Germany as that nation comes to grips with its Hitlerian past as well as with recent and current xenophobia among some sectors of its population.

This volume is based upon papers presented at a conference held at the Amerika-Institut of the University of Munich, Germany, in February 1993. The presenters were six historians, nine anthropologists, two scholars of literature, and one linguist. The chapters deal with colonial Louisiana, the antebellum and Reconstruction South of the United States, Jamaica, the Danish West Indies, Suriname, and the Gold Coast of West Africa, as well as providing a general discussion of slave resistance in the Caribbean.

Limitations of space permit me to focus on only the most salient issues raised in this volume. The presence of Sidney W. Mintz at this conference inspired much deference to his and Richard Price's *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (1992). The very title of the book under review was to a great extent inspired by a major aspect of the Mintz-Price thesis: that Africans were so randomized and fragmented upon arrival in the Americas that identifying their specific African ethnic groups is unimportant. This is a huge generalization that is arrived at by collapsing time. According to this thesis, culture had to be created by the slave community within the context of a monopoly of power exercised by the masters through application of deep-structure, African grammatical principles that were elaborated by Melville J. Herskovits. The strongest, most original aspect of the Mintz-Price work—that African-American cultures formed very quickly—is not discussed in this volume.

Few of these chapters transcend the structuralist view that culture is created and enforced by institutions: an elitist, masculine, static view that has depreciated ethnography and blurred distinctions between anthropology and sociology during the past few decades. The only chapter that explicitly challenges this view is the very original and significant one by Ineke

van Wetering, which deals with the role and religious culture of women migrants from Suriname to the Netherlands.

Daniel Usner's fine chapter on colonial Louisiana deals with interaction among Africans and Indians during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as state power and institutions evolved from extremely loose control to growing consolidation. U.U.E. Thoden van Velzen's extensive and intensive interviews with oral historians among the maroons of Suriname reveal an unusual historiography that is amazingly critical of great leaders. Jean Besson presents an insightful discussion of landholding and family structure in Jamaica. The two chapters dealing with the Danish West Indies, by Karen Fog Olwig and Gudrun Meier, focus to a great extent on the manuscripts of Christian Georg Andreas Oldendorp, a Moravian missionary who spent seventeen months in the Danish West Indies in 1767–1768. He carried out systematic interviews with slaves concerning their "African origins, their languages, physical anthropology, common illnesses, the plantation labor regime, the life of house slaves, patterns of kinship and marriage" (p. 67). Housed in the Central Archives of the Moravian Church in Germany, only intriguing selections from these interviews have been made available to the public thus far.

The two chapters by Richard Rathbone and Adam Jones concerning the Gold Coast of West Africa deal with the return of exported Africans as well as the role of women in slaveholding. Gert Oostindie and Alex Van Stripiaan deal with the impact of Suriname as a hydraulic society upon slavery and slave cultures there without considering even the possibility that at least some of the water control technology might have been transferred from Africa. (See, for example, Judith Carney, "Landscapes of Technology Transfer: Rice Cultivation and African Continuities," *Technology and Culture* [1996].) Throughout the volume, it is assumed that all skills were taught by Europeans to Africans, while very often the reverse was true.

In sum, the volume is both informative and important. I hope, however, for a more critical view transcending Eurocentric biases that assume American culture was formed by British, Irish, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, Dutch, and German ancestors while the African ethnic groups who made an enormous contribution to the culture of the Americas remain invisible.

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X DAVID NORTHRUP. *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834–1922*. (Studies in Comparative World History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 186. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$14.95.

The immigration "problems" embodied by non-Western peoples attempting to enter North America and Western Europe in the 1990s represent, historically speaking, extensions of far earlier human movements.

The earliest group migrations of these peoples, more often than not, were set in motion long ago by agents of imperialism who routinely shifted masses of human beings in the tropics to satisfy Western economic demands. The Atlantic slave trade is the most obvious example. But a postslavery indenture system sent many more from Africa, Asia, and the Pacific to new destinations, and these mass migrations reoriented global demographic patterns in fundamental ways.

According to David Northrup, these somewhat recent movements of indentured workers, despite their importance, are still "little-known to most well-informed people, including historians" (p. ix). That is a principal reason for his aptly titled survey. Northrup sees a need to provide, in a single publication, an overview of the shipment of about two million nineteenth and twentieth-century indentured workers to varying locations, movements heretofore assessed on a case-by-case basis. He stresses that breadth and comparison are his emphases here, and he points out that his approach is structural and admittedly "skeletal" when compared with the well-known study by Hugh Tinker (*A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830–1920* [1974]). Northrup bases his survey on his own research on tropical Africa, selected British Parliamentary Papers, and a useful list of fairly recent secondary works, most in English but some in French. Formally stated, his goal "is to compare the rise and fall of the new indentured labor trades in a broad context but with a clear focus" (p. 15).

Northrup's six chapters include brief introductory and concluding commentaries. Chapter two deals with "Demands," and chapter three is entitled "Supplies"; taken together, they provide discussions that broadly parallel the push and pull forces that some scholars use to model human migration. Chapter four ("Voyages") describes changing sailing technology, travel routes, and mortality rates. Chapter five ("Indentures") attempts to capture something of the migrants' varied experiences in new surroundings, experiences that ranged from Indians traveling to Caribbean sugar-cane estates to Chinese going to South African goldmines or Peruvian guano fields.

The problem of surveying nineteenth and twentieth-century movements of indentured workers from Africa, China, India, Japan, and the Pacific in so few pages is, obviously, formidable. In order to reduce his survey data, Northrup narrows his focus to workers who both signed indenture contracts and traveled to another continent, thereby eliminating from his study, to give only two examples, the Indians who migrated to the rubber and tea plantations of Malaya and Ceylon, and the West Indians who dug the Panama Canal. The book's comparative approach is nevertheless enhanced with a series of well-conceived and informative tables, graphs, and charts that address such issues as comparative shipboard living space and comparative shipboard mortality rates. In several cases, tabular data are arrayed helpfully in the margins of small-scale maps of

immigrant sending areas, although the map of South Asia, inexplicably, illustrates the discussion of China while the map of China is displayed in the discussion about India. At times, the book's narrative has the unmistakable flavor of an encyclopedia entry.

The penultimate chapter deals with indentured laborers' wages, work regimens, and living conditions, but—except for briefly noted planter perceptions of work “productivity” and ethnicity (pp. 117–19)—there is no mention of early and formative relationships between newly introduced indentured workers and those working groups already on the spot. The omission is unfortunate; rivalries that began in the 1800s between, for example, indentured Indians in Trinidad, Guyana, South Africa, and Fiji and local workers already there who viewed the newcomers as competitors could tell us much about today's sociopolitical climates in those same places.

Northrup concludes that postemancipation indentured labor was not, contrary to some others' contentions, an extension of slavery. His bland conclusion could certainly be challenged by some bestial indenture experiences, but overall he is probably right. Yet the much larger issue is that only the broadest and most unremarkable generalizations can be derived when attempting to deal with events of such magnitude and complexity in such a slim volume.

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PETER GRAN. *Beyond Eurocentrism: A New View of Modern World History*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 440. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

In the 1990s, up-to-date world historians must strive in every way possible to ward off charges of Eurocentrism, a mindset allegedly seething with all the horrors once attributed to fascism and communism. Peter Gran now joins the assault in this book, which condemns William McNeill, Eric Wolf, and Immanuel Wallerstein as Eurocentrists and offers his own revisionist theory of the structure of human experience. He identifies four distinctive national “roads” followed by states all over the world since the third quarter of the nineteenth century, exemplified by the histories of various European nations. Such disparate models of hegemony give the lie, Gran believes, to the alleged unity of European culture and to the dominant Eurocentric paradigm of world history. By his own account, his chief mentors in this effort are Antonio Gramsci as well as Michel Foucault, whom at one point he appears to confuse with Jacques Derrida. He also gives a tip of the hat to the early Karl Marx. Gramsci, Foucault, and Marx were all Europeans, but the irony escapes Gran.

The four “roads” Gran explores at some length are the “Russian road” (a phrase borrowed from Teodor Shanin), the “Italian road,” the “tribal-ethnic road,” and “bourgeois democracy.” After a somewhat confusing and sloppily edited first chapter on the sins of

Eurocentrism, he tucks into his models. Western illustrations of his four roads are Russia and the Soviet Union (the latter apparently still thriving when Gran lay down his pen), Italy, Albania, and the United Kingdom, respectively. Non-European examples of the same models are Iraq (Russian road), India and Mexico (Italian road), Belgian Congo/Zaire (tribal-ethnic road), and the United States (bourgeois democracy). Each chapter follows the same format: a definition of the “road” involved, a modern history of the country's political economy, stressing the alternation between “liberal” and “corporatist” eras; a discussion of how culture was mobilized to support the ruling class; and a review of the role of historiography in that culture.

I have space to characterize only one of these four models. The Russian road, writes Gran, can be defined as “one in which the ruling class disguises class conflict by caste” (p. 24). The caste in question is the imperial bureaucracy and later the Soviet *nomenklatura*, which he sees as virtually one and the same. Liberal reformism dominated the period from 1861 to 1881, followed by a season of autocracy, then a rebirth of liberalism from 1905 to 1917, then more autocracy, then more liberalism, a long corporatist era from 1928 or 1932 to 1956, and finally a neoliberal phase after 1956 that is still in progress.

One of Russia's many non-European counterparts, Gran argues, is Iraq, whose political economy he traces from the reign of Midhat Pasha in 1869 to the present-day “liberal” regime of Saddam Hussein. That there was no nation of Iraq in 1869 (no Iraq at all until 1920) and that Midhat Pasha was an Ottoman Turkish provincial governor, facts well known to any Middle East historian, are withheld from the possibly unsuspecting reader.

But the story goes on, with hegemonies of region (Italian road), chieftainship (tribal-ethnic road), and race (bourgeois democracy) all similarly concealing the machinations of ruling classes. In the process, many odd but intriguing analogies are drawn, such as Gran's comparison of Benedetto Croce, a supreme example of a “southern” intellectual in the Italian road with José Vasconcelos of Mexico and Sarvepalli (or “Sarvepelli” in Gran's spelling) Radhakrishnan of India.

At the same time, various facts are twisted to suit Gran's purposes. One of the strangest examples, which crops up in a section pointing out differences between the British and American variants of bourgeois democracy, is his assertion that “the United Kingdom did not opt for war [against Nazi Germany] . . . but the United States did” (p. 300). The record reads quite otherwise: Neville Chamberlain declared war on Germany in 1939 after Adolf Hitler's invasion of Poland, but Franklin Roosevelt waited until Germany declared war on the United States two years later before returning the favor. Gran also suggests that World War II may have been hatched by the bourgeois democracies to rescue

Germany: "Hitler, an outsider from Bavaria [sic], stole Germany, and the West won it back" (p. 254).

The real question is not one of detail, however, but of substance. Does this intrepid polycentric reading of world history throw any light on its vast subject? Is it plausible? Is it useful? After long pondering, I am far from certain. In his conclusion, Gran ventures the additional possibility of "mixed-road" hegemonies (pp. 337–38), such as those of Japan and China, which muddles his central metaphor almost hopelessly. The only thing that can be said with assurance is that despite its ritual anti-Eurocentrism, this is not your average world history textbook. In a word, it is unique.

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RAN GREENSTEIN. *Genealogies of Conflict: Class, Identity, and State in Palestine/Israel and South Africa*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, for Wesleyan University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 307. \$40.00.

Ran Greenstein compares the historical formation of Palestine/Israel and South Africa from the earliest stages of settlement through the critical political changes of 1948, a period encompassing, respectively, the independence of Israel and the installation of a National Party government explicitly committed to the race-based policies of apartheid. At first glance, the two territories share a number of historical features. Both came into being in the course of conflict between indigenous people and settler immigrants. Settlement itself was part of and yet in some ways removed from the specific patterns of European expansion and economic domination. The majority of settlers in each instance did not come from the colonial power, the British empire. Nor did the indigenous peoples acquiesce in settler domination. The Arab population rejected Zionist rule in Palestine. In South Africa, settler rule was more intensive and the indigenous peoples were not united and sought at first to be included as equals in the economic and state structures. They did not reject outright the settler presence in what had been their land.

Despite these similarities, in the two territories opposite approaches to relations between settlers and indigenes evolved. Why? Greenstein explains how Palestine/Israel developed exclusionary policies as an outcome of Arabs and Jewish settlers forming two distinct sets of institutions. Although they sought independence from one another, their claims to the same territory brought them into conflict. South Africa, however, came to establish hierarchical policies of incorporation. Social, economic and political affairs were marked by interpenetration so intimate that exclusion was out of the question.

Many are inclined to think of South Africa's apartheid regime as the most racially segregated the modern world has known. After all, apartheid means apart-ness and glorifies the separation and ordering of

group identities into rigid status categories. Instead, Greenstein maintains, "South Africa exhibited stronger incorporationist dynamics than did Palestine/Israel" (p. 263). It is ironic that Pretoria should have tried to institutionalize apartheid. Economic incorporation of the indigenous population and inclusive and partially overlapping social group identities ran deep. Perhaps apartheid was legitimized precisely because economic interdependence was so pervasive and, to white settlers, threatening. But even as diverse South African groups cohabited to varying degrees, profound internal conflict over the terms of their relationships prevailed. A complex web of social relations, predicated on land dispossession and labor exploitation, involved virtually all groups. It was an inegalitarian and internally differentiated society but a single society nonetheless. Although the indigenous population eventually came to be excluded from central state structures, the state asserted its claim to govern all the peoples.

Palestine/Israel, in contrast, displayed stronger "exclusionary dynamics." Autonomous, although not entirely independent, communal institutions took root, pitting two mutually exclusive groups against one another. The Arabs did not fall under the economic domination of the Jewish settler community, itself intent on strengthening its own identity and its political and economic institutions independent of the indigenous population. Zionists wanted the land, not the Arab labor.

Greenstein demonstrates carefully and systematically that the conflicts in these two countries did not follow a course determined by their essential nature as settler-colonial societies, capitalist economies, and racist-ethnic states. The settler-state dimension with this capitalist thrust prompted Stanley Greenberg to compare South Africa, Israel, Northern Ireland, and Alabama (*Race and State in Capitalist Development* [1980]). These dimensions also provided the rationale for Herman Giliomee's and J. Gagliano's *The Elusive Search for Peace: South Africa, Israel, and Northern Ireland* (1990). If anything, Greenstein can be faulted for failing to address the arguments of these works. He merely asserts that much of the earlier work is "inadequate" because it is too concerned about settler and colonial forces and policies. Conflicts "were not the inevitable products of the clash between settlers and the indigenous people or between precapitalist and capitalist modes of production" (p. 267). He argues that by studying the effects of the interconnected processes of class, identity, and state formation, the dynamics of political conflicts in the two countries can be understood. Like most historical and political analyses of these countries, Greenstein examines colonial and settler strategies. But he also emphasizes the global context, the indigenous peoples' responses, and their capacities to resist or cooperate with settlers and colonial authorities.

Greenstein combines an eye for detail with a capacity to identify what is crucial to the larger analytical

questions. By examining a pair of superficially similar states and seeking to explain differences, he develops a model for comparison of identity formation and class structure. Greenstein is less grounded in the literature of comparative state formation. He tends to downplay individual leaders and to look for overarching social patterns and forces, still aware that multiple and sometimes random factors intervene and are not always predictable from the general characteristics. This is a wide-ranging and admirably detached analysis of inter- and intra-group dynamics and a significant contribution to our understanding of Israel, South Africa, and the comparative method.

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ANCIENT

NIGEL M. KENNEL. *The Gymnasium of Virtue: Education and Culture in Ancient Sparta*. (Studies in the History of Greece and Rome.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. 241. \$39.95.

Cicero thought the Spartans "the only people in the whole world who have lived . . . for more than seven hundred years with customs unaltered and laws unchanged" (*Pro Flacco* 26.63). Sparta's resistance to change has captivated many others in antiquity and after, as too its state-supported and supervised system of education for boys, the *agōgē*—one of the chief contributors to its continuity. Nigel M. Kennell's acute and stimulating study aims to dispel this mirage. The first "book-length examination that marshals and evaluates the evidence . . . in the proper historical and cultural contexts" (p. 3), it stresses instead the constancy of change in the structure and significance of Spartan education.

Kennell identifies three main stages in the history of Spartan education. From the early sixth century B.C.E. to the mid-third century, boys were recruited into the adult community through a lengthy process of initiation, beginning at seven and ending with marriage (or the subsequent birth of a child) at about thirty. After a lapse of a generation or so, the reforming king Cleomenes III and his advisor, the Stoic philosopher Sphaerus, introduced the seven age classes (from fourteen to twenty), ball games, hand-to-hand combat between teams of youths at the Plane Trees, and endurance contests we meet in later sources, claiming to restore the ancient institutions of the legendary lawgiver Lycurgus. Their *agōgē* was in effect only from 226 to 188. After another break, the Romans fostered a revival of Sphaerus's Hellenistic *agōgē*, with modifications such as the reduction of the number of age grades to five (beginning at sixteen). This "living museum" of Sparta's past featured an artificially archaic version of the local dialect in its nomenclature and ceremonial (Kennell compares the use of Latin in college graduations) and the final form of the whipping contest at the altar of Artemis Orthia that was such a

draw for tourists and a touchstone of Spartan toughness at least until the end of the fourth century of our era.

This last period of the *agōgē*, "so well designed to imitate the original that its outlines have long been mistaken for the real thing" (p. 115), provides most of our evidence on Spartan education and attracts most of Kennell's attention here. His account, lively and engaging, is based on a sure grasp of a wide range of evidence: literary, epigraphic, and archaeological. Familiarity with Sparta's layout and terrain (illustrated by his own photographs) generates one of the book's many attractive suggestions: the movement from youth to adult was represented by an actual change of locale, from the Orthia sanctuary just inside the city's walls to the theater at its center, the site of the ball tournament marking the end of the *agōgē*. Specialists will be struck by Kennell's observation that Sparta was in fact much like other late Hellenistic and Roman cities of the Greek world in its fascination with the past, only rather more so; far from primitives, the Spartans were in the forefront of fashion, trendy even. To historians of other areas (for whom Spartan may describe a college dorm or an athlete from Michigan State University), what may be of most interest is Kennell's use of parallels from colonial Africa. Once taken to confirm the antiquity of Spartan customs, these, too, appear to result from the contact of cultures and the efforts of peoples to affirm or invent identities in the midst of rapid change.

Kennell compares his approach to that of an archaeologist, digging down through better preserved evidence of more recent date to reach earlier layers. His book, like this review, leaves classical Spartan education to the end. This strategy slights the fifth and fourth-century material, purposely of course—it is part of Kennell's project to invert the usual emphasis—but perversely, too, at times. Insisting that almost all our evidence for the names of age grades refers only to the *agōgē*'s later periods, Kennell rightly notes that the classical attestations of one, (*e)irēn*, are emendations introduced into our texts by modern scholars. He justifies the retention of *hires/hireas* ("priests") in Herodotus by supposing Spartan adherence to an original Indo-European custom—Kennell's Spartans can be conveniently conservative—and of forms of *arrēn* ("male") in Xenophon, without offering a translation of his readings or an explanation of Xenophon's use of the word. (It appears elsewhere only to make a contrast with females, but no such opposition is involved in the two passages Kennell discusses.)

This is merely to say that readers will not always be persuaded. But they will gain a richer understanding of Hellenistic and Roman Sparta and of the Greeks' capacity to construct and represent their history, to engage in a dialogue between past and present. We eavesdrop at a distance and may misconstrue. Premodernism, anyone?

MARK GOLDEN
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DAVID COHEN. *Law, Violence, and Community in Classical Athens*. (Key Themes in Ancient History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 214. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$18.95.

David Cohen's new book is in many ways a companion volume to his earlier work, *Law, Sexuality, and Society: The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens* (1991). Its themes are similar, and its use of comparative anthropological material has similar strengths and weaknesses. As in *Law, Sexuality, and Society*, Cohen here argues against "objectivism" (p. 177, quoting Georges Bourdieu) in the analysis of Athenian legal rules and structures—against the idea that law provided objective definitions of right and wrong behavior according to which social disputes could be resolved. Just as the complexity of Athenian moral norms encouraged Athenians to "define, manipulate, interpret, ignore, violate, and ultimately, reproduce" those norms (Cohen 1991, p. 23), so the Athenian Courts offered "an agonistic arena for the ongoing pursuit of conflict rather than furnishing a binding mechanism for the final resolution of disputes" (1996, p. 163). Athenian jurors heard arguments that took for granted the meaning of the offense in question while focusing on whether or not the accused was the "kind of person" who would commit such an act (p. 190). Rejecting also what he calls the "functionalist" and "evolutionary" view of the development of law, Cohen argues that the Athenian legal system developed not as a way to suppress or prevent private feuds but as a vehicle by which the Athenian elite could compete for honor and status and the Athenian demos could exercise its role as "the ultimate arbiter" of the competition.

The thesis is developed in two parts. Part one draws on two quite different groups of writers: contemporary anthropologists and historians studying societies as diverse as nineteenth-century Japan, twentieth-century New Guinea, and medieval Europe; and the ancient philosophers and social theorists, Plato and Aristotle. The discussion of the first group serves to emphasize and support (with the explanatory power of the comparative method) Cohen's view of Athenian litigation as an "agonistic process by which the parties seek publicly to define their relations to one another" (p. 23). Plato and Aristotle, on the other hand, who use law as a means of controlling their citizens' behavior and private lives, provide an instructive contrast with the democratic "rule of law" that insists on the "delimitation of a private sphere protected from the illegitimate or 'censorial' intrusions by the state" (p. 36). As in his previous work, Cohen's argument for a remarkably modern "right of privacy" in Athenian democratic ideology rests largely on the interpretation of the phrase "live as one pleases" as particularly applicable to personal and private life, including sexual behavior. The phrase, however, often seems to have a broader application in Athenian discourse to all aspects of public and private life.

Part two is the stronger and more substantial section of the book. Its five chapters make significant use of a variety of courtroom speeches to argue that classical Athens was a society in which "litigation, feud, and politics were, in a broad sense, inseparable" (p. 118). The image of Athens that emerges in these chapters is convincing and, from the anthropological perspective taken in part one, highly realistic. In chapter six, for example, Cohen analyzes in detail a somewhat neglected speech by Demosthenes in behalf of a certain Ariston who claims to have been the victim of assault—to have suffered *hubris*. The speaker claims that a certain Conon and his sons assaulted him in the agora, "stripping [him] of his cloak, pushing him in the mud, and beating him about the head and face." Then, "standing over Ariston's naked, besmeared, and prostrate body, Conon began to crow, 'mimicking fighting cocks that have won a battle,' and urged on by the shouts of his companions, flapped his elbows against his sides like wings" (p. 124).

In chapter seven, Cohen returns to themes of his earlier book and to the problem of Athenian attitudes toward pederasty. According to Cohen, any use of a free male in a passive sexual role could be construed as *hubris*, regardless of his age or the presence or absence of consent. Chapter eight moves on to the field of family conflict (and less overt violence). In analyzing the rhetorical ploys of the speakers in inheritance disputes, Cohen argues that family relationships and identity were demonstrated by behavior and argument, not by statutory rules or objective kinship structures. Although technically somewhat extraneous to the main topic of the book, this is an important chapter both for the understanding of the Greek family and for the validity of Cohen's view of Athenian law in areas other than personal behavior.

The concluding chapter returns to the larger theme of the connection between litigation and democracy in classical Athens. Despite the oddness to modern eyes of a system that encouraged legal decisions made on the basis of the character of the actor rather than the identification of his act, the Athenian courts were a "powerful 'democratic' mechanism for social control and for the regulation of competition among those vying for power, wealth, and influence" (p. 192). Indeed, "this conception of the rule of law served as a powerful force for the preservation of a democratic society" (p. 195). Not all will agree that all litigation served this particular purpose in Athens, and some may consider the use of the exclusively male agonistic model historically simplistic. Nonetheless, for the sorts of cases discussed, the approach is convincing and illuminating, and Cohen's new book demonstrates that the Athenian courts and their rhetoric continue to inspire some of the most provocative and methodologically interesting recent work in ancient social history.

CYNTHIA PATTERSON
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NICOLE LORAUX. *The Experiences of Tiresias: The Feminine and the Greek Man*. Translated by PAULA WISSING. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 348.

Those familiar with Nicole Loraux's longer integrated works on the gendered ideologies of Athenian citizenship and personhood (*The Invention of Athens: The Funeral Oration in the Classical City* [1986]; *Children of Athena* [1993]; and *Tragic Ways of Killing a Woman* [1987]) will find little here that is new. This is, in fact, not a book but thirteen essays, ten of which were variously published in French or English between 1981 and 1990. Some essays refer in cursory fashion to relevant scholarship published subsequent to the original appearance of the works found here. Nor does Loraux concern herself much with Tiresias, that mythical bisexual prophet who was blinded but also endowed with the ability to see the future. She instead concentrates on the characters of the goddess Athena; on Helen and Heracles, who are both heroic and mythistorical, and on the historical Socrates; on the concept of *ponos* (labor); on the Spartan ideal of the "beautiful death"; and on various philological paradoxes.

The book provides loosely linked disquisitions on how Greek literary texts define the heroic manly body by incorporating elements of the feminine. For example, Loraux observes that the construction of *andreia* (heroic masculinity) requires the test of pain, for "childbirth, not war, is the cause of the most intense pain" (p. 12), and she provides stimulating textual references to the juncture of semantic fields for descriptors of battle and childbirth across many archaic and classical texts in order to demonstrate her point. In another context, she shows the shared semantic fields for descriptors of women's physical pain and of men's moral pain but notes that while men's *ponos* can be physical or moral, women's only outlet for *ponos* is in the labor of parturition (p. 45).

The essays are of mixed quality and are marked by a constant interest in complicating, in refusing closure, and in opening possibilities only to turn away from them. For example, in "The Mothers' Case Dismissed," Loraux remarks: "Is it truly necessary to offer a conclusion? . . . I have no desire to lead others to believe that there is anything in these pages other than highly obscure questions, which are murky even to the one who asks them" (p. 192).

Loraux ranges widely and learnedly in her examinations; she privileges Homer and tragedy, but the historiographers Herodotus and Thucydides and such scholars as Plutarch and Strabo, who wrote in Greek during the Roman Empire, are not forgotten. This collection neither provides a cohesive argument nor traces the development of a particular line of thought in Greek ideologies of gender, but supplies instead a set of aphoristic, rhetorically brilliant meditations on the theme of femininity as embedded in the masculine, and gives us unexpected and inspiring associations of

figures and concepts usually considered divergent or not comparable, such as those of Socrates/Heracles and Athena/Helen.

MADELEINE M. HENRY
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CHRISTIANE SOURVINOU-INWOOD. *"Reading" Greek Death: To the End of the Classical Period*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 489.

The art of writing good detective fiction depends on an ability to present just enough clues as the tale proceeds that at the end the reader sighs, I should have seen the answer. Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood does just that: her final chapter—an appendix constituting a sustained rebuttal of critics—reveals that this study is an expansion of two earlier essays in light of critical responses to them. Clues to this denouement are abundant in the preceding 412 pages: reiteration of the author's previous discussions, an urgency to demolish perspectives other than her own, and a constant concern lest arguments appear circular.

Much of the study of antiquity is comparable to detective work since evidence is limited, remote from our present perspective, and often mute. A topic such as aspects of, or attitudes to, death is particularly problematic in all of these respects while immensely inviting for the potential insight that answers might shed on one of the most distinctive features of a culture's mentality. It is not surprising, consequently, that the subject has produced a large and varied range of studies, and among these Sourvinou-Inwood's work figures prominently.

Her knowledge of the evidence, both textual and archaeological, is exhaustive, and she is equally familiar with the huge sweep of secondary investigations required to trace the "image of the early Greek death discourse" (p. 299) from the picture in the Homeric epics (whose final form she dates to the eighth century B.C.) through the Archaic Age and into the fifth century B.C. Two facets of eschatology are detected in the Homeric images: a dominant belief that shades of the dead fly to Hades, where they persist in a sad, witless condition, overshadows a thin strand of belief that accords happy immortality to a special few. In the central portion of the study, a chapter of 189 pages, Sourvinou-Inwood uses developments in Greek grave monuments as a guide to changes in perceptions of death from the Homeric world into the Archaic era. In their increasing visibility, individualization, and permanence, the monuments indicate both a strengthening of a wish that the dead be remembered and a sadness at the perception of death. Charon and Hermes suggest changing perspectives of the fifth century: the divine guides on the journey to Hades are benevolent figures who remove some of the anxiety and fear associated with the experience of death. A final narrative chapter offers a case study in reading an

archaic epigram as a concrete illustration of the arguments of earlier chapters.

In building her case, Sourvinou-Inwood emphasizes the need to "reconstruct the assumptions which formed [the ancients'] perceptual filters, [and] recover their 'horizon of expectations'" (p. 7), admittedly a difficult task. To do so, one must proceed without a model, for a model only "structures the data around itself in such a way that they are made to fit" (p. 414). To employ "as neutral a methodology as possible" (p. 1), one must treat each category of data independently, not as an appendix to another category. In this way, one may hope to reconstruct the "older orthodoxies and unexamined assumptions which are so subtly enmeshed into the scholarly discourse as to appear to be self-evidently correct, 'common sense'" (pp. 414–15). Any *lectio faciliior* is suspect: raising a possible exception to her argument of the age of *kouroi* represented on *stelai*, she argues that it "cannot be totally excluded. There is no reason to think it is right . . . but the possibility cannot be *proved* wrong. But it is naive to think that because it cannot be *proved* wrong it is more rigorous to assume that it is right" (p. 262 n. 650).

This study demonstrates well the *lectio difficilior*. In form it is a monograph, yet it is so much a compendium of earlier discussions and refutations of other views that its underlying thesis is often obscured. Reading is not facilitated by a style that relies heavily on Ciceronian sentences (p. 254) and even Ciceronian paragraphs (pp. 266–69), a style that is far too repetitive of both specific points and instructions to the reader. Elimination of the flow of instructions and digressions would shorten the text by half.

To be sure, the nature of the evidence explains some of the complexity of the discussion. One must be familiar with all surviving examples of *korai* or *kouroi* and must know when a word in the genitive case is a causal genitive (p. 212), but abstruse prose characterizes much of the discussion: "Even if, for example, a particular cult practice appears superficially—and to the extent to which it is possible to judge in our circumstances of limited access—to have remained 'the same' through a period of change of the type referred to here, in fact it is not, and cannot be, the same" (p. 23).

Methodological principles are regularly restated but often infringed. Sets of data are to be analyzed independently, we are regularly reminded. At times, however, another argument "based on a wholly different set of data," even though it is "far from conclusive" . . . "cannot . . . be considered to be entirely without significance" (p. 90). While it is a "fundamental methodological fallacy that chronological distinctions do not matter" (p. 188), the author strays from this principle, too (p. 380). "Perceptive filters" are sometimes used to enter the mentality of a modern critic (p. 383). While other possible interpretations exist, they are quickly dismissed. To support the view that the cult at Eleusis began only in the late eighth century,

authorities are cited. Other respectable but uncited authorities argue for a Mycenaean basis.

An equally serious defect occurs in the use of primary sources, particularly the huge weight borne by a two-line epigram from Phokis dated to the late sixth century. Because it provides documentation for a major thesis of the book, it is read in three ways. In the end, it is to be left aside as an exception (p. 181), a problematic situation since it is unique in the extant record, as Sourvinou-Inwood herself acknowledges. An image presented by Michael Wedde is apt: in analyzing imagery, individual pieces of evidence cluster around a paradigm case until certain elements differ significantly from the paradigm. "Thus, the marginal image need not only be the outcast of one cluster, it can also herald the outer edge of another" (*Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel* [1995], p. 276). It is extremely difficult to "read" a sole example of anything. One result is that the nature of the evidence conspires with the author's method to produce a justifiable concern lest the argument be circular, a hazard she does not always escape.

A valuable, interesting reconstruction of changing perspectives on death is trapped inside this account. Freed of its excessive burden of repetitive elements, overly critical attacks, and unnecessarily postmodernist style, it would find a far larger, more receptive audience.

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NORMA THOMPSON. *Herodotus and the Origins of the Political Community: Arion's Leap*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 193. \$25.00.

How wrong Aristotle was to say that if you were to transpose Herodotus's book into meter it would still be "a kind of history" (*Poetics* 1451b). Even without meter, the *Histories* is, as most readers would now agree, already a kind of poem. Herodotus filled his work, moreover, with philosophical speculations about the nature of human life and specifically about the nature of politics. Thus, this history is not just about *res gestae* and is perhaps not less philosophical (as Aristotle thought) but more philosophical than poetry. At its best, Norma Thompson's book, especially in its first chapter, intriguingly compares and contrasts Herodotus and Aristotle, showing how "Aristotle constantly overestimates his distance from Herodotus and seems oblivious to their common ground" (p. 8). Thompson proposes to analyze "political community" in the *Histories*, and she also proposes to explain why Herodotus tells "both 'serious' and 'ridiculous' stories" (p. 1). The topics are attractive and promising (though not entirely original), but Thompson too often becomes bogged down in citing modern scholarship tangential to her topic rather than pursuing an argument based on analysis of the text.

In chapter two, Thompson analyzes the stories of Herodotus's "Persian chroniclers," the battle of Mar-

athon, and Psammetichus's experiment to prove the antiquity of Egyptians, arguing that all show Herodotus's interest in national character. Chapter three treats the Persian debate on systems of government (3.80–83), which Thompson sees as embodying actual Greek notions of Persian thinking “instead of stick figures mouthing Greek ideas” (p. 69). The next chapter further explores Persian national character, while chapter five reviews recent books by Martin Bernal, François Hartog, and Edward Said. A final chapter draws matters to a puzzling conclusion, in which the *Histories* is at one point compared with Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (pp. 155–56).

Thompson has occasional inspired insights but ignores many Herodotean passages, such as the accounts of Lykourgos, Peisistratos, and Deioces, that might have shed more light on Herodotus's conception of “political community.” Thompson frustrates attempts to discern a coherent argument in her book by her obscure writing style and especially by her pretentious chapter and section titles. The Arion of the book's title, moreover, seems dragged in only because the dolphin that saved him belongs to a breed of “creatures that symbolize the transcending spirit by endlessly breaking through the surface of their assigned world, the sea” (p. x), though exactly what dolphins have to do with politics remains obscure.

Thompson (or her editor) does not supply an index of passages cited in Aristotle and Herodotus and has included in the bibliography numerous items, including some weighty German tomes, that are never specifically cited or discussed.

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MARIA BROSIUS. *Women in Ancient Persia, 559–331 BC.* (Oxford Classical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 258. \$65.00.

The ancient historian's immediate reaction to the title of Maria Brosius's book is to ask, skeptically, “but what are the sources?” The subjects of this book are actually Greek attitudes toward royal Achaemenid women and the economic status of royal and non-royal women. The sources for the former include Herodotus and lesser historians and Athenian tragedy; for the latter, they are the Persepolis Fortification tablets and those Neo-Babylonian texts that have thus far been published or otherwise made available to scholars. That the Greek sources give a distorted image of the royal women, presenting them as the embodiment of a Persia that was tyrannical, effeminate, and luxurious, has long been recognized. Brosius sweeps away the rhetoric and gives a sober account of the role and status of the queens, treating them individually insofar as the sources permit. Unlike the Greek women who were their contemporaries, they controlled a great deal of wealth, but they did not wield the extensive political influence attributed to them by the Greeks. Furthermore, royal women were present at banquets with

men, while respectable Greek women were barred from attending symposia and from mingling with men who were not kin. Therefore, an allusion to the lifestyle of Greek women as “Oriental seclusion” is a misnomer. (In comparing queens to housewives, I am merely following the implications of the Greek sources who viewed Persian society as a negative image or antithetical version of their own.)

Brosius's discussion of the roles played by women of all classes (royal, high-ranking but non-royal, and workers) in the public economy of the empire is a major contribution not only to the study of women in antiquity but to ancient economic history as well. Her meticulous examination of the estates and workgroups controlled by women and of the rations issued to female workers is documented by tables listing the primary source and giving other information, often including the type of ration, the location, the date, and the number of workers and their classifications. Although lucidly written interpretations accompany the tables, some students may have difficulty reading this chapter because of the discussions of Persian terminology. Mothers received more generous rations than other women, and those who had produced boys received twice as much as mothers of girls. Presumably, these mothers were nursing their babies while engaged in manual labor. These rations and the absence of female infanticide are indications of the pronatalist policy that the Persians adopted in an attempt to populate their vast empire.

One hopes that Brosius will continue her narrative to cover the period of Alexander and his successors. For example, was Alexander's taking of the women of Darius III a calculated allusion to the succession of Darius the Great, who married all three daughters of Cambyses II when he usurped the Persian throne? Did these marriages or quasi-marriages to his predecessor's women serve to legitimate Alexander's claim to the Persian throne? Alexander's father, Philip II, was polygynous, as were the Persian kings. To what extent did both these models inspire Alexander to introduce bigamy on a large scale to Macedonians and Greeks when he celebrated mass marriages of Persian women to his soldiers, although many of them had left wives and families behind? Was the increased economic power of Greek women in the Hellenistic period also, to some extent, a Persian legacy? Historians have begun to realize that the Greek conquest did not transform Ptolemaic Egypt totally; for example, the economic activities of native women and their access to Egyptian law were unchanged and differed from those of the immigrant Greek women. Continuity can be traced on the highest level. Like their immediate Persian predecessors, Ptolemaic queens controlled great wealth, and some non-royal women were active in the economy as owners of valuable merchant ships that sailed the Nile. It remains to be seen whether the same generalizations about royal women and women's

economic activity will prove to be true for Seleucid Asia.

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CHRISTOPHER JOHN SMITH. *Early Rome and Latium: Economy and Society, c.1000 to 500 B.C.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 290. \$65.00.

Rome's earliest history is highly problematic due to the fact that ancient accounts were written during the second and first centuries B.C., long after the events described. Consequently, modern historians often disagree in their interpretations, depending on their presuppositions concerning the reliability of the ancient sources and which ancient traditions should be considered accurate. In this book, Christopher John Smith deliberately chooses to avoid these difficulties by confining himself to the archaeological evidence, which he uses to trace the social and economic development of Latium and Rome from the early Iron Age to the end of the sixth century. Only when he comes to the sixth century does Smith allow himself to correlate the archaeological evidence with ancient historical traditions. Since the archaeology for this period of central Italy is very incomplete, the study treats only major trends. The archaeological evidence largely consists of grave goods, votive deposits, and the remains of public and private buildings from scattered sites; and Smith uses current archaeological/anthropological methodologies to analyze these data. Since the past thirty years have witnessed major new archaeological discoveries in this area, this book serves the useful purpose of presenting in English a narrative that brings together important scholarship written in Italian.

The book consists of an introduction, twelve chapters, two appendixes concerning archaic Latin inscriptions and an archaeological summary of Latin sites, an extensive bibliography, and an index. The first seven chapters constitute part one, "Rome and Latium Before the Sixth Century," and the last five chapters form part two, "Rome and Latium in the Sixth Century B.C." The former examines the archaeological evidence diachronically from Latial Period I to Latial Period IV B; whereas the latter treats the archaeology of Latium, Etruria, and Rome in three separate chapters, followed by an interpretive chapter, which may be considered the culmination of the entire work. Chapter twelve briefly recapitulates the study's general conclusions.

In addition to examining the early social and economic development of Rome and Latium, Smith draws on parallel trends in Etruria, which he views as an important formative influence on Latium. Smith sees the social and economic growth of these two areas as resulting directly from gradual integration into the

larger trading network of the ancient Mediterranean brought about by the presence and activities of Greeks and Phoenicians from the eighth century onward. Although the developments in Etruria and Latium are similar in many ways, Smith argues that Etruria's mineral resources made its communities wealthier and that Latin society and economic growth always lagged somewhat behind Etruria. Smith views Rome as an important intermediary between Etruria and Latium. Similarly, he observes that the archaeological remains of coastal sites reflect a more rapid process of orientalizing than inland sites. Throughout the book, grave goods figure prominently as indicators of social differentiation within communities and of their economic growth and integration into a larger network. Grave goods of high-ranking persons become increasingly more splendid from the early Iron Age to the seventh century, only to decline sharply in the sixth, as aristocratic wealth is shifted from funerary practices to public building, especially temples, decorated with Greek-style terracottas and often comprising three *cellae*.

By combining archaeological data from the Forum with ancient literary evidence, Smith concludes that Rome was an urban unity during the sixth century. The raising of the marshy Forum's level testifies to a massive mobilization of labor. Both material remains and literary evidence suggest that sixth-century Rome witnessed the construction of many temples; and Rome's leaders at this time probably carried out some kind of major military reorganization, as reflected in the tradition of King Servius Tullius. Smith argues that clans (*gentes*) came to the fore throughout central Italy during the sixth century and represented an important social institution. By the end of the period covered by this book, Rome had slowly but steadily evolved to become the largest state in Latium, rivaling its Etruscan neighbors and capable of fending off the Volscian and Aequian invasions of Latium during the fifth century.

GARY FORSYTHE
Chesterton, Indiana

DANIEL J. GARGOLA. *Lands, Laws, and Gods: Magistrates and Ceremony in the Regulation of Public Lands in Republican Rome.* (Studies in the History of Greece and Rome.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. 270. \$43.95.

The Roman assimilation of Italy during the republic and the vital role played by colonization in this process have generated an imposing body of scholarly literature over the last century. The present study by Daniel J. Gargola revisits this familiar terrain. Developing a fresh approach to such well-known material is obviously not an easy task, but Gargola has risen to the challenge.

Traditionally, students of this topic have organized their studies around the various mechanisms that the Romans fashioned to utilize public land, and Gargola

does not deviate from this design. The book's core chapters are devoted to colonization, virginal assignment, the sale and lease of public land, and the ongoing legal efforts to delimit private exploitation of the public domain. The focus is necessarily on the late third and early second centuries B.C., the only period for which there is satisfactory evidence. The abortive Gracchan efforts at agrarian reform and the still more irregular land allocation schemes floated by the great generalissimi of the first century B.C. receive separate treatment at the end. One will find the same framework in E. T. Salmon's *Roman Colonization under the Republic* (1969); its highly readable opening chapter, it might be added, remains the best introduction to this often complex subject.

Salmon explicated the part played by exploitation of the public domain in the cultural unification of Italy, while other scholars (most notably P. A. Brunt, "The Army and the Land in the Roman Revolution," *Journal of Roman Studies* [1962], pp. 69–86) have detailed the revolutionary features of land reform in the late republic. Gargola's distinctive contribution is to draw our attention away from these broader historical themes to the minutiae of legal and administrative procedure. From conception to execution, how did the Romans actually proceed to found a colony? What was involved in the leasing or sale of public land?

The inaugural chapter surveys the structure of Roman government for the specific purpose of emphasizing the extraordinary degree to which the time, place, and forms of magisterial action were regulated by ritualized words and deeds. Gargola rightly reminds us that seemingly secular activities were circumscribed at every turn by sacred formulae and prescribed behavior. The second chapter applies these observations to the specific context of agrarian legislation, but it warrants especially close examination because its conclusions ultimately apply to the legislative process *per se*, and not simply to agrarian legislative procedure. It is easy to forget, for example, that the ritual participation of the *fetiales* in declarations of war, and the daily testing of the auspices by the Roman general on campaign, transformed Roman warfare into a sacred exercise.

Whether the intent was to found a colony, settle individual landholders on their separate plots, or otherwise dispose of public land by sale or lease, the actions of the magistrates who initiated the legislation and supervised its implementation were governed by a highly mechanical mix of formulaic phrases, fixed administrative procedures, and sacred rituals. These are fully elucidated in the core chapters, which permits Gargola ultimately to cast the most revolutionary element of the first-century agrarian laws—their use of delegated authority—into bold relief. The commissioners who physically laid out colonies had to engage in a variety of religious acts, from the taking of the auspices to the creation of the community's ritual boundary (*pomerium*). Such sacred authority could not be delegated, but in the late republic the great generals nonetheless relied heavily on their officers and other

functionaries to discharge these tasks. Religious ritual, like so much else in Roman life, eventually had to accommodate itself to shifting political realities.

This is an unusual and provocative insight, and it is by no means unique. The reader of this well-written book will come away with a deeper appreciation of the day-to-day operations of the Roman government in the third and second centuries B.C., as well as with a fresh perspective on the turbulent century that witnessed the republic's demise.

JOHN KARL EVANS

University of Minnesota

O. F. ROBINSON. *The Criminal Law of Ancient Rome*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 212. \$40.00.

This is the first book in English devoted to the Roman criminal law. The standard textbooks of Roman law, such as those of W. W. Buckland or Barry Nicholas, are concerned with private law rather than with offenses in which the state took a direct interest. Theodor Mommsen's *Römisches Strafrecht* (1899) remains fundamental, not least because of its attention to historical developments, but this up-to-date and systematic treatment is very welcome. After introductory chapters on criminal procedure and on criminal liability, O. F. Robinson lays out the Roman law on theft and related crimes, personal violence, sexual offenses, crimes against the state, and miscellaneous violations of public morality and order.

The categories are modern rather than Roman ones. For example, Robinson treats the forgery of documents as a kind of theft and counterfeiting as a crime akin to treason, but for the Romans both offenses were originally punishable by a single court for *fasum*. Indeed, the very presence of theft in this book indicates the extent to which it is organized around modern concepts; the Romans treated theft, at least originally, as a private delict (Roman law avoids the word "tort"), not a public crime. This use of modern categories is intentional; it permits comparisons of the Roman criminal law with that of other legal systems, and Robinson herself occasionally makes illuminating comparisons to Scots law.

Historians should be aware, however, that presentations of this kind leave unanswered many of the questions in which they are most interested. This is perhaps most obvious in chapter one, on "The Framework of Criminal Procedure"; Robinson warns us that her focus is on the substance of the law rather than the procedure (and promises, too, another book on punishments), but it is hard to read her account of the establishment of specific jury courts (*quaestiones*) for specific crimes, and of the transition to more informal investigatory proceedings (*cognitiones*) without wondering how the different procedures worked in practice and why they came and went when they did. Robinson's account of the substantive criminal law does not ignore questions of chronology, but develop-

ments are often left unexplained, such as the extension of the *Lex Fabia* from the stealing of slaves to the kidnapping of citizens (p. 33), or they are explained in sweeping terms. Robinson's enterprise is not, fundamentally, a historical one; she has provided historians with problems that require our attention.

The book is an austere one. Robinson assumes a basic familiarity with Roman history, with the sources of Roman law, and with Latin (there is a glossary, but key words are omitted). Moreover, the reader gets less help with the secondary literature than one would like. There is a good bibliography, but disagreements can be passed over in silence, and entire books are cited in support of very specific statements (n. 203 to p. 14). Robinson's great strength is in her obvious mastery of the primary material; she quotes few texts verbatim, but her detailed references to the original sources make the book an essential tool for anyone wishing to pursue this important subject.

WILLIAM TURPIN
Swarthmore College

ROBERT MORSTEIN KALLET-MARX. *Hegemony to Empire: The Development of the Roman Imperium in the East from 148 to 62 B.C.* (Hellenistic Culture and Society, number 15.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 428.

Robert Morstein Kallet-Marx's book is a close study of a crucial period in the development of Roman rule in the Aegean, the years between the defeat of the last serious pretender to the throne of Macedon, at the one end, and, at the other, the triumph of Pompey the Great over King Mithridates of Pontus. The ancient evidence for this subject is massive, scattered, and elusive, and it has engendered a body of secondary literature as formidable in its own way as the primary sources themselves. Bringing this together in a single volume is itself a valuable contribution, but Kallet-Marx also offers striking interpretations of the major issues and of many minor ones, too, that bear on his topic. Nor is he afraid to disagree. Provocative and insightful, his book is in several respects a continuation of Erich S. Gruen's *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (1984), and, like Gruen's work, challenges one to rethink virtually every preconception one has about its subject.

In Kallet-Marx's judgment, the Romans took a "minimalist" position with regard to both the opportunities and the responsibilities that their huge power produced in Macedon and Greece and later in Asia Minor. He argues against the accepted opinion that shortly after 148 B.C. Macedon was organized as a province to be administered by a Roman governor and that the legion stationed there subsequently was "an army of occupation" (p. 40). Also, he holds that the commander of the Macedonian legion was not charged with overseeing the affairs of Greece following the destruction of Corinth a few years later. In Greece itself, Kallet-Marx contends, the Romans were not

opposed to democracy as their enemies later claimed nor were they seeking economic gain. In Asia Minor, too, where they did in fact organize a territorial province, the Romans took action only when compelled to do so by events beyond their control, and they kept their new province as small as possible, its administrative and defensive apparatus minimal. Later a cash cow for Rome, Asia initially was no such thing, Kallet-Marx concludes. In short, through the 130s Roman rule in the Aegean "was founded not on military occupation or legal structures but on an image of invincibility and the absence—for the time being—of rivals" (p. 122).

In Kallet-Marx's analysis, the great change in the East did not come until Rome's rival appeared in the person of King Mithridates of Pontus. Here, too, Kallet-Marx sees the Romans' goals as moderate, their means as largely reasonable and traditional. In the diplomatic jockeying of the 90s, he maintains, their actions do not demonstrate "the emergence of a new, actively interventionist Roman policy toward the region" (p. 250), and when Roman ambassadors finally provoked Mithridates to act in 89 B.C., the ensuing war was one that "they, no more than the Senate which had sent them, did not want or expect" (p. 260). Under Sulla, the Romans began a process that brought "an intrusive Roman presence to a considerably wider area than before," but they initiated it "unconsciously" (p. 290). Only in 67 B.C., far later than generally recognized hitherto, does Kallet-Marx see evidence of "a much broadened sense of the imperial mission" (p. 320).

This is an outstanding book, and it will not diminish its achievement to add that at points Kallet-Marx's views will be the subject of lively discussion. Perhaps it is not coincidental, for one thing, that the great campaigns that he considers to herald a new imperial purpose came immediately after the Romans' last war in the West was ended. Until that time, western commitments surely had made it advisable, perhaps even necessary (in view of the acute manpower shortage Rome was suffering), to set a limit to initiatives in the Aegean. Also, the senatorial aristocracy responsible for the savage wars in Iberia does not comfortably fit the image of moderate statesmen in the East that Kallet-Marx's reading of the evidence seems to imply. If the Romans managed for decades to follow the singularly judicious hands-off policy that he discerns, *realpolitik* had a lot to do with it, one would think.

DENNIS G. GLEW
Moravian College

WAYNE A. MEEKS. *The Origins of Christian Morality: The First Two Centuries.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 275. \$30.00.

Although I read this book when it first appeared, I have reread it to write this review, and I admired it even more the second time around. Wayne A. Meeks begins with the observation—once taken for granted

and now too often forgotten—that the essential feature of early Christianity was a new morality. This new morality is not to be confused with “New Testament ethics” for, as Meeks points out, the Christian morality so vital to the rapid success of the movement emerged before there was a New Testament. That is, the New Testament emerged from new communities marked by the depth of their concern with a moral order emphasizing responsibilities toward one another. The goal Meeks sets himself is to describe (and in so far as he is able, to explain) the emergence and development of this new morality—its origins, as he tells us in his title. In pursuit of his goal, Meeks undertakes what he calls an ethnography of the past, citing the work of Clifford Geertz as an example of what he hopes to achieve. Of course, ethnographies of the past cannot be based on the usual observational methods but must be reconstructed from texts, for these are, Meeks acknowledges, “our only means of access to the communities we want to study” (p. 11). As he analyzes the texts, however, Meeks demonstrates a profound scientific truth: the data never speak, they must be interrogated!

Even I, a sociological interloper, have read all of the available texts from the early church (they fill only a short shelf), and specialists in this area have read all of them often—and this has been going on for centuries. How could anyone discover anything new in the texts? Not by a closer reading; only by asking new questions of these texts, posing new ideas, and then showing how they illuminate the data.

Because Meeks makes his arguments softly and in graceful and gracious prose, one can sometimes fail to grasp the originality and the power of his ideas as they unfold. For example, the first sentence in chapter two is “Early Christianity was a movement of converts.” Surely everyone knows this, but the knowledge has failed to prompt other historians of the early church to appreciate how this made early Christians entirely different from other significant subcultures in the Greco-Roman world. Theirs was a community based not on ethnicity and birth but on belief and choice. Moreover, as converts, Christians had not only the freedom but the need to construct and elaborate a basis for community. Indeed, as Meeks proceeds, we see that morality, community, conversion, and Christianity are inseparable. While this does not surprise a sociologist, it lights up the history of Christian morality in quite remarkable ways. Meeks has written a splendid work of lasting value.

RODNEY STARK
University of Washington

HARRY Y. GAMBLE. *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 337. \$32.50.

Harry Y. Gamble provides a full and richly documented discussion of the production, publication, transcription, dissemination, collection, and use of Christian literature during the first five centuries of the

church, all within the context of the broader Greco-Roman environment from which this literature emerged. There is nothing like the study available; it completely dwarfs its closest relation, Frederic C. Kenyon's brief and obviously dated study, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome* (1932). Gamble's book will prove significant for a broad readership interested in the New Testament, patristics, and the social history of early Christianity as well as for specialists in the more technical fields of textual criticism, paleography, and codicology.

The book opens with a discussion of “Literacy and Literary Culture in Early Christianity,” where Gamble establishes his thesis that, despite the relatively low literacy rates among early Christians (following William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* [1986], he surmises that it never exceeded ten to fifteen percent of the Christian populace over the course of the period) and contrary to a consensus earlier built on the studies of Franz Overbeck, Adolf Deissmann, and early form critics such as Rudolf Bultmann, the early Christian movement was principally a literary culture, invested in and dependent on literary texts for its worship, beliefs, ethics, and communal life. This conclusion naturally leads, in chapter two (“The Early Christian Book”), to a discussion of how the books at the core of this religion were constructed and produced, including information on the various writing materials (papyrus and parchment), forms (codexes instead of scrolls), and scribal hands (“documentary” vs. “bookhand”) that were used. A number of the topics are controversial; one particularly intriguing and surprisingly convincing new thesis is that the Christian preference for the codex (our more familiar bookform) rather than the scroll (used for other literary texts throughout the Greco-Roman world) derives from a primitive and authoritative collection of ten of the apostle Paul's letters in codex form.

Chapter three, “The Publication and Circulation of Early Christian Literature,” considers how books were typically released to the public in the Roman world (either through oral presentation or, increasingly through our period, through an author's private distribution of copies to acquaintances). Involved here as well are the copying practices of Christian scribes, who frequently modified the texts they reproduced—especially, interestingly enough, the ones they considered sacred—either by accident or design.

Chapter four, “Early Christian Libraries,” considers the evidence for private, congregational, and public Christian libraries in the context, again, of traditional Greek and Roman libraries, starting with the earliest church, from which evidence is extremely sparse. Included as well is a discussion of later monastic libraries, with interesting reflections on the so-called “Nag Hammadi Library” of gnostic texts discovered in 1945. The book concludes with an overview of “The Uses of Early Christian Books” in such venues as public worship, private study, and magic.

There is no bibliography and only a topical index,

but the study is extraordinarily well documented in the footnotes. This is a major publication of lasting significance for students of early Christianity.

BART D. EHRLMAN
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill

JACQUELINE LONG. *Claudian's In Eutropium: Or, How, When, and Why to Slander a Eunuch*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 291. \$45.00.

When Eutropius was appointed consul of the East in 399, he became the first and last eunuch to hold this office. Before the year was out, however, Eutropius had been deposed and executed, a casualty of the tensions both within and between the eastern and western halves of the empire. Eutropius's troubled consulate became the subject of an invective work, *In Eutropium* (*Against Eutropius*), by the western court poet, Claudian. Jacqueline Long's study follows recent scholarly trends in its focus on gender and the stylistic qualities of the text.

From a purely literary point of view, *In Eutropium* is problematic for two reasons. It is written in dactylic hexameter, the form of epic poetry and satire, but its abusive content properly falls within the sphere of epideictic oratory, a prose genre that includes both encomium and invective. Adopting the position that *In Eutropium* 1 and 2 should be treated as epideixis and epos, respectively, Long surveys the literary tradition, including examples from Attic oratory and comedy, Cicero, Roman satire, and late antique panegyric. She develops the idea that *In Eutropium* 1 is a work of formal invective, composed before the announcement of Eutropius's appointment and designed to persuade the Roman senatorial aristocracy to support the western court's refusal to recognize his consulate. *In Eutropium* 2 was written during the course of Eutropius's tenure and, as a "dynamic epic," serves as a "call to action" urging his deposition. Long identifies the Roman general Stilicho, who had himself been declared an enemy of the state by the senate of Constantinople at the behest of Eutropius, as the driving force behind both works.

Long's appreciation of *In Eutropium* lays the groundwork for future research. The next phase of investigation will want to look more closely at its rhetorical form. The structure of Menander Rhetor's imperial oration, which Claudian appears to have used as his model, is not fully interchangeable with that of the generic encomium described by Aphthonius and others. The Roman inversion of a Greek genre specifically designed for praising an emperor has political and cultural implications worth exploring. Similarly, the invective tradition of imperial Rome offers a resource than can be tapped to enrich our understanding of *In Eutropium*. Eutropius was by no means the only government official subjected to a systematic and officially sanctioned campaign of vituperation; histori-

ography in particular abounds in comparable cases involving emperors, their relatives, and ministers. Approaching *In Eutropium* from the perspective of imperial invective will allow the fuller exploitation of recent work on the role of gender in imperial propaganda; it will also help to define more precisely how the rhetorical abuse of a eunuch differs from that of other public figures who, though no less wicked, were nonetheless biologically intact. Invective presents many challenges but, as Long has shown, it is also great fun both to read and to write about.

MARTHA VINSON
Indiana University

MEDIEVAL

MICHEL ROUCHE. *Clovis*. Paris: Fayard. 1996. Pp. 611. 160 fr.

The celebration of the fifteen-hundredth anniversary of Clovis's baptism in 1996, which culminated in the papal Mass celebrated at Reims, inevitably produced a flurry of books on this first Catholic king of France (A.D. 481–511). The Francophone reader who knows nothing about the period will learn a good deal from this account by Michel Ruche. Ruche is familiar with the material and provides a clear narrative not just of Clovis's reign. Indeed, the book is much broader than its title suggests: only 150 pages of the main text are actually devoted to Clovis. The first 200 pages set the scene, going back into the history of Roman Gaul and tracing its gradual collapse before the barbarians in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries. The concluding chapter is rather touchingly centered on the long widowhood of Queen Clotild (511–548). The account is largely traditional and is supported by a number of maps (of variable quality) and a selection of color photographs.

This book is not, however, particularly suitable for scholars or serious students of history. The twenty-one texts that are given at the back of the book—in the original language and in French translation, each with detailed commentary—are indeed of some use. They include most of the significant sources (with the exception of extracts from Gregory of Tours's *History*, the most comprehensive early account of Clovis's life): the letters of Remigius, Avitus, Theodoric, and a number of saints' lives and other texts, a few of which have not hitherto been available in either French or English. But Ruche's narrative contains little that is new and a great deal that is positively misleading. The clarity of the text is achieved in large part by ignoring the historical problems inherent in most of the sources for Clovis's reign. Even when a problem is noted, it is not necessarily explained. Of *hospitalitas* he writes: "I continue to think, despite a recent historiographical tendency, that the Germans were paid for their Roman military service by a donation of two-thirds of estates" (p. 97), but he does not mention or explain the contrary ideas of Walter Goffart and others. In most

cases, contrary ideas are not even referred to. The great historical debates about the chronology of Clovis's reign are almost entirely ignored, and although Gregory of Tours's work is referred to throughout, there is seldom any engagement with the considerable textual problems. We are given a straight story, with hypothesis disguised as fact and conjecture parading as history. The general reader might prefer a straight story; but he or she ought at least to be warned that in many cases this is simply not possible.

The flaws exposed in the text are magnified in the bibliography. Few of the titles of English and German works are actually cited correctly, presumably because either the copyeditor or the proofreader was unfamiliar with these languages: thus, Goffart's 1980 book is miscited as *Barbarians and Romans, the techniques of accommodation*, while the subtitle of his 1988 book proclaims the names of Beda and Paul the Diacon. The names of modern scholars are similarly mangled: W. M. Daly's 1994 *Speculum* article, one of the most recent in the bibliography, is assigned to W. M. Doly. Even the French scholar Michel Kazanski appears as Kasansky in the text and Kazanski in the bibliography. More seriously, perhaps, and presumably the fault of the author rather than the publisher, works by several scholars writing in English that have a direct bearing on Clovis (notably those by Ian Wood) do not appear in the bibliography at all, and the issues they raise are not tackled. Rouche's serious confusion about Frankish succession customs, which could have been resolved by consulting Wood's study of the problem ("Kings, Kingdoms, and Consent," in P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Woods, ed., *Early Medieval Kingship* [1977]), is compounded by the fact that he thinks that *tanistry* (he uses the English word) means succession to one relative and then another, in strict order, rather than the appointment of a single successor during the lifetime of a ruler. Problems of this kind abound: students of the period will certainly learn from the texts and their commentaries but are well advised to ignore the rest of the book.

EDWARD JAMES
University of Reading

CHARLES R. BOWLUS. *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars: The Struggle for the Middle Danube, 788–907*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 420. \$48.95.

In 788, the Carolingians inherited from the defeated Agilolfings a movement of eastward expansion that had already established a small tributary empire over the Alpine Slavs and led to conflict with the Avars. The Avars' defeat in the 790s created an important regional hegemony for the Franks, which they maintained against Moravian and Bulgar challenges until the Magyar incursions of the early tenth century. The sources for its complex history are fragmentary and contested. Charles R. Bowlus uses them for a narrative that foregrounds Frankish military operations and

draws heavily on the supposedly timeless principles of strategic, tactical, and logistical thinking. Its principal thesis, which dominates almost every page, is that the Moravian Empire, visible in the written sources from the late 830s and at its apogee under Zwentibald/Sviatopluk (871–894), was located not, as is generally thought, in present-day Moravia but much further south, around the ancient city of Sirmium. Only thus, Bowlus contends, can we explain not only the military structures of Frankish Pannonia but also the precise course of the campaigning there.

Bowlus here restates with new arguments and much force a thesis initially propounded by Imre Boba. I have tried to avoid both enthusiastic acceptance or irritated rejection of this passionate polemic. It has always been clear that the traditional view presents some difficulties, yet I am not persuaded that the relocation of Moravia would make our lives easier. Too much has to be explained away. The mysterious *Praedenecenti* apparently lying between Moravians and Bulgars in 822 have to become a mere adjectival ethnic slur on the Moravians; but this is not a vernacular formation, its grammar does not work (*praedenecan'es* would be required), and in any case *-entil/-enzi* is a common ending for Slavic ethnic names. The Wends, against whom Louis the German campaigned in 846, have to become Moravians rather than the Abodrites they obviously were to prove that Saxons must have taken part in the (separate) campaign against the Moravians. The ambiguities of Moravia's location are in fact easily understood through a simple thought experiment: imagine we knew about ninth-century East Francia from Moravian, Scandinavian, and Byzantine sources alone. We should have little grasp of the kingdom's internal structures and would hence be quite uncertain about locating Louis's power precisely.

It is a curious feature of Bowlus's book that it hardly addresses the issue of what the Moravian "state" was actually like, although without an answer the question of its location becomes largely meaningless. Nor does it say much about Frankish Pannonia beyond discussing the prosopography of its marcher commanders, although there is by no means nothing to be said. A full study of the economy, society, and politics of *Mitteleuropa* between Avars and Magyars is still needed, and such a study might incidentally answer the secondary question of where the center of Moravian gravity lay. For all its scholarship and enthusiasm, this book is not that study.

TIMOTHY REUTER
University of Southampton

MAYKE DE JONG. *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*. (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, number 12.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1996. Pp. xv, 360. \$97.00.

Mayke De Jong's extensive study of child oblation in the early medieval West engages recent scholarship on child oblation and takes advantage of studies by schol-

unstoppable momentum in the forty years of Frederick III's reign. Backman rejects the economic arguments recently advanced for a longer time-scale by Henri Bresc and Stephan Epstein. But he also thinks that emphasis on the political aspect is only due to previous reliance on bombastic narrative sources. He therefore underestimates Frederick's own political achievements in helping Sicily preserve its independence. Backman makes suspiciously little comment about events either before 1296 or after 1337, and this suggests an insensitivity to political issues. Paradoxically, however, he is optimistic that archival records, mainly from official sources, can be made to yield understanding of the social problems he identifies as important.

After a first chapter that sets the scene, Backman turns to Sicily's international problems but has little sympathy with Sicily's desperate sense of isolation when confronted with papal intransigence and Angevin vindictiveness. Backman is baffled that the Sicilian parliament put political before economic considerations. He discusses his main interest, social tension, in two chapters that articulate his belief that there were two distinct societies on the island, with the "feudal" interior cut off from the urban centers on the coast. The nobles are credited with predatory intentions against both king and cities, as though they were not mostly new men brought in after the Sicilian Vespers to sustain the interests of the house of Aragon and whose military assistance was welcomed in the cities. Social tensions were also exacerbated, according to Backman, by dramatic changes in demographic patterns, with thousands of peasants moving from west to east. This obviously cannot be demonstrated from the documents available.

Backman is rather too quick to draw dubious conclusions from the records. He reads evidence of disagreements between Sicilians and Catalans as due to "ethnic" rivalry and uses some royal legislation inspired by Arnau de Vilanova as grounds for describing Frederick's most prominent characteristic as his "credulity." The same material is considered proof that Sicily was inspired with evangelical fervor. There are other oddities. Why does Backman think Sicilians were so inexperienced at sea that they had difficulties in finding officers for their own ships? His wish to inject fresh life into the historical record is commendable, but, in fact, it rather subverts his picture of the kingdom in a state of collapse at the end of Frederick's reign. To that extent, his title does not bear the weight put upon it.

D. J. A. MATTHEW
University of Reading

DAVID NIRENBERG. *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 301. \$29.95.

The subtitle of this fine book is misleading, promising both more and less than what is delivered. Its scope is more limited than "the Middle Ages," focusing on the

first half of the fourteenth century and (except for a chapter on France) on the crown of Aragon. The "minorities" discussed are Jews and Muslims, with some reference to lepers. Yet David Nirenberg provides much more than a story of persecution. He has written a perceptive and probing account of the *modus vivendi* forged between Jewish and Muslim communities and the power structure of the majority Christian population that reveals many forms of interaction, of which persecution was a relatively small part.

Some historians have claimed that a virulent hatred of Jews, rooted in doctrines about Jewish religion and character, is endemic to Christian culture and ever present in Christian society, often erupting into deadly violence. By comparing the treatment of Jewish and Muslim minorities in Aragon, Nirenberg offers a far more nuanced presentation of the situation of Jews and the role of violence in medieval Europe.

The first section of the book, hyperbolically entitled "Cataclysmic Violence," treats the "Shepherds' Crusade" of 1320 and the "Lepers' Plot" of 1321. After analyzing the French context of these upheavals, Nirenberg turns to the very different dynamics in Aragon. He shows how the crown acted vigorously to defend its Jews as a valuable asset, used the outbursts of violence and the charges of complicity by municipal councils and villagers as an opportunity to exact fines, and thereby expanded royal fiscal intervention in local affairs. These attacks, he maintains, should not be depicted as expressions of a "pan-European persecuting mentality," precursors of the far greater violence of 1348 and 1391. The actual course of events becomes intelligible only within the context of a specific and localized historical situation.

A different mode of anti-Jewish violence were the attacks during Holy Week, particularly on Good Friday, frequently cited as evidence for an inveterate hatred of Jews nourished by the belief that they were guilty of deicide. Royal archives reveal that the attackers were predominantly teenagers, who usually were content to throw stones against the walls of the Jewish quarter. Not infrequently, royal officials who protected the Jews were the ones who were hurt.

Nirenberg concludes that this violence was primarily ritual, even "ludic," in character. Rather than undermining the foundations of Jewish life in a Christian realm, it actually served to reaffirm these foundations, dramatizing vengeance for the Passion and articulating the boundary lines between Christians and Jews in a stylized, controlled, restrained manner. This central claim that forms of violence functioned to stabilize the relationship between majority and minority may seem outrageous when judged by the standards of 1990s "political correctness." Some might view it as apologetic for Christian intolerance. In the context of medieval Christian Europe, buttressed with analogous material from anthropological and sociological literature, it is a plausible thesis.

Nirenberg characterizes areas of conflict in everyday life as "systemic violence." Paramount is the capacity

for disruption in forbidden sexual relations between majority and minority and between the two minorities, Muslims and Jews, behavior transgressing the "hot-test" border between groups. The result was sometimes violence of the judicial, institutional sort, with the offending male from the minority group burned to death or castrated. Much of the discussion, however, focuses more on the anxieties of boundary transgression and the judicial frameworks that often translated punishment into financial terms.

Other types of competition between minorities occurred in the economic realm (money-lending and market place), in urban rituals such as civic processions, and in religious polemics and conversions from one minority to the other. Where systematic regulation of such interaction was lacking, the resulting ambiguities facilitated intolerant discourse and occasionally violent behavior.

Problems arising from minorities often led to jurisdictional conflicts. When two Jews of Terruel were accused of poisoning wells, they insisted on their right to be judged by the king or his bailiff, but the town councilors and judges refused to surrender their prisoners. When a Jewish creditor was beaten by Muslim vassals of the abbot of Valldigna, the king claimed jurisdiction, but the abbot insisted that, as lord of the territory where the crime occurred, jurisdiction was his. Such cases led various sources of authority to test their claims against those of their competitors.

The book's argument is expounded with abundant reference to sources, primarily from the archives in Aragon and Valencia, with the relevant documents transcribed in the notes for the reader's inspection. Nirenberg demonstrates impressive control over an enormous secondary literature. He diverges from positions taken by noted historians, including Carlo Ginzburg, Yitzhak Baer, Norman Cohn, R. I. Moore, and, by implication, Gavin Langmuir and Benzion Netanyahu. But this is not a polemical work. The discussion of other historians is respectful, sober, and judicious; the divergences flow from the evidence and its analysis, and the critique is generally incisive.

Not the least of its virtues is that Nirenberg's book is written with a stylistic flair that makes it a pleasure to read, a model of historical research, and exposition at its best.

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TERENCE SCULLY. *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1995. Pp. 276. \$45.00.

Terence Scully comes from a background in French language and literature and is well known as the editor of the important group of French medieval cookery manuscripts attributed to "Taillevent." This book is based on the study of a wide range of recipe books and a number of other literary texts that contain information about food, diet, and cookery, including medical

works. Although Scully's interest in French culinary traditions is fully reflected, he aims to cover the cookery of Western Europe and makes reference to English, German, Italian, and Spanish sources. The discussion is centered on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The theme of the book is the need to counter the often uncomprehending and ignorant comments made by modern historians on medieval food. Those who now read recipe collections or books of manners accuse medieval people with serving absurd mixtures of incompatible ingredients and of behaving in a barbarous fashion at table. Scully shows that there were many similarities between medieval and modern food, both in terms of ingredients and methods of preparation. Medieval cooks deployed their considerable skill to produce appetizing and palatable dishes, and medieval moralists' concern with the sin of gluttony resulted from the many temptations put in the path of the consumer.

In an important chapter, Scully shows that when medieval foodways differed markedly from ours—in the serving of a huge variety of fish, for example, or the liking for the sour flavors obtained from vinegar and verjuice, or the tendency to put together such unlikely ingredients as pears and salmon or fried eggs and sour apples—the cooks and their employers did so with good reason, mainly in response to prevailing scientific humor theories and religious requirements for fasting. In fact, a number of their theoretical positions seem to coincide with modern gastronomic preference. For example, medieval writers believed that frying was appropriate for counteracting the properties of wet and cold foods, such as fish.

The book goes on to discuss other aspects of food culture in social as well as intellectual terms. The international character of the cuisine reflected the cosmopolitan outlook of the medieval upper classes. Refined table manners helped to distance the aristocracy from their inferiors, and the elaborate preparation of dishes gave them a striking appearance (some were colored blue), culminating in the development of the inedible subtleties or *entremets*, that made the meal into an impressive entertainment. The communal nature of meals, in which companions shared dishes, reinforced the solidarity of the household.

This book is full of good sense and by taking a sympathetic view of medieval people and their culture convinces us that, for all of the important differences, we can still understand and appreciate their way of life. There are other ways of approaching the subject, and Scully could have made a few more concessions to the economics of diet. He gives insufficient weight to household accounts as sources, although they are more informative about food culture than he allows, and closer acquaintance with their tedious practicalities would have saved him from such errors as exaggerating the importance of garden produce and game in aristocratic diet. Similarly, although he is conscious of the social bias of his sources, Scully cannot dismiss the

whole subject of the diet of the lower classes by alleging that the sources only allow guesswork (p. 6).

CHRISTOPHER DYER
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CLAUDE GAIER. *Armes et combats dans l'univers médiéval*. Foreword by ANDRÉ JORIS. (Bibliothèque du moyen âge, number 5.) Brussels: DeBoeck Université. 1995. Pp. 416.

This is a collection of articles spanning the career of Claude Gaier, longtime director of the Musée d'Armes in Liège. Many of the articles have been available only in the catalogs of exhibitions or in hard-to-find journals, so their publication in one volume is a service to medievalists, especially those working in late medieval military and technological history. Some of the material is perhaps a bit dated, but much remains fresh. Some of the pieces are introductory in character, synthesizing the state of knowledge about siege techniques and the means for defending fortifications, while others are more specialized, with the focus often on the vicinity of Liège, thus providing local detail and nuance to European trends. The collection as a whole is a valuable resource.

The book is divided into eight sections. The first section contains four close descriptions of set piece battles; these serve to introduce themes developed more fully in a section on tactics. It is perhaps here (unfortunately) that the analysis seems most traditional: the emphasis is on the tactical dominance of the heavily armored horseman, a dominance undermined only in the fifteenth century by the appearance of more effective infantry, above all the Swiss. While not, strictly speaking, wrong—and in fact the fields of Flanders and northern France were the heartland of “knightly” dominance, so the local focus of some of the studies is part of the issue here—it is a picture that can be misleading in purely military terms. Recent work in medieval military history has stressed the infrequency of battles as opposed to sieges and thus the continuing and vital role played by infantry forces in the conduct of warfare.

But the fault is with the arrangement of articles, for the antidotes to this picture are to be found abundantly in other sections of the collection. Above all, the first two studies in part six should be read together. These studies establish, from both ends of the tactical spectrum, that “dominance,” or indeed fighting style itself, was far from a purely military question. The social primacy of the horsed ruling class, whose essential purpose was to maintain its own dominance, influenced its choice of weapons and tactics, as did the social cohesion and composition of town-based infantry forces. As the best articles in this collection show, medieval military history must also be social history.

Given Gaier's position with the Musée d'Armes, it is not surprising that the most locally detailed and perhaps most valuable sections are on the types and uses of arms and armor and on the arms industry and

commerce in arms. Sections on fortifications and siegecraft and on the illustrations of arms and armor in medieval sources round out the collection. There are also a small set of illustrations and a bibliography through 1994 of Gaier's more than 300 books, articles, and reviews.

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MODERN EUROPE

DAVID B. RUDERMAN. *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 392. \$30.00.

Jewish historiography has often been overly deferential to a number of key “metanarratives” that were held to define the “Jewish experience.” One of these was Jacob Katz's concept of “exclusiveness,” whereby early modern Jews were thought to be isolated and indifferent to the gentile world around them, at least until the end of the eighteenth century. David B. Ruderman's superb book on Jewish thought and scientific discovery during the early modern period explodes this thesis beyond repair. Ruderman's argument is that “the interaction of medicine and science with Jewish culture was more substantial and repercussive in the early modern period than before, for intellectual and social reasons related to both internal and external factors shaping Jewish cultural development in this period” (p. 10).

Ruderman's book begins with medieval Jewish attitudes toward nature and scientific activity and goes all the way to the Enlightenment, casting a spotlight on the chief figures along the way. He presents a fair picture of the sources, both in Hebrew and English, without declining to give his own view. Some of the earlier chapters are schematic but nonetheless essential, outlining the views of thinkers such as Abraham ibn Ezra, the first Jew to interpret many biblical events astrologically; Maimonides, who ruled that the scientific views of the rabbis stated only their own non-authoritative personal opinions; and Judah HaLevi, who opposed Maimonides and argued that all the sciences were contained in the Bible or were not worth studying at all.

Once Ruderman reaches the seventeenth century, his book becomes rather exciting. His treatment of the scientific concepts of Rabbi Loewe of Prague (the “Maharal”) and his student David Gans is comprehensive and takes us through the historiographical thicket regarding the place of rationalism in Ashkenazi culture during this period and possible reasons for the decline of Jewish scientific activity in Eastern Europe by the middle of the seventeenth century. Others have read Venetian rabbi Simone Luzzatto's defense of the Jews (1638), but Ruderman is one of the very few who has plowed through his dialogue on the trial of Socrates (1651), which shows a much deeper understanding of contemporary scientific and philosophical issues.

Ruderman's chapter on the role of the *converso* physicians in molding early modern Jewish identity is one of the highlights of this book, focusing on the works of men like Francisco Sanchez, Isaac La Peyrère and Baruch Spinoza, weighing the claims of various historians concerning the impact of *converso* culture on their work. He looks carefully at the irony of these physicians, who became so enmeshed in the medical power structure that they came to shore up the very system that victimized them. Ruderman also discusses David Nieto (1654–1728), the Sephardi rabbi of London who wrote a Jewish echo of the Christian establishment's Boyle Lectures, arguing that the hierarchical social system of his day was based on and mirrored by the very structure of the universe and that therefore any political challenge was wholly unnatural, unscientific, and impossible. Indeed, Ruderman makes a good case that Nieto cribbed most of his ideas from Samuel Clarke, a Boyle lecturer and old Newtonian.

One of the chief virtues of this excellent book is Ruderman's rare ability to summarize complex issues in little set pieces of clarity. We get such thumbnail sketches of stoicism, iatrochemistry, and pantheism, in addition to fair and judicious reviews of the major issues in the Jewish historiography of the period. The gist of an entire discussion comes gradually into focus. In brief, this is the history of the Jews and early modern science for which we have been waiting.

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WINFRIED SCHLEINER. *Medical Ethics in the Renaissance*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 230. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

This book by Winfried Schleiner is at once far-ranging and narrow in scope. It is intended to pique the interest of scholars in literary, gender, and cultural studies, but its greatest strength lies in its complex analysis of medical texts, most of which were written in Latin during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Spanish, Italian, English, and German physicians. The authors of these texts sometimes reached the margin of their competence and the limit of socially sanctioned discourse. Indeed, until recently, certain texts were not easily accessible because they were classified as pornographic literature. Nineteenth and twentieth-century specialists in the history of medicine have tended to regard these works as second-rate and obscure, because they do not prefigure modern medicine as a hard science. Schleiner proves that the ethical and social dimensions of these works continue to be significant and revealing even if the science is no longer valid.

Questions give form to medical ethics. One question that Schleiner discusses is whether physicians can lie to patients in the interest of health. They might lie about the components of a medication; about whether an illness were terminal; about whether a patient were a virgin. It is not clear that a consensus was achieved on

any of these issues, yet some interesting insights emerge. Schleiner contrasts Christian and Judaic traditions and observes that Jewish physicians' experiences of persecution shaped their outlook on dissembling and prompted them to seek a secular medical ethic that divorced medicine from Christian morality by returning to classical authority.

In discussions of treatments for hysteria and syphilis, Schleiner finds physicians torn between the imperatives of Christian ethics and a secular ethic that focused on utility. It was believed that some cases of hysteria were caused by seed rotting in the womb. The problem was that the seed could not be expelled without titillation or some sense of pleasure. Should the physician save the life of his patient by performing an action which harmed her spiritual well-being? On this point, Christian moral theology outweighed the precedence of classical authorities.

Saving the life of the woman may be seen as the more utilitarian course and secular ethics more in keeping with the welfare of women. Yet Schleiner notes that the secular ethic did not always promote the interests of women. Some physicians held that syphilis could be cured by sexual intercourse with a virgin. Should they recommend it if the cure for the man meant transmitting the disease to the woman? Advocates of the secular ethic argued yes; advocates of the religious ethic argued no. At stake was the value of women relative to men. Should women be sacrificed in the interests of men? On this point, the more secular and apparently "progressive" medical ethic more readily accommodated sexist views of disease than did the religiously defined ethic.

This book is a thoughtful addition to existing literature. It challenges Lloyd DeMause's (*The History of Childhood: The Untold Story of Child Abuse* [1988]) notion of the existence of a permissive morality regarding masturbation before the Reformation and develops independently the linkage between women and disease that Sander Gilman has so skillfully explored in *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (1985). It highlights the work of early seventeenth-century Jewish physicians, especially Rodrigo a Castro, and seems to move effortlessly across national boundaries to create a seamless discourse. Yet gauging the impact of these medical texts is difficult, and the social historian longs for more than a few allusions to the contexts in which these works were written.

LINDSAY WILSON
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PATRICIA SEED. *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 199. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$14.95.

RICHARD C. TREXLER. *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 292. \$29.95.

After the commemoration, in 1992, of the quincentennial of Christopher Columbus's first journey to what he considered to be "the Indies," the territories of "the Great Khan," the historiographical and interpretative reconstruction of the "discovery" and conquest of the Americas has not ceased. The books by Patricia Seed and Richard C. Trexler are important additions to the bibliographical explosion that has taken place in the last decade regarding what the Mexican scholar Edmundo O'Gorman has aptly called "the invention of America" (*The Invention of America* [1961]).

Columbus's initial reports and epistles do not employ the verb "discover" or the noun "discovery." He describes his actions as "taking possession" of the encountered lands and their populations. Columbus narrates with some detail the ceremonies of taking possession performed by him and his entourage. Yet, few scholars have paid attention to the proceedings and protocols of these rituals. Seed, in an important study, takes careful note of the differences between the rituals and ceremonies enacted by the European nations in their competitive quest for empire. The book compares the ways in which England, Spain, Portugal, France, and Holland forged political authority over lands and peoples in the period between 1492 and 1640.

Seed argues persuasively that each of these five European powers developed its own distinctive set of expressive acts of possession. Their ceremonies were different in several ways: they were expressed in the developing vernacular languages, and they were rooted in vocabularies, gestures, and specific cultural traditions. They were particular cultural constructions, which created apparently insurmountable obstacles for their mutual intelligibility. This is the main cause, according to Seed, for the mutual hostility that prevailed between the European powers: the impossibility of finding a common cultural denominator that would permit the proper translation and understanding of their protocols for legitimizing authority. The reciprocal oburgations between the contending European powers, argues Seed, is culturally congenial and thus, in a sense, historically unavoidable. The fate of history, it seems, is the tragedy of cultural misunderstanding and hostility.

Seed's book is strong in erudition and precision. It encompasses the main lines of establishing colonial dominion by the five most important European empires in the Americas. The amount of material covered is wide, yet Seed is able to write coherent and poignant synopses for the empires discussed. It takes into account in a fruitful manner the theoretical work in cultural studies produced during the last two decades. It is required reading for students of the history of the Americas, the ideologies of colonialism, and modern European expansion, as well as for those interested in the debated field of cultural animosities.

As with all good books, this work has several flaws, and I locate most of the important ones in the section regarding Spain's protocols of possession. Seed dis-

cusses them in the third chapter, after dealing with the English and French ceremonies. It should have been the first to avoid chronological confusion. The English and French codes of possession were, at least partly, historical answers to the Spanish monopoly claims; they cannot be explained, in my opinion, exclusively in terms of their cultural distinctiveness.

Seed considers the much-debated Requirement as the protocol for the Spanish ritual of establishing authority. Columbus and the first conquistadors, however, were performing acts of possession for two decades before the official promulgation of the Requirement. Seed seems to ignore the important work of the Spanish scholar Francisco Morales Padrón (*Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de América* [1963]) on this subject. She also misstates the attitude of the Dominican theologian Francisco de Vitoria, who opposed the Requirement as expressing a rather crude justification for Christian empire. Vitoria's criticism of Francisco Pizarro and the conquistadors of Peru has nothing to do with the absence of a public proclamation of the Requirement (apparently Fray Vicente de Valverde expounded a version of it to Atahualpa) but with their greed and cruelty. Finally, Seed wrongly locates the biblical injunction *compelle eos intrare*: it is in Luke 14:23, not in Matthew 22. Having expressed these reservations, I nevertheless find much to extol in Seed's treatment of the Requirement. She makes judicious use of modern studies on Moorish influence on the Catholic Spanish culture and defends, rightly in my opinion, Bartolomé de las Casas's thesis that the Requirement is paradoxically rooted in that hated Islamic Iberian ideological context.

Trexler's book has to do with a subject that, according to the late John Boswell (*Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* [1980]), has been much neglected: the Native American berdache and the ways the European colonial powers dealt with this peculiar figure, apparently found in many pre-European American communities. The importance of this theme could be and has been wrongly understated. Sodomy accompanied idolatry and anthropophagy as the main accusations leveled by the Spaniards against the native Caribbean populations. The "unmentionable vice" was one of the main sins of the Caribbean peoples, a clear sign that they were under the dominion of Satan. Trexler masters the basic primary sources and is able to identify skillfully the different trends and tendencies among them. Like Seed, he knows the works of the indispensable Bartolomé de las Casas.

Fortunately, Trexler is not one to join the ranks of those who merely add their academic skills to the vituperations aimed at European conquerors. His work is a highly sophisticated analysis of the relation between eros and conquest, of the roles that societal violence imposes on some of the members of the community. Trexler has devoted an enormous amount of scholarly work to related areas; he has written extensively on such Renaissance themes as the reci-

proximity between the hierarchies of power in military and civil affairs, the channels of mutual support between sexual and political dominion and submission, and the ways in which cultural and religious ideologies construct masculinity and femininity. His book is doubtless not only the best study of the American berdache, but also a significant contribution to the understanding of the development of power and authority in human society. For example, Trexler enters with a sharp eye into the fascinating field of temple and religious sexuality in different civilizations from the Middle East to the Inca empire.

This book will certainly provoke different responses among the growing number of scholars doing research on gay and lesbian issues. Trexler evidently is aware of this and willing and able to engage in critical dialogue and debate with colleagues such as Boswell (he seems, however, to ignore Boswell's *Same-Sex Unions in Pre-modern Europe* [1994]). He contributes to the dialogue not only his elegant prose and ample historical knowledge, but also an exemplary, although today not always well-received in academic circles, ethical sensibility to matters of gender inequality and child abuse (his book carries the dedication: "*For the children*"). This is a nice reminder that the scholar is not only a member of academia, with responsibilities to the protocols of his/her profession, but also a member of the human community, with urgent ethical duties in regard, above all, to its most vulnerable segments.

If Seed emphasizes the diversities in cultural and national constructions of power and authority, Trexler, on the contrary, perceives significant similarities in the ways force and violence are imposed on subordinated peoples. They sit in different rows in the debate that threatens to divide academic communities into warring factions. Yet, they both have made excellent contributions to the understanding of crucial issues in the genesis of the Americas, written fortunately in clear and coherent prose.

LUIS N. RIVERA-PAGÁN
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ANTHONY PAGDEN. *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, c. 1500-c. 1800*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 244. \$30.00.

Anthony Pagden studies intellectual attitudes toward empire in Spain, Britain, and France during the early modern period in this new book, whose style and structure will be familiar to those who have read his earlier *European Encounters with the New World* (1993) and *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: 1513-1830* (1990). An ample selection of quotations from a wide range of writers is held together by a controlled but unobtrusive narrative treating such topics as the nature of universal rule, explanations of the role of conquest and settlement, the relations of the colonies to their home countries, the question of slavery, and the fate of empire.

Pagden focuses on the Spanish, British, and French empires in the Americas, thereby excluding the Portuguese and the Dutch and all European ventures in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. What remains is still vast and seemingly quite disparate. Whereas all three groups at various times held sugar islands in the Caribbean, their mainland ventures varied widely, encompassing Spain's conquest of the Americas' most advanced societies, England's push into mostly lightly settled North American territories (the "virgin lands," as English apologists deemed them), and France's accommodation with the hunters of the north. Despite the diversity of their empires, Spanish, British, and French writers produced ideological explanations and justifications for their actions that ultimately were more similar than not, for they all looked back to Rome, both as a political reality that foreshadowed many of their own concerns and as the source of much of the vocabulary of their political discourse. Their tracts and treatises could not have been written without terms derived from *imperium*, *civitas*, and *dominium*. The inescapable knowledge of Rome and the course of its empire helped to unify the experiences of the publicists of early modern empire and to shape their perceptions and explanations. As Pagden reports of Sir Francis Bernard, governor of Massachusetts Bay in 1774, his "final definition of the status of the British American colonies is identical to the one which Francisco de Vitoria had used in 1539 to describe the relationship between Castile, Aragon, and the Duchy of Milan, and Francisco Suárez employed some years later to characterize that between the crowns of Castile and Portugal" (p. 131). The ideologies of the Enlightenment, tested and refined in the struggles between empire and movements for national independence and between absolutism and claims of liberty, remain a vital part of today's world and owe a significant part of their origins to the early modern debates over the nature of the three empires Pagden discusses.

This is an impressive book, erudite and lively. Inevitably, one may dissent from certain aspects, such as Pagden's reluctance to descend from the ideological level to the social and economic base. Too often, he lets his theorists speak for themselves, without telling us whether their views and descriptions were real or illusory. Nonetheless, the book succeeds as an exercise in drawing together the interpretive treatises of three empires over three centuries and showing, often subtly but at times explicitly, their similarity.

WILLIAM D. PHILLIPS, JR.
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NATALIE ZEMON DAVIS. *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. 360. \$24.95.

In 1941, Jacques Barzun published *Darwin, Marx, and Wagner*, a modernist genre-breaking work of history; in 1961, Fritz Stern took up the triadic model in the *Politics of Cultural Despair* to discern critiques of

modernity in the thought of what were hitherto seemingly discrete German lives. Other works in the triadic model have appeared since Stern's, but it is Natalie Zemon Davis who has taken up and extended Barzun's bold innovation by writing a radically modern history of seventeenth-century gendered acculturation.

Before this book, it probably would not have occurred to anyone to study the careers of three such different and disparate women in one work of history. A late seventeenth-century Jewish Germanic mother and dealer in semi-precious stones, a French Ursuline nun who Christianized Amerindians in Canada, and a German Protestant insect painter and publisher who traveled as far as Surinam in search of rare specimens constitute extraordinary diversity, not only in their lives as women but also in their creative energies.

The impediments to and possibilities for living the lives they wished to lead form the overarching structure of the book, with female powerlessness in male-dominated Europe the leitmotif. This powerlessness is presented as a given; it is not analyzed except in the most obvious terms. To say, for example, that the superior of a religious community is powerless when she is in frequent contact with colonial officials who are obliged to consider her views is anachronistic. The power exercised by a woman as head of a religious community is thus not given the importance it deserves, but power and politics are not really what interest Davis in this book.

The three women were raised in urban settings and had skills and possibilities for self-esteem characteristic of life in artisanal families and communities all over Europe, but their different religious and regional cultures would seem to militate against the usual comparative history techniques. For Davis, this was the challenge: to work out a triadic history beyond comparative history. The results are brilliant. The centripetal differences apparent in the European backgrounds pale almost to insignificance in light of the enormously increased cultural diversity resulting from their careers and travels.

While responses to European cultures by native American populations is not the focus of the book, Davis notes the upheavals in Canada and Surinam as a result of disease, the world economy of sugar, slavery, and the fur trade. The efforts to convert Amerindians in Canada, with all their languages, beliefs, dreams, and customs solemnly, if luridly, described for publication in Europe, demonstrate just how acculturation occurs and can leave some activist participants more complete in their lives. There is almost an Aristotelian notion of the self as fulfillment at work throughout the book.

Marie Sibyll Merian differed in her studies of insects from other pioneers in the field of entomology because, instead of being obsessed by classification, she wished to capture the entire life cycle of insects on the engraved and painted page. Like the early modern approach to capturing an "event" in illustration (those of St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, for example), four

or five scenes would be placed in collage together to constitute a narrative of the event. Merian's descriptions of insects are their life stories, and this is essentially what Davis does with the lives and creative accomplishments of the three women. Their similarities are in the order of things, natural and cultural, with a transcendent impulse being central to human nature. Whether in and through the *meshalim* of Northern European Yiddish-speaking Jews, or the interior voices of Christian and Amerindian souls, or the life cycles of insects, it is the attempt to understand and order experience sympathetically that Davis elucidates. Stories about bears differ from culture to culture, dreams were taken much more seriously by Amerindians (before Freud) in Canada than Europeans, and the Jewish moral tale is ambiguous in meaning and requires argument for understanding, but together they and other strains of thought make up something for Davis that is to be pursued and enjoyed, not necessarily rationally but rather as testimony to the richness of human experience.

Deepening religious perspectives in the lives of Glikl Bas Judah Leib and Marie de l'Incarnation and the transitions from German Lutheranism to Labadist communitarianism to what would seem to be Deism in the life of Merian are all pieced together as well as the sources permit. Just how these women lived their faiths is the center of attention, with religion offering possibilities for understanding and justifying the boundaries between the needs for autonomy and belonging in the family.

Events occurred totally beyond Leib's control, but by recounting stories of different and similar incidents she held on and thanked God for the good that happened. The accounting of honor and shame (in both German and Yiddish) for the family as a whole was as important to her as her children, her husband, her autonomy, and her understanding of God. There is every reason to believe that Leib wrote down what would have remained oral in a family so closely knit had its members been able to live in closer proximity to one another. Her writing is almost speaking.

When Marie Guyart became Marie de l'Incarnation, she prayed to become someone else, obedient to Christ, and a part of him after the Salesian-Acarie example. Her own mystical sensibility centered on an interior union of her soul with Christ. The souls of Amerindians were for her qualitatively no different from her own, and therefore possibilities for their conversion to Christianity were not only great but essential. Her acceptance of male spiritual directors and her work with Jesuits, bishops, and governors with more rationalist doctrinaire ideas about conversion were not atypical of the first generation of women religious nourished on the teachings of Teresa of Avila, Francis de Sales, Charles Borromeo, and Jean de Bernières. Guyart's life poses the genre problem squarely. Autobiography and hagiography go well together ethnographically in the seventeenth century. There is no doubt that Guyart did all the things that

she recorded; that she experienced almost entirely the same things in her heart as those recorded by other intensely devout women confronts the interpreter with many difficulties. The likeness and genderless quality (or being) of all souls before Christ offers distinct universalist understandings of the self and the "other."

Merian was born into a leading European art printing family whose engravings of cities and political events were known all over Europe. Her drive for finding unknown insect specimens pulled her toward increased specialization and scientific pictorial description. What exactly happened to her marriage remained a secret that Merian carried to her grave; she and her two daughters left comfortable Frankfurt for life in a separatist Protestant community, the Labadists, and then headed for the capital of the "art of describing," Amsterdam. Just how her approach to painting insects relates to her intellectual and religious thought merits more reflection. Her strength of purpose and unwillingness to conform to what other entomologists were developing were remarkable; through painting insects, she joined creative scientific inquiry with art and commercial *savoir-vivre*.

Refracted in the solid history of three lives is the late twentieth-century modernist paradigm. There is the secrecy about one's past that is so important to anyone wishing to start life anew; there are writing for self discovery, abortion (noted by Merian without moral comment), the search for autonomy within and without the family, intense community relations, and above all the pursuit of self-understanding through religious and universalist thought. Is this *histoire exemplaire* at the primordial level and especially for women? Superficially it would seem so. Fortitude and fulfillment in success may create a gendered distance between women today and these three remarkable women of the seventeenth century.

As Davis steps from the shadows in the dialogue that opens the book it is evident that hers is the fourth voice, the historian's, whose name on the book's spine is surrounded by the signatures of the three women who are its subjects. Bertrande, wife of Martin Guerre, also learned to sign her name. Western cultural history has come a long way from the three "good women" of Montaigne's *Essais* (1580), whose virtue was willingness to die with their husbands in order to share their adversity. Perhaps not as far as one would think.

OREST RANUM
Johns Hopkins University

AILEEN RIBEIRO. *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France, 1750 to 1820*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. 257. \$55.00.

Costume history originally grew into a separate discipline partly out of the desire to date paintings. Today the wheel has turned full circle: fashion is recognized, even if often still grudgingly, as an art. Aileen Ribeiro, examining the relationship between the two, is sensitively aware of the many paradoxes with which fashion

presents both wearer and artist (and for that matter critic or commentator). Dress is the "most fleeting of the arts," yet central to any portrait; still popularly associated with all that is most superficial in human existence, it is nevertheless that which is most intimately related to our daily lives, our bodily selves, and our sense of identity.

This book is a sumptuous and sophisticated investigation of the point at which art and dress intersected at a particular, and particularly important, period: 1750–1820. Ribeiro discusses French and English fashions as they appeared in portraiture, and since the forms of dress she describes in detail and the changes of fashion that took place are copiously illustrated, the reader gains a rich and detailed knowledge of the subject. A careful meshing of visual and written information demonstrates the depth of the author's scholarship.

Yet Ribeiro wears her learning lightly. Meticulous attention to detail never obstructs a clear overview of change and its significance in aesthetic, social, and political terms. The importance of the period resides above all in its central event, the French Revolution, and Ribeiro suggests that there was a certain "Trojan horse" aspect to fashion; the increasing simplicity and informality of dress undermined established principles of society as much as the writings of the *philosophes*. To some, such a claim may seem exaggerated, yet male fashions inspired by English country squires' wear spoke democracy and social mobility as much as comfort and restraint, symbolizing progress and modernity. Ironically, the simpler modes adopted by women toward the end of the century were originally inspired by Marie Antoinette's chemise dress, although this was then married with the preference for neoclassical dress styles that represented both republican ideals and a new taste for restraint and absence of ornament.

The return to the past did not end with the demise of the republic in France, where, as in England, artists, rulers, and fashion leaders looked to history for styles of dress that would appropriately symbolize the grandeur of state and monarchy. Ribeiro devotes a third of her book to the important subject of historical and fancy dress in portraiture and costume, which, while of more specialist interest, signals an increasing, if paradoxical, concern with the past in the search for a "new modernity."

If proof were needed that dress is not only central to our social selves but also a serious matter in its own right, this graceful and important work surely provides it, demonstrating the ways in which changes in fashion condensed or even prefigured far-reaching revolutions not only in manners but in the most basic assumptions about the nature of society. It is also a tremendously enjoyable book.

ELIZABETH WILSON
University of North London

A. W. BRIAN SIMPSON. *Leading Cases in the Common Law*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 311. \$39.95.

This is a jolly book that raises serious questions about law and legal education. A leading case is a judicial decision regarded as the chief precedent on a particular point; A. W. Brian Simpson has selected nine of them for extended historical study. All nine cases are English, dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, and a few are more familiar to English than American lawyers. Drawn from various sub-disciplines of the law, the cases, taken together, provide an extraordinary panorama of legal doctrines. Simpson's "case studies," a couple of which began as lectures (and three of which were previously published), are written in a lively, irreverent style. "Once you get lawyers into a family dispute," Simpson wisely concedes in his discussion of *Jee v. Audley*, the case that established the Fertile Octogenarian Rule, "matters tend to go from bad to worse" (p. 91).

Convinced of the need "to supplement law reports with other material" in order to approach "historical reality" (p. 11), Simpson collects literally everything connected with his chosen cases. Incidentally illustrating how much information modern society gathers and retains, he can, for example, establish to the minute the time of birth of Louisa Elizabeth Carlill, even though the fact has no possible bearing on her famous suit against the Carbolic Smoke Ball Company for breach of contract. Simpson's magpie method supplements the reported cases with a vengeance, but it also has the cumulative effect of establishing historical verisimilitude, if not reality. Exemplifying the "contextual study of legal cases," which Simpson at one point describes as "legal archaeology" (p. 12), his researches point to previously unsuspected connections. The venerable property case long known simply as Shelley's Case (1581) may have been influenced by the policy against recusancy. *Priestley v. Fowler* (1837), denying an employer's liability for an employee's injury, is plausibly related to contemporary debates concerning the Poor Law. The Case of the Ship Peerless (1864), concerning cotton shipped from Bombay, is deftly located in the time of the Cotton Famine caused by the American Civil War.

Enriching and entertaining as it undoubtedly is, Simpson's archaeology raises serious questions, historical as well as legal. There is always a risk in assuming that a given judge knew what "everybody" knew at the time, although legal historians (myself included) routinely make that assumption. Furthermore, as Simpson explicitly acknowledges in his discussion of *Regina v. Keyn*, a case arising from the collision of the *Franconia*, judges are professionally obliged to disregard certain information, such as which outcome suits the powers that be. Indeed, the rule of law largely depends on their willingness and ability to screen out "extrinsic factors."

In terms of legal analysis, the question is paradoxi-

cally whether it really matters what the judges knew or even what actually moved them to decide as they did. With respect to Shelley's Case, for example, Simpson (in his earlier *History of the Land Law* [1986]) had explained it "by a judicial desire to favour freedom of alienation, and by a Royal desire to prevent the evasion of feudal obligations"; now, focused on the case itself, he suggests it may really have been about "upholding the intention of the patriarch" and "favouring the politically correct branch of the Shelley family against a dangerous papist" (p. 40). But this begs the question of why it became a leading case and why its rule proved so perdurable a feature of the common law. As the sages of another casuistic legal system put it: "He who believes that the ox in the Talmud is a real ox has not even begun to understand the *halakhah*."

JOHN V. ORTH

University of North Carolina

LAWRENCE MANLEY. *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 603. \$59.95.

The problem of explaining the English renaissance, the extraordinary line of literary masterpieces extending from Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) to John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667-1674) has engaged critics from at least the eighteenth century. Some have found the cause in the extraordinary character of Queen Elizabeth, others in the famous English victory over the Spanish Armada. Still others have looked to the common culture produced by the English adaptation of humanism, perhaps in combination with a uniquely local protestantism, or have looked toward long-term social and economic changes. More recently, there has been a move away from grand explanations toward detailed, local studies linking one or a group of literary works to particular historical events. By focusing on the growth of London as the cause or symptom (or both) of greater historical forces and by exploring the ways in which literature, seen both in generic terms and as the work of writers embedded in the historical process, was linked to the city's rise, Lawrence Manley has staked out a place alongside the structuralists and the other grand theorists of human progress. In so doing, he has rejected the anecdotalism of Stephen Greenblatt and his new historicist associates as well as the "local reading" of Leah Marcus and her followers.

Three major intersecting changes in the period ca. 1500-ca. 1670 ground the argument: the move from feudalism to capitalism; the shift to the absolutist state, which extended the power of the feudal aristocracy (though only by altering its form) while also allowing the growth of a bourgeoisie; and the very rapid rise of urbanization, especially in London. As the effects of these changes worked their way through society, observers and critics adapted or invented literary forms that reflected their understanding—however unconscious or inadequate—of what was oc-

curring around them. Early sixteenth-century humanism, for example, was one segment of an international phenomenon, but its principal English proponent, Sir Thomas More, was a London lawyer and official whose *Utopia* analyzed the relationship between cities and their surrounding countryside and showed what might be done when a society organized itself in such a way as to force its members to produce an agricultural surplus that might be used for the purposes of the state. The Tudor complaint, a literary form dominant in mid-century, went beyond lamenting the effects of the economic crisis of the 1540s and 1550s to examining the social place of the merchant. In so doing, these satirists generated a new model of society wherein the categories of court, city, and countryside replaced the medieval estates of knights, clergy, and commons—a change which helps to explain the subsequent passion for pastoralism or Arcadianism, a mode both critical and escapist.

Manley extends his argument by examining the languages of description used to conceptualize London and by an anthropologically influenced analysis of the processions, royal and urban, that wound their way through the city streets. As he reaches the end of the sixteenth century, Manley's argument becomes even more complex. Chapters on satire and on the deluge of moral pamphlets show these phenomena to be, as it were, distorted mirror-images of each other: the authors of formal satires were young men of good families and fortune, on the make in an increasingly competitive society, who believed that social criticism might draw attention to their talents. These were literary amateurs, writing in crabbed verse for a limited audience. By contrast, the authors of the cony-catching pamphlets and other London moralities, men like Thomas Nashe, Robert Greene, and Thomas Dekker, wrote in lively prose for more popular audiences. They aimed to replace the city preachers by tying their lessons more directly to the real concerns of Londoners. Yet both groups worked within a society that, though under pressure, remained in equilibrium. That situation began to change in the early seventeenth century as the royal court staked out an ever-increasing place in the metropolis, filling out the space between the economic power of the City of London in the east and the royal government in Westminster. London city comedy chronicled, lamented, and laughed at the change. But there was more to this than the physical birth of the West End, for the area came to be home to the aristocratic "choice souls" who created a Caroline sensibility, an august style of lyric and essay that was to continue, by way of anthology and miscellany, through the revolutionary years and beyond. Their writings were, quite literally, urbane: they had come to accept the phenomenon of London and limited their complaint to smoke and noise and (inevitably) the rapacity of the merchants. The mercantile Londoners, however, took their own revenge. Parallel to and contemporaneous with "augustanism" ran a stream of radical, republican writing, urbane in

its own way, produced by and for another elite, the morally select community. And so, inevitably, the book closes with John Milton and *Paradise Lost* and the new, restored world of Charles II.

Manley's book is hugely ambitious and correspondingly huge in size. It is thoughtful and often provocative; some of its readings are brilliantly instructive. Nevertheless, it is not, I think, altogether a success. The London lying at its center somehow lacks any sense of flesh and blood: it is the product of theory, not people. Such urban products as the corantos and newsbooks, catering to the growing passion for news and serving as well to link London to the rest of the country, hardly enter the picture. Finally, there is the question of Manley's theorizing. I can only say that I did not always find the mixture of (among other things) neo-Marxism, Turnerian anthropology, and Georg Simmel's sociology entirely convincing. The constant use of the word "overdetermined" to describe multiple causes seems to me symptomatic of a deep uneasiness. An occasionally clotted prose style does little to help a reader pushing forward to learn from a book full of sharp perceptions and good readings and willing to consider the challenges to preconceptions generated by the links Manley draws between literature and urban society.

F. J. LEVY

University of Washington

STEPHEN SAUNDERS WEBB. *Lord Churchill's Coup: The Anglo-American Empire and the Glorious Revolution Reconsidered*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1995. Pp. xiv, 399. \$30.00.

Stephen Saunders Webb's engaging and provocative book is the third in his trilogy of works investigating the contours of seventeenth-century Anglo-American imperial culture. Beginning with the central assumptions that "the politics of the Restoration were decidedly transatlantic" (p. 79) and that "the military were necessarily predominant in an underdeveloped polity" (p. 166), Webb sets his formidable analytical powers and awesome research skills to analyzing the revolution of 1688–1689. His central argument is that contrary to the triumphalist claims of the old Whig tradition, "the events of 1688" were no Glorious Revolution, nor were they evidence of a "sensible revolution"; in fact they constituted "no revolution" at all. "They were," according to Webb, "not even a revolt, whether by peers, parliament, or people. Instead King James and the counterreformation of the seventeenth century were overthrown by Lord Churchill's coup and Prince William's invasion" (p. 165). Webb's protagonist, John Churchill, was not only a career army officer but a profoundly religious Anglican. "It was his religion that had taken Lord Churchill from his duty to his king and put his military services at the disposal of an invader," argues Webb (p. 137). Webb, however, has little in common with other scholars who insist that the events of 1688–1689 can be

explained in religious terms. For him, the Glorious Revolution was a class revolution. Churchill's coup was carried out by a "new class" of state functionaries" throughout the British empire, military men drawn from "the upstart 'middling sort.'" Their ascent to aristocracy "transformed an ascriptive aristocracy into an oligarchy of achievement" (p. 26).

Webb's is a major achievement: he has produced a book that is at once provocative, engaging, and persuasive. Yet, his insistence on relying almost exclusively on a mountain of military manuscript sources skews his account in a number of ways. First, while Webb insists, rightly, that the events of 1688–1689 had profound ideological implications, he refuses to consider the possibility that they had ideological causes. In the Convention's debates over the settlement in 1689, Webb asserts, "arguments about social contract and parliamentary power, about providence and people, faded before the forcible fact of the Protestant putsch as the foundation for a change of regal command" (p. 173). This provocative claim is based less on a careful sifting of the evidence than on a short-shrifting of the lively and voluminous political discussions that characterized the later seventeenth century. Far from being economically "underdeveloped," England in the later seventeenth century was quickly becoming a leading commercial society. Political debate was coming to be less about "religious truth" than about interest (p. 266). Wealth, whether in the form of large populations or happy and prosperous populations, was widely thought to be the basis of political power. The origins of political society were debated in the newly fashionable coffee houses, in trade company committee rooms, on the merchant exchanges, as well as in country taverns and clerical sermons. Nor were these debates restricted to the aristocracy. Webb's characterization of the domestic upheavals in 1688 as "aristocratic risings" (p. 141) is not borne out by the plethora of correspondence in English county record offices and private collections. Aristocrats like the Earl of Devonshire and Lord Delamere led risings, to be sure, but there were popular agitations in London, York, and Carlisle, in Dorset and Lancashire. Merchants advanced huge sums to William in 1687 and 1688. Many more humble folk donated all they could to William as soon as they heard he had landed at Torbay. Not all these people agreed as to *why* they were getting rid of James II, but they all wanted to get rid of him or at least severely restrict his powers. Instead of seeing the army as the only site of political contestation, Webb would have done better to read the army coup as part and parcel of a larger ideological disaffection from James's regime.

Second, Webb's account of religious motivation seems undertheorized. Although there can be no doubt that religious belief played a central part in the mentalité of the vast majority of English men and women, it follows neither that their religiosity determined their politics nor that their religiosity was the same as that of their Elizabethan, Jacobean, or Caro-

line predecessors. A cursory glance at the responses to James II's canvass of the political nation in 1687–1688, at the voluminous pamphlet debate over the Declaration of Indulgence in those years, or at the discussions between Anglican and Dissenting clergy in 1688 would demonstrate that it was not the case that "religious toleration could only be sustained against the will of England's political nation by military force" (p. 126). Although it is true, as Webb shows throughout his book, that France was widely perceived to be England's greatest enemy, it is not true that Louis XIV's kingdom was perceived as the "national, religious, enemy" (p. 42). While there was a religious dimension to the events of 1688, that dimension was not identical to that of 1588, 1642, or even 1679–1681. In 1688–1689, most English men and women (including many Catholics) fought to defend the religion established by law, not religious truth. James II was overthrown not because he was a Catholic but because he was an anachronistic absolutist trying to rule a newly commercial society.

Third, while John Churchill is the protagonist of Webb's story, his political ideology is often elusive. He was educated in the principles of "religious royalism and Protestant patriotism" (p. 17). After a career serving as James II's favorite army officer, Churchill emerged in 1685 espousing "ever more moderate politics" (p. 97). By 1687, however, Churchill began plotting his decisive coup, motivated by his "Protestant principles" (p. 147). After 1688, however, he became one of the leading "tory imperialists" (pp. 179, 230), at one point flirting with Jacobitism (p. 245). All along, Churchill was married to the woman who would become one of the most successful defenders of the Whigs in Queen Anne's reign. I am not suggesting that Churchill's twists and turns are improbable, rather that they need more ideological exposition. Perhaps by setting Churchill alongside his close friend the Marquis of Halifax and his Trimmer coterie—men who were in fact committed to a form of religious tolerance—Webb might be able to say something very interesting about the divisions and developments in Anglican political thought in the Restoration.

Finally, Webb's model of politics—that the North American colonies were "England's political laboratories" (p. 41)—needs some modification. There can be no doubt, and here Webb has really done a great service, that events in America were intimately related to political and religious developments in England. But to assert that they were fostered by the same ideological groups and the same class seems to be going too far. In New England, for example, there was no revolution against a Catholic regime by a moderate Anglican populace. Instead, a devoutly Anglican governor, Sir Edmond Andros, was overthrown by revolutionaries, many of whom were Congregationalists. Indeed, Increase Mather, whose old-fashioned insistence on the primacy of religious identity had led him to collaborate with James II's Catholic solicitor Robert Brent in a single-minded pursuit of toleration at the

expense of civil liberty, emerged temporarily triumphant. This is not to say that Webb's attack on American exceptionalism is wrongheaded—indeed, I think he is to be applauded—but rather to suggest that the unifying theme of 1688–1689 was not opposition to Catholicism and James II's religious policies but rather opposition to his absolutism.

Despite these reservations, there is no doubt that Webb has produced an extremely important book. No longer will English historians be able to discuss the events of 1688–1689 in Anglocentric terms; no longer will they be able to ignore developments in Europe or in the Americas. No longer can historians or sociologists afford to ignore developments in the seventeenth-century Anglo-American world in their accounts of the construction of the modern. This book should also stimulate debate. Perhaps if Webb's military men are set against the rest of English society, they will appear less unusual, and then the events in which Churchill played such an important part will seem less like a coup and more like a revolution.

STEVE PINCUS
University of Chicago

CHARLES TILLY. *Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1758–1834*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 476. \$49.95.

In this ambitious book, more than twenty years in the making, Charles Tilly attempts to trace and explain the changing features of popular contention over seven and a half of some of the most tumultuous decades in modern British history. This is done principally by means of a compilation and examination of more than 8,000 contentious public gatherings of ten persons or more, both peaceful and disorderly, from the Seven Years' War to the aftermath of the Great Reform Act. In that period, Tilly sees a profound alteration in the character of popular politics from an eighteenth-century repertoire of contention—described as “parochial,” “bifurcated,” and “particular”—to forms of political claims-making more akin to those in our own time—“cosmopolitan,” “modular,” and “autonomous.” What is at issue is nothing less than how to understand certain vital dimensions of Britain's protracted transition to democracy.

It is hardly surprising, and therefore perhaps too much should not be made of it, that large areas of popular contention remain beyond the scope of the study. The choice of public gatherings as the key measure with which to gauge the rise of organized, large-scale, national political movements results in the relegation of such phenomena as the factory regulation, the educational reform, and, most importantly, the anti-slavery movements to the very margins of the analysis. By the same token, and at the other end of the spectrum of contention, public gatherings fail to encompass more individualistic and often violent challenges to authority such as arson, machine-breaking, and cattle-maiming. This would be less significant in an

assessment of Tilly's argument if it were not for the fact that he is possibly too ready to dismiss public episodes of violence after 1834 as merely retrograde and atypical, even though these would have to include the anti-Poor Law riots, the Newport Rising, the Rebecca Riots, and the Plug Plot disturbances, not to mention the persistence of arson in the countryside and the prominence of a physical-force leadership within Chartism.

These observations may well be regarded by some as mere quibbles in comparison to the kind of criticism that can and probably will be directed toward the work's database and its supporting methodology. Tilly is largely effective in addressing anticipated criticisms of his use of contemporary periodical literature as the predominant source of his information on contentious gatherings. He is just slightly less so in defending his decision to select only thirteen scattered years in the whole period from 1758 to 1827 for detailed and quantitative examination. The related issue of geographical coverage, however, is quite another, much more problematic matter. In those thirteen selected years, only London and four surrounding counties are surveyed; thus, only from 1828 to 1834 is all of Britain examined in a systematic manner. Among other things, this obscures what were probably significant regional variations in the earlier period; greatly overrepresents London while undervaluing the northern centers in some of the most formative years of mass public contention, especially those following the Napoleonic Wars; and overemphasizes the importance of changes in the state and of organized political movements for the history of contention at the expense of transformations in the economy and of confrontations, organized and otherwise, between workers and employers. It does not help matters that the data presented on the thousands of contentious gatherings do not in general include material on their class or occupational composition.

Tilly recognizes and concedes some of these shortcomings but insists nonetheless on the validity of his view that a sea change of momentous proportions and character occurred in popular contention in this period. On these, the essential points, he is utterly convincing. The mass of information, the conceptual sophistication of the analysis, and the inexorable quality of the argument, even if somewhat repetitious, leave little doubt of the need for historians to rethink many of the features of what may be regarded as the democratization and regularization of public claims-making on those in charge of the state. Those historians who become engaged in such a reassessment will be compelled in particular to address Tilly's courteous and qualified rejection of explanations for change that proceed from an interpretation of transformations in popular mentalité and culture. Although concerned with plebeian interests, crowd behavior, and proletarian perspectives, he offers, rather than a “history from below,” a model of change built squarely on an analysis of huge, often impersonal, driving forces: the growth

of the state, the accumulation and concentration of capital, the proletarianization of the working population, and the incremental development of organizational forms and techniques of public interaction, involving actors from both the top and the bottom of society.

This gives to the book its comprehensive and exhaustive character. While Tilly relies heavily on the work of others to construct his general view of the period, he organizes and interprets that work in a way that renders it directly germane to his original and provocative interpretations of popular contention. It is, altogether, a considerable achievement and an apt monument to the industry of the many researchers who aided him in gathering the primary evidence for the book. Especially noteworthy in this regard is the fact that he has made available to others the hard-won fruits of this research, ready access to which is laid out in an informative appendix.

PETER DUNKLEY
Georgetown University

PETER SPENCE. *The Birth of Romantic Radicalism: War, Popular Politics and English Radical Reformism, 1800–1815*. Brookfield, Vt.: Scolar. 1996. Pp. ix, 277. \$74.95.

The 1790s are a well-studied period of British political history. Less so are the years 1800–1815, which, according to Peter Spence, witnessed a significant transition in the British political ethos labelled “romanticism.” This transition entailed the rejection of Jacobinism, popular support for the war effort, and a new veneration for the church and monarchy. In response to this shift in popular temperament, radicals developed their own romantic ideology to legitimate the cause of reform. “Romantic radicalism” was born out of the Westminster election campaign of Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane in 1807, William Cobbett’s brand of “loyalist” radicalism, the demise of the Ministry of All the Talents and radicals’ loss of faith in the Whig rump, and nationalist demands for success in the war against Napoleonic France. Between 1811 and 1815, however, romantic radicalism’s strength diminished because of government repression, Britain’s improved showing in the peninsular campaign, and public perceptions of the lack of public and private virtue among radical leaders. Or so Spence argues.

Spence’s thesis has at least three major difficulties. First, his definition of “romanticism” is rather circumscribed, associated too exclusively with Edmund Burke’s gothic rendering of Britain’s organic constitutional development. But romanticism is a notoriously difficult term to pin down, as important to French revolutionaries’ appropriations of Jean-Jacques Rousseau as to British loyalism or radicalism. Moreover, Spence has to stretch the term in odd ways to cover fully even such an obvious subject as Cobbett, whose organicism combined with a strong dose of egalitarianism that this account ignores. Certainly, Major John

Cartwright’s view of the ancient constitution is not Burke’s. And one wonders what Jeremy Bentham made of his protégé Francis Place’s supposedly pragmatic embrace of romantic radicalism.

Secondly, Spence narrowly identifies “radicalism” with a few leaders, predominantly parliamentary efforts, and London. At points, this radicalism links up with popular currents, for example, in the OP (old price) riots at Covent Garden Theatre or when Burdett took up the cause of John Gale Jones, the Jacobin proprietor of the British Forum debating club. But, generally, Spence’s form of radicalism does not take in plebeian haunts such as taverns, debating clubs, or chapels, the radical “underworld” that Iain McCalman has recovered (*Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries, and Pornographers in London, 1795–1840* [1988]). Moreover, there is a crucial link to another strain of romanticism that runs from Constantin-François Volney’s visionary *Ruins of Empires* (1791), Percy Bysshe Shelley’s *Queen Mab* (1813), and Lord Byron’s *Cain* (1821) and *The Vision of Judgement* (1822) to a plebeian radical culture of the postwar years (1815 through the early 1820s). Thirdly, Spence does not need to apologize for attempting to connect the diverse fields of the history of ideas, literature, and popular politics, because he does no such thing.

This is unfortunate, because an important book could be written on “romantic radicalism.” That said, Spence’s book has redeeming virtues. He includes a good chapter, for example, on the scandal surrounding the Duke of York, Britain’s commander-in-chief, and the extraordinary Mary Anne Clarke, his enterprising mistress who trafficked in military commissions. Radicals effectively exploited this scandal to expose corruption in high places and underscore the relationship between private and public virtue, although this may seem closer to an evangelical than a romantic critique of moral character, and Parliament’s willingness to investigate allegations against the Duke may actually have increased its own and the government’s prestige. By focusing on a fairly short period, Spence also misses the links with both earlier and later sexual scandal-mongering by radical publishers such as Charles Pigott and William Benbow and the way such radical erotica touched on the Enlightenment’s underside. Spence provides part of the political story for the years 1800–1815, but his book is limited in both its conceptual and chronological reach.

JAMES EPSTEIN
Vanderbilt University

MICHAEL MUSGRAVE. *The Musical Life of the Crystal Palace*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 272. \$54.95.

The Crystal Palace was among the most powerful symbols of Victorian ambition and achievement. The name conjures up images of huge crowds flocking to an immense glass and iron building in Hyde Park in 1851 to visit “The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry

of All Nations" and marvel at the greatness of Britain. Much less known is the Crystal Palace's long history in Sydenham, south London, to which it was removed after the exhibition closed and where it provided a cultural, educational, and recreational facility of unprecedented scope until its spectacular destruction by fire in November 1936.

Michael Musgrave illuminates for the first time the vital role the Crystal Palace played in the development of music in Britain. Although not designed to accommodate music, for over eight decades the Crystal Palace offered a remarkably varied range of musical performances: symphonic music of the highest quality, great choral performances, recitals, popular religious concerts, competition and celebratory festivals, opera, operetta, brass band concerts, ballad concerts, and performances by choirs of school children.

The list of people associated with music-making at the Crystal Palace reads like a veritable "Who's Who": Michael Costa, August Manns, Hans Richter, Clara Schumann, George Grove, Anton Rubinstein, Joseph Joachim, Franz Liszt, Pablo Sarasate, Cecile Chaminade, Ethel Smyth, Thomas Beecham, and Edward Elgar, not to mention Frederick Dawson, a distinguished pianist and my grand-uncle (p. 110).

"In frequency, standards of performance, and range of repertory, especially of new music, the orchestral concerts of the Crystal Palace offered the major impetus to the development of British musical life" (p. 67). A permanent orchestra and afternoon concerts on weekdays and especially Saturdays became famous for their quality and bold approach to repertory. Under the direction of Manns and then Richter, musicians and audiences were exposed to the greatest works in the European classical repertoire and introduced to new works by British and foreign composers and to most of the major solo artists of the day.

The book covers all aspects of music, from the types of music played to issues of repertory, performance, reception, printed programs, audiences, infrastructure supports, education, and the emergence of music as a public activity in a mass society. Musgrave pays considerable attention to choral music, which he considers one of the unifying features of nineteenth-century English musical life. Choral performances at the Crystal Palace, particularly great triennial Handel festivals under such remarkable directors as Costa (1857–1880) and Manns (1883–1904) featured a gigantic organ, choirs of 2,000–3,000, orchestras of over 400, and audiences of 20,000. The festivals for years were hugely thrilling events that introduced the music of Handel to thousands to whom it had hitherto been unknown. Musgrave points out that music-making on such a large scale would have been impossible without such Victorian technological and organizational achievements as efficient railway, postal, telegraph, catering, printing, and advertising systems.

Readers interested in women's history will learn of the increase in the number of women performers in Handel festival orchestras. Costa would have none, but

Manns increased their number from eight in 1891 to sixty-eight in 1900, most of them string players. In the choir, the traditional male alto section dwindled from 418 in 1859 to twenty-three in 1903. Similarly, in orchestral concerts the Palace welcomed women with increasing frequency as solo instrumentalists and even composers.

Although the Crystal Palace was intended to attract all classes, until the 1890s performance schedules and the cost of tickets dictated patronage by the middle ranks (including many ladies). Only when audience numbers began to decline in the face of innovative orchestral and other concerts in central London and a growing consumer culture that offered an increasing array of cultural and recreational options were efforts made to cultivate a wider spectrum of society.

Musgrave's well-written text is interspersed liberally with excellent illustrations and is followed by appendices that detail Handel festival programs, personnel in the Saturday Orchestra, works by British and non-British composers given first performances in the Saturday concerts, and brass band competition winners. The copious notes to the book's twelve chapters demonstrate Musgrave's painstaking analysis of concert programs and his knowledge of the literature on music history. Regrettably, he examines little published after 1987 or dealing with social history more broadly.

Minor errors include the date of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee—1897 not 1894 (p. 163)—and the name of the first secretary to the Privy Council committee on education—James, not John, Kay-Shuttleworth (pp. 259–60 n19). Much more significant is the lack of a concluding chapter that draws the main points together and provides a cogent analysis of their significance. Instead, the book ends abruptly after a chapter on "Great Popular Festivals," leaving readers with a feeling of unfinished business.

All things considered, however, Musgrave's book makes a valuable contribution to music, social, and cultural history. As the author intended, it illuminates significant and hitherto neglected aspects of the history of music in England and the history of one of Britain's most legendary and definitive buildings.

KATHLEEN E. MCCRONE
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DEBORAH GORHAM. *Vera Brittain: A Feminist Life*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1996. Pp. x, 330. \$34.95.

Vera Brittain has come to hold almost mythic status in the imaginations of people interested in British history and feminist literature in the first half of the twentieth century. Her classic wartime memoir, *Testament of Youth* (1933), has been read avidly by countless scholars and students; a BBC television production brought to millions of British and American viewers the poignant drama of her experiences of love and loss during the Great War. Historians of twentieth-century British feminism have given Brittain a preeminent place in

their analyses, while feminist literary scholars have dissected her fiction and her relationship with her intimate companion, Winifred Holtby, in an effort to understand both.

Brittain contributed mightily to the near obsession feminist scholars appear to have with her by producing a wide array of articles, letters, novels, essays, diaries, and autobiographical accounts through which she narrated the story of her life and of her politics. By turns haughty, arrogant, self-serving, and disingenuous; meticulous, self-critical, candid, and unflinchingly honest; insensitive, unkind, and utterly compelling, Brittain offered herself up as a kind of morality tale of the crises and dramatic transformations of the twentieth century. Still, despite her best efforts—and this may explain the persistence of her presence in our work—Vera Brittain seems to remain essentially inaccessible to us, an unknown, shadowy figure obscured by a mountain of confessional material.

Until now, that is. For readers of Brittain's autobiographical works—*Testament of Youth*, *Testament of Friendship* (1940), *Testament of Experience* (1957), and *A Chronicle of Youth: War Diary, 1913–1917* (1981; Alan Bishop and Terry Smart, eds.)—who, like me, have been baffled and frustrated by the obfuscations and inconsistencies contained within them, Deborah Gorham's long-awaited biography will prove a tonic. Gorham's immersion in the Brittain archive has enabled her to piece together and clarify for the reader the circumstances surrounding many of the most puzzling episodes mentioned in Brittain's memoirs. For instance, late in the war, Brittain's father called her home from her nursing assignment in France to care for her mother, who had fallen ill. In *Testament of Youth*, Brittain railed bitterly against the Victorian and Edwardian precepts that compelled a daughter simply to drop what she was doing to attend to family matters, a jeremiad that reflected her deep and sincere feminist beliefs. But, in a gesture that I have never been able to understand and that my undergraduate students never fail to remark on, she went, breaking her contract with the Voluntary Aid Detachment at a time when her services could not have been easily replaced. The alacrity with which Brittain chose to place her parents' domestic needs above those of wounded and dying soldiers in France is rendered all the more inexplicable by the chilly and detached way in which she wrote about her mother. Not once throughout *Testament of Youth* does Brittain name her mother, Edith. Most of the time she simply appears as an obstacle to Brittain's ambitions. But, as Gorham makes clear, Brittain enjoyed a warm and close relationship with her supportive mother, however conflicted it may have been at times. Edith Brittain's claims on her daughter's attentions during her illness derived from more than mere duty.

Similarly, Brittain's account of her courtship by and marriage to G. E. G. (Gordon) Caitlin, to whom she refers in *Testament of Youth* only as "G.," leaves the reader maddeningly in the dark as to its tenor and

flavor. We learn nothing about her relationship with Caitlin, a situation that, no doubt, has fueled some of the speculation that the relationship between Brittain and Holtby went beyond friendship. (Gorham not very satisfactorily argues that as there is no evidence in the letters of any erotic component to their relationship, it cannot qualify as lesbian.) Gorham tells us that Caitlin insisted that passages detailing their marriage and its struggles be excised from *Testament of Youth*. Her depiction of the complexities and unorthodoxies involved in what Brittain called her "semi-detached marriage" to Caitlin and the shared living arrangements she and Caitlin made with Holtby makes for compelling reading.

Gorham has written an important life of Vera Brittain that scholars and students of the period will not want to miss. She has drawn a more complete and thus sympathetic portrait of this elusive figure than has existed to date, and her prodigious research fills many a gap left by her subject's own tellings. Gorham's admiration for Brittain has perhaps led her to overstate the literary quality of some of her novels (the tedious *Honourable Estate: A Novel of Transition* [1936] most notably) and to defend—unnecessarily, as it can surely stand on its own—her signature work, *Testament of Youth*. But these are very small matters in a work of significance. Vera Brittain would be gratified by Gorham's biography; we, for our part, can be grateful.

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DEBORAH LAVIN. *From Empire to International Commonwealth: A Biography of Lionel Curtis*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 373. \$85.00.

Recently, the study of the British imperial experience, particularly in the United States, seems to have fallen under the sway of critical theory, literary studies, feminist studies, anthropology, and postcolonial theory. Although such studies have undoubtedly helped to revive the corpse of British imperial history and led to new and exciting interdisciplinary research, some of the impenetrable prose and jargon employed has surely put off a lot of "traditional" historians of the empire. For such people, Deborah Lavin's biography of Lionel Curtis will come as blessed relief, for she has written a straightforward narrative biography that is both thoughtful and fair, if not exactly psychologically penetrating. That any biography of Curtis exists at all is amazing, since he never wanted a biography written and earlier projects had been abandoned. Even the manuscript of the book under review was twice lost through theft and fire. If nothing else, Lavin deserves the highest praise for persistence in the face of adversity in finally producing a biography of a man not well known to most Americans whose career was synonymous with the British Empire and Commonwealth for much of the twentieth century.

Who was Lionel Curtis? Was he the visionary who wanted to transform the empire-commonwealth into a multinational federation that, in conjunction with the United States, would serve as a model for a united Europe and even world government? Or was he "an imperial crank on the lunatic fringe"? (p. ix). Was he truly a prophet or just hopelessly naïve about human nature? Curtis was born in 1872, the same year as Bertrand Russell, and died in 1955 on the eve of the Suez crisis. He enlisted with the Cyclists section of the Inns of Court Volunteers and served in the second Anglo-Boer War. While in South Africa, Curtis gained stature as a member of Sir Alfred Milner's kindergarten. But he is particularly known for his advocacy of a new and, for the time, racially enlightened federation of South Africa that would include Rhodesia and the protectorates. From this moment until his death, one vision possessed him: that federation on commonwealth principles was the universal answer to ethnic and international conflicts. An organically united British commonwealth would serve as the model for *civitas dei* on earth. Back in Britain, Curtis founded the Round-Table think-tank, a pressure group dedicated to his ideas. He also founded the Royal Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House and the Oxford Society. As early as 1912, he advocated self-government for India. In 1921, he was instrumental in attempting to calm the Troubles by treating Ireland as if it were a self-governing commonwealth dominion. Friends described Curtis as an overpowering presence, whether peddling his ideas on the commonwealth while fund-raising among practical, hard-boiled business types or lecturing on the funeral oration of Pericles to undergraduates as Beit Lecturer in Colonial History at Oxford. As he aged, his reputation, quoting Lavin, became that of the "Ancient Mariner—a windbag with an imperious eye who had bored anyone at the drop of a hat with prophecies about world government and reminiscences about South Africa" (p. x). His last mission was to Cyprus, where he attempted to come up with a solution to the ethnic conflict between Greeks and Turks.

Great man or crank? Lavin is judicious in her final assessment of Curtis. He could be effective, pragmatic, and very influential at times, yet his prophetic and ethical vision that all will come out right in the best of all possible worlds seems hopelessly naïve. Would all of humankind share his faith in, or even desire, a Hegelian destiny of the English-speaking peoples elevating the world and leading it to *civitas dei*? No one hears much about the commonwealth these days. For Lavin, "Herein lay Curtis's unique talent: he managed to keep the idea to the forefront of every argument for fifty years, bringing in not only Irishmen, Indians, Australians, Canadians, Rhodesians, and Cypriots, but eventually the Chinese, the Americans, and the Europeans as well. It was the greatest of his stunts" (p. 331).

This is an excellent biography of a complex figure, but little of the private, interior man comes out. Given his obsessiveness, perhaps he did not have much of a

private life. Too many biographers engage in psychological overkill and outright sleaze, so perhaps Lavin is correct in sticking to the public man.

RICHARD A. VOELTZ
Cameron University

KENT FEDOROWICH. *Unfit for Heroes: Reconstruction and Soldier Settlement in the Empire between the Wars*. (Studies in Imperialism.) New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1995. Pp. xi, 243. \$69.95.

This is the first comprehensive treatment of the various British, Canadian, South African, Australian, and New Zealand efforts to resettle the empire's returning soldiers after World War I. Kent Fedorowich has been assiduous in his pursuit of evidence, and the book is firmly and impressively anchored in a vast range of documentary materials culled from archives in London and throughout the former dominions.

The motives behind the launching of settlement schemes in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand were mixed. To a degree, they originated in a desire to acknowledge indebtedness to those who had fought in the war, but the returning soldiery was also viewed as a probable bastion against bolshevism if treated generously by the state. The common desire to settle the soldiers on the land was an attempt to recreate that mythic yeoman class that would provide both a patriotic British backbone in the rapidly developing new lands and also a much needed stability. The British planners and exponents, particularly British race patriots such as Alfred Milner and Leopold Amery, saw the settlement of British and dominion veterans on the land as a means of strengthening the bonds of empire. In their view, this was particularly necessary in South Africa, which was in danger of slipping inexorably under the control of Afrikaner nationalists opposed to a tightening—or even the maintenance—of the imperial linkage.

In six cogent chapters, Fedorowich scrupulously examines the assumptions, attitudes, and ideals of the leading exponents of resettlement in Great Britain and the dominions. He pays careful attention to both private and governmental undertakings and teases out the role and significance of key civil servants, well-placed private advocates/entrepreneurs, and political figures. He uses the available financial and statistical evidence to good effect and provides a firm picture of the extent of the expenditures involved and the overall fortunes of the various schemes.

The tale he has to tell is a damning one. It is replete with governmental in-fighting (especially in Australia between the federal and state governments), gross exaggerations of the potential of available lands, ill-prepared and ill-informed settlers, and inadequate planning at all levels. Fedorowich also emphasizes the devastating impact of the postwar depression, high interest rates, and falling prices for such key agricultural products as wheat. Caught in a capital-intensive,

slow return, high interest-rate conundrum, often without adequate farm background or the necessary physical strength and skills, the majority of settlers did not last long on the dominion frontiers, and the exodus was further hastened by the depression of the 1930s. These developments forced the dominions to come to grips with new economic realities and to reexamine their relationship to the mother country in an atmosphere of gathering dominion nationalism.

This is a well-written, clearly argued analysis that makes an important contribution to the history of the British Empire-Commonwealth.

JOHN KENDLE
University of Manitoba

MELANIE TEBBUTT. *Women's Talk? A Social History of "Gossip" in Working-Class Neighbourhoods, 1880-1960*. Brookfield, Vt.: Scolar. 1995. Pp. viii, 206. \$59.95.

Melanie Tebbutt's book is not really a study of "gossip" as such but an ethnography of working-class women in England during the first half of the twentieth century. Its richness of detail and attentiveness to context may well give it the kind of classic status achieved by Robert Roberts's memoir of Salford, *The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* (1971), a book that serves Tebbutt as a model. Tebbutt has little of Roberts's ability to evoke a setting in a few lines, however, and many of her points are veiled in a haze of verbosity and obscure sociological jargon.

Tebbutt sets out to demonstrate that "gossip"—what working-class women said to each other as they congregated at their doorsteps and in the streets and shops—functioned as a social cement, holding these women together in a solidarity group against males and the outside world. The solidarity of gossip would finally erode as the slums gave way to housing estates after World War II and as the nuclear family, with its ties of sentiment and devotion, triumphed over the female collectivity. To tell this essentially quite dramatic story, Tebbutt makes good use of the numerous oral history archives that have captured the more recent history of these otherwise forgotten women. She draws in particular on the Manchester Studies Tape Collection, the Ordsall Local History Group Tapes, the Oral History Archive of Lancaster University, and miscellaneous interviews and collections from other settings. Tebbutt is also quite at home in the huge primary literature of middle-class philanthropists' reports and memoirs. She succeeds in evoking this particular world that we might have lost.

Tebbutt's argument is two-edged: gossip was a source of strength in dealing with poverty and uncertainty, indeed, a weapon against wife abuse, because the neighbor wives would turn against the abuser; but gossip could control the lives of the women in an oppressive way "when used to reinforce stereotypical expectations of female behaviour" (p. 183). In the introduction, she traces the changes in male definitions

of gossip across the ages, from its being seen as a friendly chat over a pint to the perjorative dismissal of it as women's talk. Samuel Johnson canonized the connection between women and gossip, defining a gossip as "One who runs about tattling like women at a laying-in" (p. 22). Yet, it was the rigors of industrialism after Johnson's time that took men from the home, leaving the women behind to cope with misery. Women developed social skills to survive, and among these skills was gossip.

In the book's central chapters, Tebbutt explores the function of gossip in defining female community. The role of gossip was to keep out such pariahs as loose women and unmarried mothers and to fence in others with a panoply of strictures about clean houses and tidy front doorsteps. Differentiating proper working-class women from the "rough poor" was the function of such ethnographic fêtes as the competition for the cleanest steps. "The house should be spic and span from top to bottom. Everything had to be tidy," Tebbutt's respondents reported. "It was who can have the nicest step in the street" (p. 82). The downside of gossip was that it limited women's behavior to the most prudish kinds of conformity and offered women an inadequate medical subculture. Seeking appropriate medical advice about the damage caused by childbirth, for example, was discouraged.

Towering over the women's solidarity group were the matriarchs, their "conformist disposition . . . safeguarding the neighbourhood against the questionable, unsafe world outside" (p. 70). In the realm of "women judging women" (p. 78), Tebbutt offers harrowing passages on the ostracism and persecution of the deviant. The ruthless conformity of the gossip group provides a cold shower for those who get carried away by romantic notions of "women's speech."

In the interwar years, life began to change. Young people started socializing outside "the street," and the power of the matriarchy was broken. Outsiders took over some territory as well. "Child related issues which had once been the exclusive preserve of women were increasingly coopted by the state and medical professionals" (p. 150). The helping professions made the family independent of the female bonding group, and only traces of it lingered in such soap operas as "Coronation Street."

It is distracting that Tebbutt sees herself as an apologist for her working-class clientele, attributing all their shortcomings to "frustration and lack of status and power" (p. 64). Even more distracting is her scorn for the men of the period: virtually all of them appear in these pages as brutish and uncaring. A typical example: "Male conversation has been defined as an individualistic, aggressive form based on competitiveness and a preoccupation with things" (p. 13). And women's conversation? She describes it as "concerned with people and feelings, consolidating friendship and supporting a group viewpoint" (p. 14). This one-sided interpretation runs throughout, blinkering Tebbutt from some very interesting questions. Did working-

class life in these exploding cities represent a "culture of poverty," preserving dysfunction and disorganization? Are we dealing with working-class solidarity in the face of industrialism or feminist solidarity in the face of masculine oppression? If the latter, why are these women all so hard on one another? The simplicity of Tebbutt's equation—poor plus female equals good—cries out for deeper analysis.

EDWARD SHORTER
University of Toronto

ANTONY BEST. *Britain, Japan and Pearl Harbor: Avoiding War in East Asia, 1936–41*. New York: Routledge, in association with the London School of Economics. 1995. Pp. xii, 260.

This work, according to its blurb, "will be of great interest to historians of British foreign policy and East Asia in the twentieth century." Translated from English understatement, that should properly read "Antony Best's book will be essential reading for anyone concerned with power and diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific region during the twentieth century." It will be particularly essential to specialists in the field.

Too often, scholars assume that only one highway leads to the Pacific War, the road to Pearl Harbor. In fact, the causes of the war can be viewed just as easily from the road to Singapore, where familiar sights take on a different shape. Japan and the United States stand almost alone on the road to Pearl Harbor, but they are only two among many peaks alongside that to Singapore, rarely blocking other Asian and European states from view and never overshadowing the mightiest colonial empire, Great Britain. Nor is this perspective false. One cause—perhaps the most fundamental—for the Pacific War was a struggle between the revisionist power of the Pacific, Japan, and the champion of the status quo in Asia, Great Britain. Best's work will be fundamental to any understanding of that struggle and its consequences.

Best addresses British policy toward Japan and its strategy in the Asia-Pacific region between 1936 and 1941 in broad terms, but he focuses particularly on decision making in the Foreign Office and the cabinet. His archival research is thorough, both among the usual suspects (FO 371s, PREMS, and CABs) and more obscure ones such as the records of the Treasury, the Board of Trade, and the Ministry of Economic Warfare. Nor is this the least of his archival achievements. One of Best's central concerns is to uncover traces of the intelligence record (especially regarding British success against Japanese codes), much of which has been deliberately destroyed by the "weeders" of Her Majesty's archives, and to determine how intelligence affected policy.

In this project, Best chalks up two successes and one failure. His construction of the fragmentary record on intelligence is admirable in quality, and he has incorporated it into his narrative with effect. This is, however, only the start of any study of intelligence. In

order to complete it, one must determine the nexus of perceptions through which individual pieces of intelligence were assessed and explain how information and estimate affected action. Here, Best goes far but not as far as he might. He reconstructs the record well, which is remarkable in itself, and he shows how some decision makers viewed certain pieces of information, but he does not explain why they did so and why they so often misinterpreted that information. In particular, he does not explain why, in the autumn of 1941, British analysts entirely misunderstood Japanese resolution and intentions.

In great detail and through sophisticated analysis, Best outlines his interpretation. From 1936 to 1941 Britain sought to maintain all its holdings against a Japanese challenge that first targeted peripheral economic interests and ultimately struck at its empire as a whole. Despite some pressure from official bodies, successive British governments refused to buy off Japan through major concessions such as easing restrictions on Japanese exports or accepting some form of Japanese dominion in China. They also failed to use fleeting opportunities to change Japanese policy, get out of Japan's way, or prepare for attack. Best indicates, through implication rather than direct statement, that only major concessions could have moved Japan off the road to Singapore, and that no British government could have made them. These are important claims, but they need more proof than they receive here.

Best nonetheless demonstrates with unparalleled force how British actions led to the Japanese attack on Singapore. Britain dominated Southeast Asia without being able to defend the area against Japan, and it used that dominion to harm Japanese interests. In his most striking section, Best shows that bleeding Japan's economy was both an aim and an unintended effect of Britain's blockade of Germany during 1939–1942. He demonstrates, too, how much this hurt Japan. This combination of intransigence, menace, and weakness made the British Empire a target for a Japanese elite that was itself fluctuating between exaltation, miscalculation, and desperation. The Japanese sought the creation either of an Asian or a world empire, but of nothing less.

Any work of this scale and success must raise more questions than answers. Best's work is bounded by the need for deeper analysis on several sides. He explains that British statesmen refused to sacrifice much to appease Japan but not why they had such confidence in their power against Japan. More attention to strategic matters would have improved this part of his analysis. British decision makers expected to face peril at sea between 1938 and 1941, followed by a sharp and sudden rise in their maritime power relative to that of Japan, Germany, and Italy. There was force to this view as long as seapower was measured in capital ships and programs to build them. From this sprang British confidence in its strength and also its unwillingness to appease Japan. Why make permanent concessions to

solve problems that stemmed from passing conditions of weakness?

Again, why did the Foreign Office adopt attitudes that led Britain into such a disaster? Why were its specialists on East Asia so wrong on issues so fundamental? Why did a British government with such good sources of intelligence so misread Japan? What were Whitehall's perceptions of Japanese power and intentions? How did these shape its reading of intelligence and its acting on events? Beyond all that lies a deeper issue of causation, as Best's title indicates: how did Britain's efforts to maintain peace in Asia produce war in the Pacific?

Best's assessment of Britain's contribution to these events is plausible, but not his account of Japan. He represents the Japanese elite in the later 1930s as virtually economic animals motivated only by a desire to gain access to markets and materials; they are portrayed almost as free traders driven to war solely because that was their only remaining lever to force Britain into trade negotiations. It is good that Best challenges the demonization of the Japanese elite as the sole cause of the Pacific war but unfortunate that this leads him to underestimate their desire for power and their will to achieve it through force if necessary.

JOHN FERRIS
University of Calgary

JERRY H. BROOKSHIRE. *Clement Attlee*. New York: Manchester University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 257. \$59.95.

Clement Richard Attlee, leader of the Labour Party for twenty years, deputy to Winston Churchill during World War II, and prime minister after the war, is very much an acquired historical taste. "He was as British as Oxford, warm beer, or cold toast" runs one quip. For the devotee, however, wine comes more readily to mind. Like the best (red) wine, Attlee improves with age and contemplation. In the past fifteen years, his life and career have provoked two full-length studies: my own book (*Clement Attlee* [1985]) and Kenneth Harris's authorized biography (*Attlee* [1982]). Jerry H. Brookshire has now added a third volume, and Attlee's reputation continues to prosper.

Brookshire's aim is "to provide a biography of moderate length useful both to introductory readers and to knowledgeable readers seeking new perspectives" (p. 2). He seeks to demonstrate that Attlee "successfully integrated socialist principles and the British parliamentary political system" (pp. 5-6). These are tall orders. The trouble with Attlee as a biographical subject is twofold: he had a long and active political life, and direct personal evidence is comparatively thin on the ground. The result in the present case is less a biography than a series of analytical surveys of different facets of Attlee's career, with the main emphasis naturally being on his role as prime minister.

This is not a book for the beginner: only someone already familiar with the background will readily fol-

low the abrupt shifts in topics and chronology, despite several repetitious passages. Brookshire's literary style, moreover, is often self-conscious and slipshod: in general the editing is surprisingly loose for a university press. But "knowledgeable readers" are in for a treat. There are new perspectives, the analysis is critical as well as appreciative, and, above all, the research is first class. Taken as a whole, this book should establish Brookshire as the leading American authority on its subject.

Brookshire makes a happy beginning by defining what socialism meant to Attlee: a never-ending quest for social justice based more on ethics than economics. Ultimately, this human community could not be achieved by legislation, as it was a spiritual conception. The task of government was to improve the living conditions favorable to a greater social harmony. The latter, according to Attlee, was a typically British concern that predated Karl Marx. Indeed, it was the antithesis of Marxism: it represented, or was an expression of, human desire for freedom. It derived logically and historically from nineteenth-century political liberalism and Enlightenment philosophy. Attlee's socialism was thus nondogmatic and practical. Brookshire cogently comments: "No wonder [Attlee] disdained others' insistence that only a certain policy—in foreign affairs, social services, economic planning, workers' control in the workplace, or whatever—was 'socialist'" (p. 12).

Attlee's pragmatic socialism established, Brookshire is free to organize his book into rapid, well-informed, and often acute sketches of Attlee's contributions, in word and deed, to his party and his country's welfare. He brings out three major points: the Labour leader's sense of realism, especially in regard to economic planning and foreign policy; his exceptional talent for administration; and his great concern as prime minister to see "the total picture" at what was perhaps the most complicated juncture in twentieth-century British history. Inevitably, however, there were hesitations and revisions, sometimes to the detriment of Attlee's own views, notably over Middle East policy.

Brookshire is particularly good at explaining why Attlee took so easily to office and at illuminating his little-known role in the making of economic policy. In other areas, one could wish for more clarity, expansion, or even amendment. And there is no mention of Attlee's salient political virtue, his probity. But, like his subject, Brookshire seems to me to have gotten the total picture just about right.

TREVOR BURRIDGE
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ARTHUR MITCHELL. *Revolutionary Government in Ireland: Dáil Éireann, 1919-22*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan. 1995. Pp. xii, 423. Cloth £40.00, paper £18.99.

Ireland was one of several European countries to achieve self-government in the aftermath of World War I, although unlike those on the continent it fought

a guerrilla war between 1919 and 1921 to reach that end and, even then, its revolution was only partially successful. The military aspects of the struggle between the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the British army, the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) and their auxiliary forces during the war for independence are well documented. Arthur Mitchell's is the first book to examine comprehensively the establishment and workings of the alternative civil administration that the Irish revolutionaries created to contest the *de jure* and *de facto* authority of the tottering Dublin Castle regime. It is an amazing story expertly told.

After the general election of December 1918, representatives elected under the Sinn Féin banner refused to attend the imperial Parliament at Westminster and instead constituted themselves as Dáil Éireann, the parliament of Ireland, thereby making a claim to *de jure* authority in the country. Acting on years of revolutionary rhetoric, the party leaders announced aggressive social and economic principles and, within a few months, launched a counter-state to wrest *de facto* control of the civil administration from the Castle. This alternative system, Mitchell reports, reached its high water mark in 1920. By then, the Dáil's ministers operated departments charged with finance, land banks, forestry, fisheries, foreign affairs, and local government. A grass-roots system of courts, intended to settle civil litigation but used largely for the arbitration of local disputes, also took shape. The Dáil's administrative system eventually employed about 300 civil servants or employees; another 2,000 individuals provided voluntary service, mainly in the Dáil courts.

The system had a marked degree of success in matters where it took the initiative and had an open field of operation. Remarkably, the counter-state maintained its operations after the Dáil was suppressed and its ministers imprisoned, continuing to stymie the Castle's well-established forty departments and its 12,000 civil servants. When the British military and Dublin Castle launched a counterattack in 1920–1921, the work of the Dáil courts slowed, but few litigants returned to the existing system. Local government authorities, outside northeast Ulster, remained loyal to the new regime. The reason for the administration's success, Mitchell concludes, was that the methodology employed appealed to the Irish imagination; that is, it contained novelty, theater, self-dramatization, duplicity, and a degree of danger. Ultimately, the Irish nationalist aspirations of the people were at the root of the Dáil's success.

Equally important was the establishment of the Dáil's authority over its military arm and the maintenance of the constitutional tradition in Irish political life. Acting on their own accord, physical-force revolutionaries in the Irish Volunteers attacked and killed members of the RIC on the day the Dáil was launched. The attack at Soloheadbeg, Tipperary, showed that the physical-force men would not put all their faith in the civil institutions of the Irish Republic. Over the next

few months, however, the republican government began to assert the Dáil's authority over the IRA, recognizing at the same time that the IRA's executive and staff would require a wide degree of local initiative if they were to succeed in the field against the RIC and the British army.

This book succeeds on several levels. First, Mitchell has done a marvelous job pulling together the documentary sources for his study of the administrative apparatus of the counter-state, and he complements them with additional information from newspapers and contemporary materials, including interviews. His description of the developments surrounding Irish foreign relations is especially good. Second, the author puts the human face on the tiny bureaucracy with crisply written sketches of the key, but lesser known, personalities who helped to create departmental policies and deliver services to the people. At the same time, his descriptions of the more famous ministers, Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith, Eoin Mac Néill, among others, are well measured. Mitchell is far more concerned, for example, with explicating Michael Collins's important work in finance than recalling his military exploits. Mitchell judiciously analyzes his story as he goes, preferring the cautious understatement as he measures the success of his characters and their work for Dáil Éireann. An abrupt final chapter drives home his conclusion that the revolutionary Dáil and its counter-state had effectively carried most of Ireland down the path to self-government.

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RICHARD DUNPHY. *The Making of Fianna Fáil Power in Ireland 1923–1948*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 340. \$55.00.

The dominance of Irish electoral politics since 1932 by Fianna Fáil, a party formed by those who had unsuccessfully opposed the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 and been defeated in the ensuing civil war, has engaged the interest of historians and politicians. Many of the explanations have been couched in general terms, however, in part because the writers have failed to explore the printed and unpublished records in any detail. Richard Dunphy's well-documented account happily breaks this trend. He also takes issue with the conventional wisdom that Irish politics cannot be fitted into the class-based analysis that has generally been deemed appropriate to other western democracies. Such interpretations suggest that the Irish party system must be explained with reference to the struggle for independence and the ensuing civil war. Although the two major Irish political parties, Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael, can trace a direct lineage from that time, the subsequent success of Fianna Fáil owed more to the party's ability to respond to the socioeconomic and cultural demands of a wide section of Irish society than to any lingering memories of the struggle for independence. Dunphy explores the socioeconomic and cul-

tural framework of the party's policies and the inevitable contradictions that were inherent in its efforts to attract support from very diverse interest groups. In particular, he emphasizes the limitations placed on its program of economic self-sufficiency by the small size of the Irish market, the country's close links with the British economy, and the complacency of the Irish bourgeoisie. At times, the details of this analysis appear shaky and incomplete. Dunphy appears to be less interested in the impact of these policies on the agricultural community—a curious oversight given that in 1926 a majority of the occupied workforce were engaged in agriculture—and by emphasizing the views of Dubliner Seán Lemass, the Minister for Industry and Commerce, he seems to suggest, incorrectly, that Fianna Fáil was less interested in rural Ireland than was actually the case.

This is a thoroughly Marxist analysis of the Irish political system, which may explain why Dunphy appears to believe in the innate radicalism of the Irish working class. Yet the Irish working class at this time was a fractured entity. Many workers were farmers' sons who shared the respect for private property common to that class; others were agricultural laborers who aspired to become landholders. A majority of the new industrial jobs created in the 1930s went to young women and teenaged males—not groups imbued with a strong sense of class consciousness. If Dunphy had scrutinized the views of the Labour Party and the trade union movement in detail, he would find the same confusion and contradictions that he identified in Fianna Fáil. While it is evident in retrospect that the Fianna Fáil policies had run their course by 1948, it is equally important to note that the coalition government that succeeded pursued broadly similar policies. Its major innovation—an extensive program of public investment—implemented plans drawn up while Fianna Fáil was in office. Moreover, when Irish economic policies were realigned in the late 1950s under the premiership of Seán Lemass, the party successfully continued the pattern established in 1932 of attempting to transcend class divisions, a strategy that gave it another unbroken sixteen years in office. This suggests that Irish class interests continued to be less clearly defined than Dunphy's analysis might suggest. Perhaps there is something exceptional in the history of Irish political parties after all.

MARY E. DALY
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DAVID J. STURDY. *Science and Social Status: The Members of the Académie Des Sciences, 1666–1750*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1995. Pp. xvi, 461. \$117.00.

This work offers a collective portrait of the members of the Académie Royale des Sciences from its inception in 1666 through the early years of the eighteenth century. David J. Sturdy's prosopography is based on an impressive survey of notarial records, marriage

contracts, postmortem inventories, and library catalogs. He avoids a rigid, statistical approach, emphasizing instead the diversity of the life histories of those who constituted the Academy in its early decades.

An especially strong feature is the stress on the political background to the Academy's foundation in 1666 and its reform in 1699. Sturdy offers a suggestive contrast between a "Hobbesian" model of science-state relations characteristic of Jean-Baptiste Colbert and a "Lockean" contract established in the 1699 regulations by the Abbé Bignon.

Sturdy's primary concern is with the academicians, and he finds that most came from the middle ranks of contemporary French society. Especially in the early years, most received their scientific training outside of universities, and the initial gap between the Academy and the University of Paris—a gap that narrowed in the eighteenth century—may have been Colbert's policy.

Sturdy shows that patronage was absolutely essential to entry into the Academy. Before it became well established, powerful outsiders provided the patronage needed to secure nomination; later on, established academicians supplied the main source of recruitment into the institution.

Regarding the thorny issue of the social status of early modern men of science, Sturdy makes plain that in the seventeenth century, the social position of academicians was ambiguous but that after the reforms of 1699, the Academy offered its members greater social prestige and more clearly defined places in the social hierarchy. The Academy likewise opened doors to promotion in aristocratic households, appointment to teaching positions (notably at the *Jardin du roi*), improved business opportunities, and advancement at court.

On the whole, the fortunes of academicians stood on par with middling merchants, lawyers, or *officiers*. Academicians generally did not buy land, offices, or urban property, preferring to invest in *rentes* or hoard cash. They normally attracted wives with substantial dowries, however, and moved in the upper echelons of society. In all, Sturdy vividly depicts real people struggling with the financial problems of everyday life and the peculiar social system of Louis XIV's France.

The technique of collective biography allows Sturdy to chart the growth of family dynasties within the Academy. Dynasticism requires more systematic consideration than the theme receives here, but Sturdy rightly underscores its importance in the history of the Academy.

This book is long, somewhat repetitious, and filled with exquisite detail that will not appeal to every reader, but summary chapters sixteen and twenty-one are prosopographical masterpieces. While 350 pages are devoted to the history of the Academy through the reform of 1699, the sixty-page treatment of the period after 1700 is disproportionately brief and less successful. Still, this book represents a significant contribution to the scholarly literature concerning the Academy and

the evolving social status of French men of science at the dawn of the eighteenth century.

JAMES E. MCCLELLAN III
Stevens Institute of Technology

GEOFFREY V. SUTTON. *Science for a Polite Society: Gender, Culture, and the Demonstration of Enlightenment*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview of HarperCollins. 1995. PP. xiii, 391. \$35.00.

This gracefully written book takes as its subject what Geoffrey V. Sutton calls the "demonstration" of Enlightenment. It is intended to show that science was accepted by "polite society" in seventeenth and eighteenth-century France thanks not to recognition of its technical validity but to delight in the effects achieved by rhetoricians and expert lecture-demonstrators. Sutton is impatient with historiographic emphasis on the scientific "canon" and with the view that science is and has been "above all hard work for a technical elite" (p. 338). Instead, he favors an approach focusing on the "culture of science" that provided to the new natural philosophy not only its "context but also [its] direction" (p. 2).

The book argues a number of subthemes as well. As the title indicates, one important theme is gender. Sutton is attentive to the usually neglected role of women in the science of this period and uses the persona and activities of Emilie du Châtelet as a "window into the mind of the Enlightenment" (p. 242). Another theme is the interrelation between scientific and political discourse. Sutton challenges the view that Enlightenment thinking had political implications only once an overtly political discourse (liberalism) was elaborated: Bernard LeBovier de Fontenelle's Cartesianism was intimately linked to the absolutism of Louis XIV.

In arguing these claims, Sutton discusses a variety of well and lesser-known figures in the history of the physical sciences. Yet Sutton's point of origin—the *bureau d'adresse* of Théophraste Renaudot—alerts the reader at the outset that something other than the standard story of the Scientific Revolution is being offered (p. 2). Sutton argues that it was not the quality or even type of argument that lent coherence to the discussions at Renaudot's forum but the "style," which was characterized by the "notebook method" (random citation from authorities). This claim sets up the argument made in the rest of the book that the Scientific Revolution was, in good part, a revolution in "style" of thinking about the physical world. Along the way, Sutton looks at René Descartes's "lengthy explanation of false suns" (p. 62); at the dominance of Parisian cultural life on the eve of the Cartesian revolution by the *précieuses*, among whom even Christiaan Huygens succeeded only because he cut a fine figure in the salon; at the "pretty novel of physics" offered in Fontenelle's *Conversations on the Plurality of Worlds* (1686); at oddments described in polite style in the publications of the Académie des sciences; at the

theatrical triumphs of such demonstrator-virtuosi as Pierre Polinière, John Theophilus Desaguliers, Willem Jakob 'sGravesande, and Jean-Antoine Nollet; at the reception of Newtonianism in French circles; and, lastly, at the electrical demonstrations that not only caused universal delight but also fostered significant theoretical advances.

The chapter titles of this work might be borrowed from an eighteenth-century novel ("The Conclusion, in which the Author Draws a Moral"), and the text is filled with puns and witticisms. This self-conscious stylishness may not be to all readers' tastes, but, to my mind, form is deftly suited here to content; Sutton's study is a real pleasure to read. It may be questioned whether the larger arguments about the progress of the Scientific Revolution will hold up. The book suffers from arguing too many claims at once. Thesis statements proliferate, and with each new formulation the study takes on a slightly different cast. Well into the book, for example, we are told that it is "about the rise and fall of Cartesianism during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" (p. 95). Yet this feature of the story comes and goes. Sutton's apparent intention is to undermine the standard view that Isaac Newton won out over Descartes because his science was "true" by arguing, instead, that a typically French "culture of science" mobilized Newton, Descartes, and Leibniz interchangeably in favor of an approach to the physical world made persuasive by showy demonstration rather than by mathematical or analytical exposition. Yet his perusal of this "demonstrative" style of science includes not only French but also British, German, and American figures; what was specifically "French" about this process becomes less and less clear as the book moves on. Nor is it clear why Sutton resists (chiefly by neglect) the usual construct employed by historians to discuss the reception of science among audiences that were interested but mathematically limited: popularization. That Newtonianism made its way in educated circles because of the work of popularizers rather than on its technical merits is hardly a startling claim. Nor does it do anything to dislodge the older view that, at the level of scientific investigation, Cartesianism ceded its place because it was generally less efficacious than Newtonianism in doing what scientists wanted to do. Still, these observations should take nothing away from Sutton's compelling "demonstration" that demonstration was an integral part of the scientific culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and tremendous fun, too.

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LIESELOTTE STEINBRÜGGE. *The Moral Sex: Woman's Nature in the French Enlightenment*. Translated by PAMELA E. SELWYN. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 157. Cloth \$37.00, paper \$13.95.

Lieselotte Steinbrügge takes us elegantly and intelligently through the now familiar eighteenth-century

querelle des femmes. This book first appeared in 1987 in Germany, a remarkable accomplishment in a country where only three percent of professors are women and women's studies struggle for minimal recognition. The problem with the translation, however, is that in the intervening eight years a number of major books (by Christine Fauré, Geneviève Fraise, Joan Landes, Thomas Laqueur, and myself) have appeared, all dealing in different ways with Steinbrügge's theme—the exclusion of women from Enlightenment ideals and civic rights. This bevy of books has, among other things, elucidated the philosophical and social underpinnings of the exclusion of women from the public sphere and also the consequences of that exclusion for European and North American cultures more generally.

Steinbrügge provides close readings of major Enlightenment texts (including those by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Pierre Roussel, Pierre Choderlos de Laclos, and Anne-Thérèse, Marquise de Lambert). Her sparkling analyses focus on the question of morality and the place of compassion in a competitive society. Women's disenfranchisement did not result, she argues, from rampant misogyny or a gender division of labor but from a sense that (masculine) reason, the principle guiding human interaction in the public sphere, had been ruthlessly pruned to a hard-headed, coldly calculating, and often inhumane utilitarianism. Recognizing that public rationality could not readily transfer to familial relations, the theorists she analyzes called for a private morality to be embodied in and protected by "the moral sex," the newly idealized bourgeois housewife and mother. In the reconfiguration of intellectual culture associated with the rise of modern democracy, both masculinity and femininity were seen as integral to the well-being of the state. Confined to its proper setting, Western-style middle-class femininity served as a necessary ballast to middle-class masculinity.

While Steinbrügge treads the familiar terrain of European middle-class femininity and discusses aristocratic women's fall from public grace, she does not consider intersecting ideologies of genders and races. African females (and by various degrees of skin hue, other non-European women) were not idealized as angels of the household in this era. Elite Europeans, who set such store by the cultural niceties of sexual complementarity when describing their own mothers, wives, and sisters, did not include peasant women or the women of Europe's many colonies in their new definitions of femininity.

This book is important for understanding the limits that women continue to experience in their public and professional lives. In her conclusion, Steinbrügge invokes the 1980s "difference dilemma": the cultural poverty created by pressure on women to assimilate as they enter the public sphere and the equally problematic reaffirmation of century-old polarities in calls for social regeneration through traditional "female val-

ues." Her work reveals the social roots of such problems; we continue to await solutions.

LONDA SCHIEBINGER

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JOHN ROGISTER. *Louis XV and the Parlement of Paris, 1737–1755*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xxv, 288. \$64.95.

In recent years, the religious, legal, and constitutional conflicts that rocked the French monarchy during the middle part of the eighteenth century have received much attention from historians. The decision of leading bishops to refuse the sacraments to suspected Jansenists led to renewed conflict over the infamous papal bull, *Unigenitus*, and the Parlement of Paris was drawn inexorably into the confrontation as a result of its judicial duty of upholding public order. The crisis reached a critical point in May 1753, when Louis XV sent the court into a long exile that would continue until September of the following year. In this book, John Rogister examines these events and the relationship between the king and the Parlement of Paris in the period after 1737, concentrating particularly on the crisis of 1753–1754. The primary research is impressive, and Rogister has scoured both public and private archives in order to provide many interesting new details and anecdotes about the daily preoccupations of the magistrates. He adopts a strictly narrative approach, discussing events on an almost daily basis and arguing that personal intrigue and factional motives were uppermost in the minds of the *parlementaires*.

There is no doubt that these factors were important, and they are too frequently ignored by historians who are understandably anxious to examine the ideas contained in the remonstrances of the judges. Unfortunately, rather than offer an alternative model for *parlementaire* behavior or for the genesis of political crisis in the parlements, Rogister contents himself with recording rather than interpreting events. At no stage does he properly engage the many historical debates about the parlements or broader questions about the nature of royal government and its problems in the eighteenth century. While Rogister devotes attention to ministerial intrigues, he has little to say about the aims or policies of the ministers themselves. He also fails to address the important points raised by Dale Van Kley about the influence of Jansenism on the behavior of the parlement. Throughout he describes magistrates such as Ambrose-Julien Clément de Feillet, Claude-Guillaume Lambert, Pierre-Augustin Robert de Saint-Vincent, and Clément-Charles de L'Averdy as *zélés*, and while he realizes that they were Jansenist, he never seriously examines the proposition that religious beliefs or intellectual conviction might affect their actions. He is equally dismissive of the idea that these magistrates could exert real influence within the court. Instead, he argues that other than in exceptional circumstances, the members of the

grand'chambre exercised a "monolithic control" (p. 257) over their colleagues. Such an interpretation is unconvincing. In 1718, 1720, 1730–1732, and 1753–1754 the crown and the parlement entered into conflict, and between 1754 and the coup of chancellor de Maupeou, disputes became almost daily occurrences. Judicial, religious, and financial issues were the principal causes of dispute, and the government and its leading magistrates were always in danger of losing effective control of the court. By failing to raise his sights above the minutiae of procedure and intrigue, Rogister provides an insufficiently nuanced account that adds detail rather than understanding to our knowledge of the parlement.

JULIAN SWANN
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University of London

JULIAN SWANN. *Politics and the Parlement of Paris under Louis XV, 1754–1774*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 390. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$29.95.

Well before the bicentennial celebrations in 1989, historians on both sides of the Atlantic discredited Whiggish accounts of the intellectual origins and Marxist accounts of the social origins of the French Revolution. In the last few decades, they have rehabilitated and reconstructed the political history of eighteenth-century France. They have investigated political conflicts over religious, fiscal, and administrative matters and political culture more generally by studying parliamentary remonstrances and pamphlet literature, judicial memoirs and art criticism, popular rituals and labor disputes, Parisian salons, provincial academies, and Masonic lodges. American scholars such as Keith Baker, Robert Darnton, Lynn Hunt, Sarah Maza, and Dale Van Kley have explored a variety of ideological issues and influences in the second half of the century from a variety of perspectives. Recent books by such British scholars as Peter Campbell, John Hardman, Munro Price, and J. M. J. Rogister represent another stage in the ongoing research in this field. These works provide both a more detailed knowledge and a more subtle understanding of political practices, as opposed to principles, in the world of the court and the courts under the *ancien régime*.

The subject of Julian Swann's book is not the origins of the revolution but rather "how judicial politics functioned in the eighteenth century" (p. vii). He begins by outlining the organization, operations, and responsibilities of the Parlement of Paris, which exercised jurisdiction over half of the kingdom and led the opposition to royal absolutism during the reign of Louis XV. He reviews the social backgrounds and professional concerns of the *parlementaires*, who not only defended their own privileges but also cast themselves in the role of guardians of the fundamental laws of the realm. Swann dismisses monolithic characterizations of the magistrates, who routinely disagreed

among themselves, and rejects simplistic generalizations about their disputes with the crown, which routinely attempted to avoid or resolve confrontations. Informed and influential figures inside and outside the Palais de Justice conferred and collaborated in order to manage resistance to and secure registration of royal declarations. The parlement and the monarchy had an assortment of tactics and a repertoire of arguments at their disposal during such negotiations. Swann suggests that gestures and statements on both sides must be read strategically as well as ideologically, in the specific historical circumstances in which they were made. He argues that mechanisms for controlling dissension broke down during the prolonged controversies about Jansenism and taxation not because conflicting interpretations of the unwritten constitution left little common ground to stand on but because disagreements and rivalries among Louis XV's ministers prevented the government from defining policies consistently and implementing them aggressively. Swann's readable and revealing account of judicial politics during the years 1754–1774, based on extensive research in manuscript and published sources, inevitably reviews material discussed by other historians, but he adds new information and many nuances along the way.

JEFFREY MERRICK
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MUNRO PRICE. *Preserving the Monarchy: The Comte de Vergennes, 1774–1787*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 256. \$59.95.

From 1774 until his death in 1787, Charles Gravier, comte de Vergennes, was Louis XVI's secretary of state for foreign affairs. It was his skill as a diplomat and statesman that guaranteed his place in history. The offspring of generations of *parlementaires*, he dedicated his own life to public service and to working to uphold the authority of the king, even if it meant opposition to the parlements. He was by background and temperament an unlikely reformer. In this excellent book, Munro Price examines Vergennes's role in domestic politics—as distinguished from his career in diplomacy—and explains how experience and growth brought this conservative Burgundian to moderate reform.

Vergennes came to reform rather late. Until the 1780s, he dedicated his energies to protecting his king's prestige and influence abroad, but France's intervention in the American Revolutionary War brought him face to face with the alarming state of the crown's finances. With the dismissal of Jacques Necker and the death of Jean-Frédéric Maurepas in 1781, Vergennes began to play an increasing role in decisions regarding financial and domestic policy. He recognized that something had to be done to coordinate better the various ministries of Louis XVI's

government and that France's financial house had to be put in order.

Individual ministers got funding for their departments by negotiating directly with the king; they were accountable to no one else. Consequently, the finance minister often had to fund expenditures that he strongly opposed or had not anticipated. There was, Price says, a "failure of co-ordination at the centre" (p. 43). The solution favored by Vergennes and Necker's successor, Omer-Louis-François Joly de Fleury, was conciliar control of finances. Its instrument was the *comité des finances* created in February 1783. The idea was not new. Louis XIV had used councils of finance to manage his finances. To its advocates, conciliar control of finances was a way to bring spending under control and curb the independence of ministers. The *comité des finances* appealed to Vergennes because it seemed a way to avoid more radical reforms. The notion also tempted his ambitions. In 1783, he was secretary of state for foreign affairs and chief of the *conseil royal des finances* created earlier by Necker to take over the judicial powers of the *intendants des finances*. In addition, Vergennes enjoyed the continued confidence of the king. When he assumed the leading role on the *comité des finances* for a short time, he was the virtual first minister. But the *comité des finances* failed, and Price provides us with an explanation as to why. It is a depressing picture of how France's feuding ministers, divided parlements, king, queen, and intriguing courtiers were unable to rise above their greed, limited vision, and willful pride to provide France with effective leadership. Price concludes that "Vergennes' efforts in his domestic role have to be judged a failure" (p. 239). This verdict is harsh, but it rests on an impressive command of private and public archival material.

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THOMAS J. SCHAEFER. *France and America in the Revolutionary Era: The Life of Jacques-Donatien Leray de Chaumont, 1725-1803*. Providence: Berghahn Books. 1995. Pp. xi, 384.

The military and diplomatic history of the American Revolution is fairly well known to history readers. But, according to Thomas J. Schaeper, they are not equally aware of the enormous logistical support from France that went into the winning of the war: that is, the supplying of the materiel to clothe, feed, and equip the Continental Army. The activity of Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais is fairly well known. But, according to Schaeper, his role declined in importance after 1776, and the most significant figure in the logistics of the war became Jacques-Donatien Leray de Chaumont, who is almost unknown except to specialists in the history of the revolution. Schaeper's biog-

raphy of Chaumont is the first to be written in any language.

Chaumont came from a prominent mercantile family of Nantes. At the time of the American Revolution, he was one of the wealthiest entrepreneurs in the country, whose activities "branched out into an array of business affairs that was equalled in variety by few others in the *ancien régime*" (p. 12). He was also a warm supporter of the American cause and devoted his energy and resources to assisting the insurgents, unselfishly, in Schaeper's opinion. He had no official position in the French government during these years, but unofficially Chaumont became the intermediary between the American diplomats who arrived in France and the French ministers of the naval and foreign affairs departments. His expansive chateau at Passy, outside Paris, housed the American delegates free of charge and became their actual headquarters during those years.

But, alas, gratitude is not of this world. There were in the Continental Congress "francophobes" who believed that Chaumont and other French merchants were overcharging the Americans for the material shipped across the Atlantic. Chaumont was particularly singled out as dishonest in his dealings with Americans. John Adams lent his prestige to this viewpoint, as did the American naval hero, John Paul Jones. To pay for war expenditures, Congress had adopted a system of paper "fiat" money. In March 1780, this money was devalued at forty to one (p. 296). French merchants, including Chaumont, were devastated by this act, for they held large sums in fiat currency. It was the main reason for Chaumont's eventual bankruptcy.

Chaumont's reputation still suffers at the hands of many, if not most, American historians of the revolution, and Schaeper devotes much of this volume to defending him. His research is thorough, and he carefully documents every issue of dispute between Chaumont and the Americans.

Despite the minute attention given to the details of finance, this is a very readable book. Personalities and their relationships are vividly described. The family of Chaumont, his wife, and children provided a warm home life for Benjamin Franklin and others while they were in France. The final chapter is devoted to the fortunes of the Chaumont family during the French Revolution and the later career of "James," Chaumont's son, who became an American citizen.

ROBERT D. HARRIS
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HOWARD G. BROWN. *War, Revolution, and the Bureaucratic State: Politics and Army Administration in France, 1791-1799*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 361. \$55.00.

Although Howard G. Brown's recent book is more restricted in its subject and scope, in many respects it

modifies and corrects significant elements of Clive Church's *Revolution and Red Tape: The French Ministerial Bureaucracy, 1770–1850* (1981). Although Brown deals solely with the Ministry of War from the Constituent Assembly through the Directory, this ministry was clearly the most important and influential component of the bureaucracy during this period; and, whereas Church's work spans an eighty-year period, he concentrates primarily on the Directory, from 1795 to 1799. There are a number of points of disagreement in the two works, but the most significant difference is Brown's insistence that bureaucratic developments can be fully understood and appreciated only within their political context.

Showing an impressive command of archival materials and published works, including theoretical studies, Brown analyzes changing relations between the military administration and what he terms "the state elite," defined as those who exercise legislative or executive authority. Since the last two groups were themselves often at odds and vied for control of the War Ministry (and those government agencies which took over its functions for eighteen months in 1794–1795), these relationships were complex and dynamic. Brown's treatment is thorough and comprehensive, and his writing style often fact-filled and slow reading. His conclusions, however, are well worth whatever effort this might entail.

A few examples may serve to convey some idea of the variety of insights afforded by this study. For instance, the considerable independence that Jean-Baptiste-Noël Bouchotte enjoyed while running the War Ministry between April 1793 and April 1794 is striking evidence of the practical limits on the dictatorship of the Committee of Public Safety during this time, and it also helps to explain the repression of Parisian radicals in the spring of 1794. Although the series of political purges of army officers that began with the Thermidorian reaction created military resentment and hampered the process of professionalization, these same measures served to maintain civilian control of the army (pp. 140–46). Brown's discussion of the problems faced by war contractors during the Directory offers a unique understanding of the difficulties confronted by this universally deprecated group (pp. 239–40).

The essential conclusions of this study, it seems to me, are the following: the men who comprised the state elite, in both executive and legislative capacities, were ambivalent about the bureaucracy. On one hand, they harbored a basic mistrust, dating to the Old Regime, and viewed the administration as an actual or potential rival in the exercise of power. On the other hand, the bureaucracy constituted a primary vehicle for this elite to exercise their authority and to establish their legitimacy in public opinion. Consequently, they often endorsed the rationalization of the organization, structure, and procedures of the army administration. Fearful for their own political survival, however, they

persistently intervened in the appointment, promotion, and dismissal of key bureaucratic personnel.

This monograph provides the best available administrative history of the French revolutionary era. It also offers invaluable insights into the political changes that the revolution unleashed.

SAMUEL F. SCOTT
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WILLIAM S. CORMACK. *Revolution and Political Conflict in the French Navy, 1789–1794*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 343. \$59.95.

William S. Cormack has deftly accomplished three goals in his excellent study of the French navy from the Estates General of 1789 through the end of the Reign of Terror in 1794. First, he has portrayed an institution whose history has been largely ignored, misrepresented, or consigned to narrow military interests. The somber story of the revolutionary navy has previously been relegated to an inferior record of failure when compared to the glorious successes of the revolutionary army.

Traditionally, the navy has been depicted as having reached an apogee during the last years of the *ancien régime*, notably during the American Revolution. Cormack dispels this. He shows a navy wracked with dissension in its officer classes, confused by overlapping jurisdictions among civil and military administrators, suffering from the general financial breakdown, and weakened by ineffective recruitment. Capable ministers, such as the Marquis de Castries, and the surprisingly sustained interest of Louis XVI could not conceal the weaknesses of the navy in 1789.

Cormack's second achievement is a convincing reinterpretation of the navy during the revolution. He finds it too simplistic to ascribe ruination of the navy to revolutionary zealots from successive legislative bodies. Traditionalists see the collapse of the navy as a result of insufficient support, useless and contradictory legislation, a total disintegration of command authority, utter destruction of the officer corps, and improper mixing of naval and merchant fleets. The navy was rendered defenseless against England, revolutionary legislators, and political entities within the ports. According to Cormack, the navy was caught between rival claimants to popular sovereignty. Municipal and communal bodies, political clubs, and legislatures vied for authority in speaking for the general will. The fleet's surrender at Toulon and the Quiberon mutiny occurred against this backdrop of conflicting loyalties.

Only when the Committee of Public Safety ordained itself as the embodiment of popular sovereignty and enforced its will as identical to the nation's was a semblance of order restored. The committee's agent, Jeanbon Saint-André, thus armed invoked terror. Ultimately, neither the short-lived Terror nor the lassitude of the Thermidorians and the Directory built an effective navy. The campaign of Prairial (June 1794)

and the Irish expedition in 1798 were forebodings for the future.

The third point of Cormack's history is to place the navy in the context of revolutionary history. To him, the navy reflected the bitter divisions of French society. Conflicting constitutional and political theories, events in Paris and the departments, and the navy's inability to act as a non-politicized instrument of state power are elements of intense scrutiny. Cormack accords individuals a proper role, so that more realism emerges than a flat tale of ships, cannons, mutinies, and failed campaigns; it is a lively narrative.

In the summation of this extensively documented and thoroughly annotated work, Cormack points ahead to the colossal loss at the Nile and to the penultimate disaster, Trafalgar. Is it too much to hope that his next study will consider the Napoleonic navy?

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JAMES R. LEHNING. *Peasant and French: Culture Contact in Rural France during the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Cambridge University press. 1995. Pp. xii, 239. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$18.95.

James R. Lehning aims to reframe one of the more familiar scenarios of nineteenth-century French rural history, arguing that the interesting question is not a simple one about how traditional peasant culture inevitably disappeared under the weight of a modern national culture. Instead, he begins with the premise that rural French history was shaped by the interaction of French and peasant cultures and by the resultant transformation of the meanings and experience associated with each. He uses the notion of "culture contact" between French and rural cultures to focus on the relationship between the two, "the ways in which French discourse about the countryside has controlled that relationship, and the part played by those who lived in the countryside" (p. 5). In pursuit of the active interplay between French meanings and peasant actors, Lehning draws on data from the department of the Loire over the entire century, deploying a wide range of the sources that have long provided the stuff of French social history. He focuses in particular on patterns of land tenure and agricultural production, demographic and family structure, participation in schooling, religious activities, and electoral politics.

Both the problem posed and the data presented are intriguing, but Lehning is ill served by the "culture contact" notion as used here: it short-circuits his project by inviting a conceptualization of "rural culture" (conflated with "peasant culture") and "French culture" as two distinct and monolithic entities. The difficulty is compounded by a tendency to treat these abstractions as actors: throughout the text, they are said to create, attempt, agree, and impose, with "French culture" generally doing things to "rural culture." This conceptualization obscures the ambigu-

ities, contradictions, and unstable boundaries that give life to cultures and shape the ways their tenets are used by variably situated human actors. As a result, the dynamic processes by which multiple discourses about the French countryside were articulated, interpreted, used, ignored, or generative of consequence are not as clearly illuminated as promised.

The kinds of data available also pose a formidable challenge to this enterprise. The administrative records and investigations that constitute the bulk of the data used here do, in Lehning's hands, yield a compelling picture of changing life in the countryside and of some of the preoccupations of those responsible for administering it. They do not, however, readily provide convincing answers to the questions posed by Lehning about cultural change, shifting systems of meaning and identity, or the ways in which various actors manipulated or bowed to these.

Lehning's work raises important questions about the complexity of change processes in the nineteenth-century French countryside. It draws attention to the power of ideas, beliefs, and purposeful action or inaction pursued by country dwellers as well as urban administrators in shaping the meaning and experience of a French nation that has, throughout the twentieth century, alternately defended its rural soul and celebrated or mourned its putative loss. No less important, though, are the changing patterns of recorded behavior and practice that his data effectively reveal. If Lehning's material is less well-suited to illuminating the ideas or purposes of the actors involved, it does tell us about the "there" there. For that at least, this work provides a valuable contribution to explorations of French rural culture and its history.

SUSAN CAROL ROGERS
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SHARIF GEMIE. *Women and Schooling in France, 1815-1914: Gender, Authority and Identity in the Female Schooling Sector*. Keele: Keele University Press. 1995. Pp. 240. £35.00.

Sharif Gemie sought to uncover a "culture" of women's schooling in nineteenth-century France that did not adhere to the standards set by the state that established the schools but pertained only to female students and teachers. To do this, he has read letters of application, reports of school inspectors, petitions of parents, and even two diaries in the archives of seven departments. Unfortunately, he lacks knowledge of the broader history of education during the century that would have enabled him to analyze this material successfully. He is weak on male education during this period; the expectations he cites for female students and teachers often also applied to males. If female student unwillingness to obey the normal school rules is resistance to the state school system, then most male *lycée* students were also rebels. It is difficult to believe that male teachers did not also cite family needs in appealing their assignments. The tendency of some

women teachers to dissolve in tears when faced with difficult situations is hardly evidence of a female culture of education.

Gemie's statistical base, covering the nineteenth century, is too broad to be meaningful; thus, when citing the "ethos of the administration," he fails to distinguish between sources from the Second Empire, where the church controlled education, and the Third Republic, where the secular state dominated. Floating back and forth through the century he cites material from one end to the other, and from both religious and secular teachers, to arrive at generalizations that can therefore only be dubious.

Sharif seems unaware that the teachers in the Third Republic were organized into *amicales* and corresponded with one another in the pages of *Correspondance générale de l'instruction primaire*, in which there are many letters from female teachers. Before 1914 there were also female inspectors of schools. With more knowledge, he would not have written that the state never made any positive move to recruit schoolmistresses (p. 175). True, women teachers were marginal in both status and pay. Many were opposed by the parents of the villages to which they were sent, often because they represented the secular state in a religious locale. But so were male teachers (note Emile Zola's dramatization of the situation in *Vérité*).

A work on the female culture of the educational system in France may well be needed. It would have to make distinctions between different regimes, however; it would also have to distinguish between the teachers educated at the *écoles normales* and others. Unfortunately, despite the many interesting communications from the past he provides, Gemie has not given us the work he set out to write.

PHYLLIS STOCK-MORTON
Seton Hall University

ELINOR A. ACCAMPO, RACHEL G. FUCHS, and MARY LYNN STEWART. *Gender and the Politics of Social Reform in France, 1870-1914*. Assisted by LINDA L. CLARK, THERESA MCBRIDE, and JUDITH F. STONE. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 241. Cloth \$48.50, paper \$16.95.

The historiography on the French welfare state has undergone a sea-change in recent years. The French Republic at the turn of the century legislated a battery of social reforms—old-age pensions, accident insurance, and the like—that were aimed at pacifying an expansive and militant working class, but these measures, undertaken for a mix of humanitarian and defensive motives, were inadequate compared to efforts elsewhere in Europe. Such was once the prevailing wisdom, but an accumulating body of work on the history of gender, of which the present volume is a fine example, has altered the picture in fundamental ways.

First, on the question of welfare state origins, fear retains all its motivating power, but what drives reform efforts in the new scheme of things is anxiety not so

much about social disorder as about a declining birth rate, degeneration of racial stock, and loss of stature vis-à-vis France's competitors on the continent. Doctors and hygienists played a leading role in stoking such anxieties as well as in proposing palliatives, but it was not the working class that was the direct target of their reforming zeal but rather the family. How to encourage numerous and healthy progeny: that was the task they set themselves, and to this end they lobbied, often with success, for creation of a national system of maternity hospitals, for enactment of maternity leave legislation, and for provision of state subsidies to large families. France may appear a laggard in the domain of social insurance, but in that of family policy it turns out to have been a pioneer.

This is the larger argument that Elinor Accampo, Rachel G. Fuchs, and Mary Lynn Stewart make. In so doing, they explore a variety of thematic byways of considerable interest in their own right. In Stewart's essay on gender-specific health and safety regulations in the workplace and Fuchs's on the social reformer Paul Strauss, it becomes clear how critical local experiment—whether at the level of factory, municipality, or department—was in the modeling of national policy. No less clear is the role played by middle-class women, however subordinate, in the formulation and administration of reform. Feminist organizations agitated on behalf of social change, and women themselves as teachers, nurses, home-visitors, and social workers helped staff the agencies of a burgeoning welfare state. The peculiar disabilities under which such women labored are spelled out in a contribution by Linda L. Clark on female health, education, and welfare inspectors. Female inspectors were few in number with limited authority, and what little they had was conceded on the grounds of nurturing impulses imputed to them as women. Yet here was a rare avenue of professional advancement that held out prospects of an independent life, and women seized on it with enthusiasm.

Ambivalence, not just of women but of men, is, indeed, one of the core themes of this volume. Male parliamentarians, Theresa McBride argues, passed a divorce bill but worried lest it encourage unhappy spouses to *indulge in affairs*. Republican reformers, as Judith F. Stone points out, were partisans of the rights of man but had a hard time granting such rights to their wives and daughters, whom they persisted in regarding not as citizens but as child-bearers. The welfare apparatus that the Third Republic constructed was often helpful to women, but women were little consulted in the process, and to the extent that they were recipients of the state's munificence, it was because of their status as mothers or potential mothers. Many of the essays here focus on the motives and agendas of particular reformers, and the biographical approach is well suited to bring out both the sincere humanitarianism that motivated such men as well as the variety of biases that cramped their field of action.

It may well be worth pointing out, at a moment when

welfare issues so divide American citizens, that at the end of the nineteenth century such policies were often concocted as instruments of a consensus politics. Secular republicans who spearheaded reform efforts did not find it easy to build the needed legislative majorities. Social Catholics on the right hesitated to endorse measures that smacked of a godless socialism. Centrist liberals feared that policies that put money into the pockets of the working classes would violate the principles of *laissez-faire* and, worse, strengthen the wrong side in the class struggle. But when reform was packaged as pro-family, as a buttress to the national defense, such hesitations dissipated. Not the least of this volume's strengths is its evocation of a bygone historical era when family values sustained rather than undermined the welfare state.

PHILIP NORD
Princeton University

PHILIP NORD. *The Republican Moment: Struggles for Democracy in Nineteenth-Century France*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. 321. \$49.95.

In recent years, the concept of political culture has increasingly replaced ideology as the basis for understanding the political history of modern France. This book clearly demonstrates the virtues of such an approach. Philip Nord addresses the questions of why the Third Republic emerged out of the collapse of the Second Empire and why it endured for seventy years, despite a well-documented catalog of weaknesses. He convincingly argues that a sufficient majority of the French had come to accept the republican form of government as desirable by demonstrating the emergence, during the Second Empire, of a civil society that was by the very nature of its experiences inclined to republicanism.

Republicanism first emerged in the struggles of younger groups for recognition and power within their professions or other social affiliations. The values developed in these limited contexts were extended to the larger political sphere as men became aware of the links between their private lives and the political order. Acknowledging the work of Maurice Agulhon and Eugen Weber on republicanism in provincial France, Nord limits himself to Paris, where he analyzes the experiences of Freemasons, denizens of the Latin Quarter, men of commerce, Jews, Protestants, lawyers, artists, politicians, and the family. In each case, Nord argues, there was conflict between the established, government-recognized powers and the younger, less important members of the same profession who created competing organizations in defense of their own interests and ideas—for example, the *Chambre de Commerce de Paris* (CCP) and the *Union Nationale du Commerce et de l'Industrie* (UNCI). The internal organization of the UNCI was naturally more democratic than that of the CCP; after all, one of its members' complaints was exclusion from influence in the highly oligarchic CCP. These conflicts did not

always end with the triumph of the newer groups, but whatever the outcome, they contributed to the increasing spread of democratic republicanism among those elements of urban middle-class society that were growing as a result of France's modernizing economy.

Nord shows that these "new social strata," whose rise to a significant place in national political life was proclaimed by Louis Gambetta, mostly became Gambettists in the 1870s, but he argues that there was no clear break between the new "opportunistic" republicans and the older generation of more radical, even utopian, republicans. Nord's theory of the origins of the Third Republic also serves as his explanation of its durability. Emerging from a newly republican civil society, the Third Republic endured because of that society's continuing support. Republican France did not lack "intermediary bodies"; it was not the "associational wasteland" many critics have seen. When it did fail in the crisis of 1940, it was not, Nord argues, for lack of a republican civil society, but perhaps because the new civil society had not been ruthless enough in excluding the leaders of the old oligarchic order from power.

Nord's book is a major step forward in our understanding of republican society in France and should have a fruitful influence on future scholarship.

WILLIAM LOGUE
Northern Illinois University

MAURICE LARKIN. *Religion, Politics and Preferment in France since 1890: La Belle Epoque and Its Legacy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 249. \$49.95.

In his latest work, Maurice Larkin, author of the highly readable *France Since the Popular Front* (1988), sets out to examine "the problems that committed Catholics allegedly faced if they sought careers in state employment in France" after 1890 (p. ix). The focus is on the period from 1890 to World War I and very largely on the years from 1898–1899 to 1905–1906.

Only the middle chapters of this three-part work are really concerned with the topic. The first part deals with "whether Catholics deserved the suspicion they encountered" after 1898 by examining at the attitudes of prelates and pretenders toward the abortive coup attempt of Paul Déroulède and the role of Catholic schools in the training of army officers. The last portion, treating in summary fashion the period from 1914 to the present, almost abandons the stated aim of the book to become a survey of church-state relations from the *union sacrée* to Edouard Herriot's brief attempt to revive anticlericalism in 1924 to the significance of Vichy and the decline of religious observance after 1960. Larkin says some interesting things in these chapters, but they have little to do with whether Catholics really faced discrimination in public employment under the republic. He shows, for example, that the promise of the *Ralliement* of better relations between church and state was vitiated by the policies

of Pope Pius X's secretary of state, who continued to subordinate all diplomatic concerns to the dream of restoring papal sovereignty over Rome. In the last part, he sheds interesting light on the question of why the church's role under Vichy did not lead to a postwar surge of anticlericalism in the Fourth Republic.

Larkin has used ministerial, Masonic, Assumptionist, Jesuit, and Vatican archives as well as the records of two important Catholic institutions in Paris, the Ecole St. Geneviève and the Collège Stanislas. In the central portion of the book, he relies principally on secondary school records, especially from St. Geneviève and Stanislas, but he periodically deflates the significance of his own findings by reminding us that such attendance is more useful as an indicator of the religious or political convictions of the parents than of the students. His use of these archives does allow him to tell many engaging stories of individual careers, but it does not solve the underlying problem of how to define a Catholic in twentieth-century France.

In large measure, the patterns that emerge from the dossiers confirm the conventional wisdom in that politically sensitive ministries and corps were off-limits to practicing Catholics before 1914, whereas more technical ministries were not. Practicing Catholics could become army officers, diplomats, and engineers easily; they could become judges, *conseillers d'état* and *inspecteurs des finances* less easily, and prefects not at all. The Académies were more concerned with the religious beliefs of *instituteurs* than of *institutrices*, but mostly for promotions and transfers, not for initial employment, and the level of such concern depended on the degree of religious practice in the region.

Looking through the narrow lens of religion at the careers of public servants, Larkin pays little attention to many interesting surrounding matters such as the differences between the *fonctionnaires* of the line ministries and the members of the *grands corps*, the unionization movement, and the social selection achieved through the competitive examinations or *concours*.

THOMAS R. OSBORNE
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ROMY GOLAN. *Modernity and Nostalgia: Art and Politics in France between the Wars*. (Yale Publications in the History of Art.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 228.

This book makes the bad old days when art history was typically formalist and unhistorical seem very far away; its focus is squarely on the ideological significance of visual subjects, styles, and techniques. Romy Golan shows that French artists, often the same ones who fostered the revolutions of fauvism and cubism and the celebration of modern life and technology in the years before 1914, turned in very different directions under the impact of war and economic difficulty. They took up landscape, celebrated regionalism, identified with peasants and the life of the soil, upheld both religious

humanism and biological determinism, and projected a static, anti-urban, and implicitly hierarchical vision of social life that offered both a respite from contemporary conflicts and a symbolic home to nativist and anti-Semitic sentiments. These developments helped to create "a cultural landscape that allowed the archaizing, infantilizing, and racist tropes of Pétain's Révolution Nationale" to become acceptable "to the French nation at large by 1940" (p. xi).

Golan's book ranges widely, and she is a very good guide to many topics, including landscape painting in the 1920s, the incorporation of organic forms into work by Fernand Leger, LeCorbusier, and Amédée Ozenfant (all great champions of a machine aesthetic), and the role played by Jewish artists and hostility to them in setting up a protest against the "School of Paris" by those who defined themselves as "French" in the 1930s. Should any doubts persist that artistic expression was highly charged with ideological meaning in France between the wars, this book should dispel them.

For all its virtues, however, an approach that considers pictures and painters in relation to a set of integrated ideological coordinates risks flattening the landscape. The risk is heightened in this case by the book's alternation between two equally totalistic but opposing perspectives. At times the critique seems Marxist, as in the sharply hostile reading of Ozenfant's picture *Biological Life* (1931–1938), or the open siding with a Communist critic of Jean Giono's peasant-based pacifism (as if party self-interest were not as powerful a distorting lens as romantic populism). But (full-blooded Marxists being hard to find these days) this perspective is undercut by the insistence that the turn to organicism and nostalgia was as powerful on the left as on the right, and in the end we are asked to believe in a kind of national depth psychology, a "craving, and in fact a need, for self-infantilization" on the part of the generation that came to adulthood between the wars and found a way "to relinquish moral and political responsibility for the gradual disempowerment of France" by yielding itself up to the "grandpa" figure of Pétain (p. 156). This certainly is a striking idea, and one worth taking seriously; but support for so grand and sweeping a notion could hardly be mustered in a book about painting only, and in any case it is not provided. Viewing her material from both viewpoints at once, Golan sometimes seems uncertain about how to balance what left and right shared with what they did not.

From either angle, the ideological treasure hunt sometimes comes up with questionable coin. Bergson's strictures on industrial civilization did not mean that he had moved away from the notion of *elan vital*. Associating Marc Bloch's *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française* (1931) (the last two words of the title are transposed in Golan's text) with a Depression-induced preference for the *longue durée* over the march of events leaves the many other reasons for his approach unconsidered. Marcel Gromaire's interest-

ing pictures display a more independent relation to the themes Golan finds in them than she is willing to recognize. The non-ideological considerations that fed Charlotte Perriand's rejection of rigid modernism in architecture and furniture get squeezed out. Similarly, Leger's fears about America in the 1930s were justified by more than ideological retreat from the technological utopia. A bit more flexibility might have made it possible to present the interesting and valuable story Golan tells here with more regard for the autonomy of individual identities and projects.

JERROLD SEIGEL
New York University

JERROLD SEIGEL. *The Private Worlds of Marcel Duchamp: Desire, Liberation, and the Self in Modern Culture*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 291. \$34.95.

Mining fresh and provocative insights from the towering slagheap of Duchampiana is Jerrold Seigel's great virtue. He has read every printed effusion, whether cogent and thoughtful, or rash and turgid, for this persuasive study of the twentieth-century's most emblematic artist. Seigel keeps both feet firmly planted in French bohemia as he painstakingly deconstructs Marcel Duchamp and reassembles him—and his *oeuvre*—in coherent form.

In a book that is mercifully brief and in an intimate tone that often addresses the reader directly ("One of the pleasures of writing about Duchamp is telling people you're doing it" [p. 234]), Seigel unravels the enigmas the artist so cunningly constructed. Disrobing the *Large Glass*'s (1913–1923) bride, for example, he finds a "ready maid" playfully related to all those baffling objects Duchamp called "ready-made."

While considering a multitude of fevered interpretations of Duchamp, notably Arturo Schwartz's alchemical miasma, Seigel calmly develops his own measured view of the artist's motivation and means. Perhaps Seigel hews too much to the high road of theory, scanting such homely urges as laziness to account for Duchamp's skimpy output or lack of facility as a draftsman for his abandonment of painting. Yet, in rejecting what he called "retinal art" for "cerebral," conceptual work, Duchamp underlined the aesthetic exhaustion of static painting and sculpture in a century increasingly dominated by dynamic flickers on a screen, on film, video, or computer.

Seigel highlights Duchamp's distancing devices, whether geographically, from family and friends; physically, from lovers and wives; or iconographically, from viewers or interpreters of his work. While Seigel appreciates the artist's witty puns, he also tracks them back to their narcissistic lair, a bleak cupboard devoid of intimacy or warmth. There, *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even* (1913) floats in perpetual anticipation above nine angular bachelors intent on "grinding their chocolate" themselves. There, too, abides the cruelly exposed corpse at the center of

Duchamp's last work, *Given: 1. The Waterfall 2. The Illuminating Gas* (1966). Like bookends, these two works buttress Duchamp's worldview: allure and arousal perpetually foiled by what Seigel identifies as "delay."

Seigel refuses to be blinded, whether by the glare of Duchamp's brilliant wit or the convoluted trendiness of so many of the artist's admirers. While Seigel values the avant-garde enterprise of destroying received ideas, he points out the attenuation of the cultural fabric by a state of permanent revolution. Paraphrasing Charles Baudelaire, he notes that "the same modern features that encourage the imagination to soar also heighten the allure of the escape into fantasy, and threaten to plunge the psyche into the abyss named 'spleen'" (p. 46).

While Seigel provides many biographical details, his work caroms most profitably across the triangle formed by Duchamp's life experiences, his inner state, and his works. Seigel sparingly speculates on the reasons why Duchamp has been taken up so fervently by the postmodern avant-garde. It may seem that placing such a mundane object as a urinal on the pedestal of art, as Duchamp did, would hardly leave room for further artistic elaboration. Yet several generations of avant-gardists have attempted just such a feat. Seigel is wise to suggest that we feed sparingly on "those inner spaces" plumbed with "courage and originality" by Duchamp, lest we, too, plunge into a Baudelairean abyss.

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DAVID RINGROSE. *Spain, Europe, and the "Spanish Miracle," 1700–1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 439.

Some countries occupy the historical imagination more than others. Among the more prominent, the somehow un-European Spain of the American conquest, the Inquisition, quixotic nobles, and modern civil war has achieved cliché status. Although largely of foreign origin, the resulting stereotype of a Spanish people doomed to failure at every important trial in the quest for economic, political, and cultural modernity has infected the questions Spaniards ask themselves. David Ringrose has written a splendid book. Pointing out that the Spanish economic and political "miracle" of recent decades suggests new assumptions, he generates different questions and uses the available research to suggest a view of the country's history that should transform historiographical debates.

First, Ringrose's arguments and data demonstrate that Spain, at the beginning of the twentieth century, was a country substantially different than it had been two centuries earlier, and that its development was compatible with the general pattern of European change. Second, he tries to show that the Napoleonic era did not rupture fundamentally the continuity of the

country's history. While important, the loss of most of Spain's American empire and the Liberal constitutionalists' eventual victory over Bourbon "absolutism" did not have the terribly damaging consequences for prevailing economic and political processes that historians have claimed.

Three-fourths of the book deals with continuities in a growing economy in which there was a great deal of entrepreneurial activity and substantial change, contrary to the typical view of Spanish stagnation caused by adherence to debilitating traditional values. To avoid teleological assumptions built into many theories of development, Ringrose concentrates on a description of regional urban networks, organized around a hierarchy of central places, as the aggregates for analysis rather than discussing a "national" economy that did not exist. He recognizes four such regions: one organized around Mediterranean cities; one extending across the north from the French to the Portuguese border; one in the Castilian interior, focusing on the Madrid market; and one in the southwest. This is such an outstanding example of the regional urban network approach that the book can be read with profit by those interested in research methods. In the bargain, readers are treated to an excellent synthesis of much existing recent work on Spanish economic history. My only disappointment here is that, having rejected the nation state as the proper analytical focus, Ringrose did not do more to show how these regional networks interacted with others outside of Spain.

In the final section, Ringrose argues, largely successfully, that the apparent major changes in political institutions and ideology from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century accommodated continuing political dominance by the locally prominent, who used family relationships and networked connections to maintain influence and facilitate recruitment to public office. From this perspective, there is no basis for a class analysis of the Liberal revolution, as the country continued to be run by men of affairs with quite similar outlooks regardless of income source. To maintain their leadership, these local elites adapted to the new political forms. The most obvious change was the emergence of *caciquismo*, the system of local "bosses," to replace the eighteenth-century municipal corporation as the mediating institution with Madrid politicians.

While Ringrose does a fine job of demonstrating the existence of this political continuity, this section is not quite as successful as the first. In part, this is because research on politics does not provide much information needed for a "network" approach. Ringrose is heavily dependent, as he generously acknowledges, on the innovative work of Jesús Cruz Valenciano. However, Ringrose's understanding of the state as a political entity involves some of the teleological assumptions he avoids in the book's first section, and he is much less careful about his interpretive vocabulary. His approach to political ideologies fails to explain why members of the Spanish elite argued so passion-

ately over Enlightened reform or Liberal constitutionalism if these were only forms legitimizing their continued control of wealth and power.

Historians of other regions questionably branded as examples of stagnation and failed development produced by an irrational "traditional" society and culture will benefit from Ringrose's approach. The book merits a wide professional readership, and the press should publish a paperback edition.

J. B. OWENS

Idaho State University

JANET POLASKY. *The Democratic Socialism of Emile Vandervelde: Between Reform and Revolution*. New York: Berg. 1995. Pp. xi, 303.

Janet Polasky's political biography of a self-described "major bit player" (p. 3) in European socialism targets the history not of the Belgian working class but of the Second International. The life of Emile Vandervelde, long-time president of the International and a Belgian cabinet minister during and after World War I, offers a good context to explore the dilemmas "between reform and revolution" that faced European Socialists in the national and international arenas. The long chronology highlights pre- and postwar Socialist generations, including the latter's evolution in Belgium toward fascist alternatives. Indeed, the jump from socialist nationalism to a variety of national socialism was not such a big one, given the postwar party's increasingly inward preoccupations and its preference for a pragmatic "Marxism à la belge" (p. 263).

From her opening pages, Polasky anticipates the question of why another study of a doctrine seemingly proven bankrupt by the collapse of regimes in Eastern Europe is necessary. (Her answer is that this collapse shows the greater relevancy of the Western European experience.) Polasky also preempts the question of why she chose to do a study "from the top down" by proposing to complement the plenitude of works "from the bottom up," an answer that may dissatisfy those caught up in current debates between materialist and poststructuralist methodologies. Yet the book supplements its narrative of public struggles over universal suffrage (male and female), colonialism, and pacifism with a treatment of "private" aspects of socialist comradeship, especially at the turn of the century, when many of the International's key encounters occurred at country retreats or in the salons of renowned hostesses. "To Vandervelde, this comradeship was the true Socialist internationalism" (p. 85). The "generational" theme also nicely complements Robert Wohl's pioneering study, *The Generation of 1914* (1979), which omitted Belgium and Hendrik de Man. One wonders, however, if De Man's pacifism was the principal residue of wartime experience in Belgium, unlike the radical taste for violence that most of Wohl's figures shared.

For these issues the biographical approach is eminently suited. Where it seems less effective is in

Polasky's handling of the balance between the International and the Belgian context. When most of the features cited were general to Europe, one wonders what to make of Vandervelde's claim that Belgium was (in Polasky's words) "such an ideal site for the first European Socialist experiment in sharing political responsibility and government power" (p. 173). Issues that rarely won Vandervelde's attention likewise gain little notice here, such as the Flemish question (which Vandervelde considered a distraction from the class struggle), gender conflicts (beyond suffrage), the rise (belated in Belgium) of a Communist Party and its consequences for the socialist movement, and the fate of Belgian industry in the social and technological transformations that followed World War I.

An epilogue sketching developments after Vandervelde's death in 1938 might also have been welcome. Still, no one volume can "cover" all the topics that in most national histories fill a shelf of books. If one is left wanting more, that is surely a sign of a work that has whetted the appetite. As Vandervelde knew, the special role of a small country in international socialism, and in international politics, warrants more attention than is usually granted based on size alone.

KATHRYN E. AMDUR
Emory University

MARTINE OSTORERO. *"Folâtrer avec les démons": Sabbat et chasse aux sorciers à Vevey, 1448.* (Cahiers Lausannois d'histoire médiévale, number 15.) Lausanne: Section d'histoire-Faculté des Lettres-Université de Lausanne. 1995. Pp. 323.

In her study of three witch trials from the Pays de Vaud in 1448, Martine Ostorero provides both a thorough analysis and a transcription of the Latin court records, along with a French translation. Although careful to limit the range of most of her conclusions to fifteenth-century French-speaking Switzerland, Ostorero's work has importance for our understanding of the European witch-hunts as a whole.

An advantage of focusing on this small cluster of cases is the ability to tease out details of the inquisitorial process as well as of the lives of the figures involved. This Ostorero has done marvelously. The trials began in March 1448 with the inquisition against Jaquet Durier, a medical doctor accused of witchcraft when a patient, a functionary for the local *châtelain*, died from Durier's supposedly diabolical ministrations. The *châtelain* knew that Durier's social status might lead a local court to absolve him of responsibility, so the inquisition was called in. The two other accused, Catherine Quicquat—whose name came up in Durier's trial—and Pierre Munier, seem to have become entangled in an adulterous affair that, combined with Quicquat's earlier denunciation for having procured a love potion from an accused witch, provided enough evidence for an inquisition.

Each of these trials was conducted in a different fashion. Durier's trial began with the specific charge of

malefice but moved swiftly to the more important issues of the sabbath meeting, accomplices, and, after torture, his participation in gruesome acts of cannibalistic infanticide. By comparing the questions asked by the inquisitor with contemporary witchcraft treatises, Ostorero shows that the inquisitor relied on stereotypical notions of demonic heresy and forced Durier to comply with these. In Quicquat's trial, the judges emphasized the sexual and animalistic elements of demonic witchcraft, helping to build the foundation for the misogynistic notions of the infamous *Malleus Maleficarum* of 1487, even though in 1448 most of the defendants' named accomplices were men. Of the three victims, Munier was the least socially respectable, yet the inquisitor granted him penance instead of a fiery death. Nor was Munier tortured, hence nothing new on the demonic conspiracy was uncovered. Ostorero suggests that Munier's involvement in a local political dispute had brought suspicion upon him, yet as the community's miller he had good relations with the local ecclesiastical and secular lords, who may have intervened on his behalf.

Ostorero views the inquisition as a political instrument of social control, regulating the mores of the community. She supports the position of Norman Cohn, Robert Muchembled, and others that demonic witchcraft was an invention of learned churchmen, with few significant elements arising out of popular culture. She also counters Carlo Ginzburg's theory (*Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath* [1991])—based on comments made by Johan Nider in the 1430s—that the first fears of a sect of diabolical witches can be traced to ca. 1375, forming part of a trajectory of diabolical plots going back to the leper and Jewish conspiracies in France in the 1320s. Ostorero proposes that the first real witch-hunts began in the 1420s and 1430s, precisely when many churchmen began writing about this newly perceived threat. If correct, then the cases presented here by Ostorero were formative ones for the development of the full witch stereotype of the following decades. Although Ginzburg's focus on the obvious parallels between the persecution of Jews and witches in late medieval Europe still merits investigation, Ostorero must be commended for so ably bringing these cases to light.

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JOHN THEIBAUT. *German Villages in Crisis: Rural Life in Hesse-Kassel and the Thirty Years' War, 1580–1720.* (Studies in German Histories.) Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International. 1995. Pp. xi, 237. \$45.00.

John Theibault's book about a group of Hessian villages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is a model rural study. Clearly written and intelligently argued, it engages a wide range of important issues from the nature of power and authority in the village to the character of the rural community to demo-

graphic change and the impact of the Thirty Years' War. By constantly returning to the "big picture," Theibault avoids most of the pitfalls of a local history, effectively balancing off the specificity of a study of just one district of the smallish principality of Hesse-Kassel.

The book is divided into three parts. The first two parts analyze the structures of village life before the Thirty Years' War, while part three examines "change," in the form of the impact of the war itself on the villages of the Werra district. This organization is perhaps a bit artificial, because as Theibault is quite aware, there was nothing static about the rural world of the "long sixteenth century." On the other hand, by first highlighting central aspects of rural life and then explaining how those characteristics functioned in the crisis of the war, Theibault opens some new perspectives.

Theibault argues that the village was the organizing institution of rural life. Both the Hessian state and the peasants themselves gave pride of place to the village in descriptions of their world. Theibault's analysis of the village begins, as do most studies of the German countryside, with the nature of power and authority—the "strands of *Herrschaft*"—rather than (as do most studies in the French tradition of rural history) with social and economic structures. German villages were subject to a bewildering number of authorities, all of which exercised some aspect or other of *Herrschaft* and were intent on collecting taxes, enforcing social discipline, and administering justice. Theibault, following the lead of scholars such as Peter Blickle, Thomas Robisheaux, and David Sabean, reminds us how peasants "participated in their own domination," serving for example as *Schultheissen*, who were simultaneously local state officials and representatives of the village community. The early modern state could not govern the countryside without the help of some elements within the villages, and this dependency limited the impact of state policy.

Although villages experienced real social and economic conflicts, Hessian villagers took concepts like community and neighborliness very seriously. Communal solidarity allowed villagers effectively to resist new taxes or to influence the nature of disciplinary measures promoted by the Lutheran church. At the same time, village communities were dominated by male property holders who were often willing and able to repress dissent. Theibault paints a nuanced picture. Villages were far from democratic places, but the ideology of community was powerful and it was regularly reinforced by communal celebrations like the *Kirmes* (the annual parish festival) and weekly church services.

In part two, Theibault moves inside the village, discussing households, families and kinship in chapter three and social and economic stratification in chapter four. These chapters make a number of interesting points about the male domination of families, the importance of the household as a locus of both con-

sumption and production, the significance of kinship in villages, and the prevalence of violence at the local level. The regional scale of the study, however, means that Theibault is not able to reconstruct families and village economic structures in the kind of detail necessary to come to firm conclusions about most of these issues. The result is a series of suggestive, but inconclusive, arguments.

The final section of the book focuses on the impact of the Thirty Years' War. Theibault once again engages all the major disputes in the field, for example arguing persuasively that there was no major economic decline in the Werra region before the war. He describes in detail the scale of destruction caused by the marauding armies and the cumulative effect of new taxes, depopulation, and plundering. The recovery and rebuilding of the region is also an interesting and important story. One is impressed by the determination of the survivors to rebuild their villages. Furthermore, the people of the Werra region reformed their communities on the basis of the same institutions and practices—the village, the family, traditional agriculture, *Herrschaft*—that had characterized life before the war. Significant changes in social and economic structure did not come until the 1720s and 1730s, when the population reached its prewar levels, leading to an increase in poverty but also stimulating agricultural innovation and the growth of rural industry.

Theibault shows that the Thirty Years' War can be studied at the local and regional level and that such studies reveal much about the everyday experience of war and its aftermath. More studies of this kind will encourage historians to grasp the ways in which the population (and the state as well) adapted to new situations, before, during, and after the war. As Theibault aptly states: "Neither the administration nor the villagers were so constrained by tradition that they did not see an opportunity to change the village to better suit their changing needs" (p. 193). This focus on the response of the German population to the great crisis of the seventeenth century is an important corrective to the tendency of scholars of this period to ask only if the war led to progress of the economy and the modernization of German society.

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ARLEEN MARCIA TUCHMAN. *Science, Medicine, and the State in Germany: The Case of Baden, 1815–1871*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 200. \$39.95.

Arleen Marcia Tuchman has written a useful institutional history focusing on the development of academic medicine and physiology in the state of Baden from the end of the Napoleonic Wars to German unification. Her book is particularly welcome in view of the relative paucity of useful and reliable historical studies of non-Prussian academic developments during this period, so that historians are still in part relying on

works already two or three decades old. Tuchman offers a corrective to such works, though it should be noted that some of her criticisms of the recent literature (for its lack of attention to the political context of the institutional development of science during her period) are rapidly becoming obsolete with the almost simultaneous appearance of new studies such as Alan J. Rocke, *The Quiet Revolution: Hermann Kolbe and the Science of Organic Chemistry* (1993), or Christoph Meinel and Hartmut Scholz, eds., *Die Allianz von Wissenschaft und Industrie: August Wilhelm Hofmann 1818–1892* (1992).

About half the space in the book is devoted to the institutional development of medical education and research within the context of the struggle between conservatism and liberal reform in Baden during the three decades before the revolution of 1848. Tuchman focuses on three significant medical researchers, Friedrich Tiedemann and later Jacob Henle and Karl Pfeufer, who helped to shape the program of scientific medicine at the University of Heidelberg during these years. She also looks at the origins of bureaucratic policies that helped foster significant increases in spending for new scientific educational institutions at the secondary and higher levels, reasonably arguing that parliamentary liberals connected science to constitutionalism as well as to economic modernization (here she could have distinguished more clearly between the views of moderates and radicals).

While correcting Peter Borscheid's argument, in *Naturwissenschaft, Staat und Industrie in Baden, 1848–1914* (1976), that increased support for science (led by agricultural chemistry) came only after the 1848 revolution, in fear of another revolution-producing agricultural crisis, Tuchman nevertheless agrees that only "the scare of the revolution" could induce the government "to spend tens of thousands of gulden in the 1850s to build experimental laboratories" (p. 104). Yet Tuchman's own figures (p. 104) show that more was spent for university science institutes in the 1840s than in the 1850s. Moreover, her quantitative presentation of the increased levels of spending for "science education" (which includes schools of engineering, industry, and agriculture as well as modern secondary schools) is misleading. In Tables 2.1 (p. 47) and 5.1 (p. 104) and their accompanying graphical representations, she uses the phrase "rates of growth" (incorrectly implying annual percentage changes) to refer to indexes of growth (changes from a single base year). Tuchman's picture of the post-revolutionary growth of spending for science education is also less impressive when calculated as a percentage of the total education budget. Although the percentage for science education did rise steadily and sharply from eight percent in 1831–1832 to twenty-three percent in 1846–1847, after the revolution its fluctuations conceal a more modest overall increase: from 1850–1851 to 1870–1871 the annual average was twenty-six percent, just three percent higher than in 1846.

Tuchman is better at analyzing internal academic

politics and developments in science and medicine (research as well as education) that influenced the movements of various university professors of physiology, particularly after 1848. She shows how new forms of instrumentation and connections to medicine helped to institutionalize experimental physiology, as exemplified by the early career of Hermann von Helmholtz. By placing the development of instrumentation along with the rise of routine laboratory instruction for students in the context of a liberal-oriented "ideology of the practical" and featuring Helmholtz's 1862 use of the slogan "knowledge is power," she critiques the assumption made by historical sociologists Joseph Ben-David (*The Scientist's Role in Society* [1971]), Avraham Zloczower (*Career Opportunities and the Growth of Scientific Discovery in Nineteenth Century Germany* [repr. 1981]), and some older historians that nineteenth-century German state governments supported academic physiology simply as science for its own sake. At the same time, she does not deny Ben-David's and Zloczower's stronger argument that the decentralized, competitive German academic system allowed Baden's initiatives in promoting support for physiology to spread quickly to the larger states.

In short, Tuchman's book provides new information on the institutional development of science in nineteenth-century Germany outside Prussia. She usefully criticizes previous analyses by stressing the liberal political-economic motivations behind increased support for science, but her argument remains weak in some respects, such as her interpretation of the quantitative data.

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DIRK HOERDER and JÖRG NAGLER, editors. *People in Transit: German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820–1930*. (Publications of the German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C.) New York: Cambridge University Press, for the Institute. 1995. Pp. xv, 433. \$79.94.

The largest and one of the longest-present groups of Europeans settling in North America, German migrants have attracted much scholarly attention. The superb collection of essays edited by Dirk Hoerder and Jörg Nagler on German migrants in both Europe and the United States during the past two centuries provides vivid confirmation of the invaluable current contributions by German scholars to these subjects. This book is an indication of the extent to which the writing of migration history today is the product of the interaction and collaboration of scholars from both "sending" and "receiving" countries. About two thirds of the twenty contributors are German nationals, a number of whom have spent extended periods conducting research in the United States. One of the contributors is Polish. A quarter are at American universities; almost all of the Americans have done extensive research in Germany. Thus Hoerder's and

Nagler's collection reminds us of the contribution by American scholars to the examination of German migration within Europe. One of the finer essays on this last subject in the collection is by an American, James Jackson, Jr., on "Migration in Duisburg, 1821–1914."

Although in America today public discussion of most ethnic groups is as compromised as ever by ethnic chauvinism and by a misconstrued filial piety bent upon assaying each group's "contribution" to the nation, little historical work on Germans now follows this pattern. On both sides of the Atlantic for the past quarter century, a new, still-expanding generation of scholars has been deepening and rewriting the history of the German diaspora in ways that break decisively with the ethnocentricity and "contributions approach" prevalent in early twentieth-century German and German-American scholarship on migrants. This new generation has rejected the racism that, even before the Third Reich, horribly tainted German scholarship on migration, America, and other subjects. The best known of their endeavors, an undertaking on German workers in Chicago modeled on the Philadelphia Social History Project, was funded by the Volkswagen Foundation and enlisted the cooperation of both German and American scholars. The major publications resulting from the Chicago Project include Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Chicago, 1850–1910: A Comparative Perspective* (1983) and Hartmut Keil, ed., *German Workers' Culture in the United States, 1850 to 1920* (1988).

It is worth pondering that the high quality of contemporary work on German America occurs at a time when German Americans have virtually disappeared, or become invisible, in the United States, even in rural areas and urban enclaves where they were once so noticeable. Also worth contemplating is that this high quality is reminiscent of the beginnings of the serious investigation of German migration to the United States initiated by such remarkable German-American intellectuals as Franz von Löher and the "Forty-Eighter" Friedrich Kapp and continued, albeit in other directions, during the early twentieth century by the Socialist exile Hermann Schlüter's magnificent studies of the role of German workers in the development of American trade unions and in the political crises leading to the Civil War.

The use of comparative approaches in exploring the causes, dynamics, and patterns of migration to the new homeland is one means by which practitioners of German-American history have avoided the cul-de-sac of ethnocentrism since World War II. Many of the essays in the Hoerder and Nagler collection provide instructive comparisons with other modern migrations. A few essays concentrate on non-German migrants in Europe or on transatlantic migrants of other nationalities. For example, K. M. Barfuss writes on "Foreign Workers in and around Bremen, 1884–1918"; Suzanne M. Sinke on "The International Marriage Market"; Joy K. Lintelman on "Immigrant Women and Domes-

tic Service in North America, 1850–1920"; and Deidre M. Mageean on the "Acculturation of Immigrant Women in Chicago at the Turn of the Twentieth Century."

The major themes taken up by the essays can be gathered together into a series of six generalizations: 1) migration, at least in many areas of the world, is not principally a phenomenon of the past few hundred years; craftsmen and other groups had long-standing migratory patterns reaching, in Europe, far into the medieval past; 2) the poorest people in a country or area seldom migrate, and when they do, they are much less likely than other migrants to go overseas; 3) the rates of migration from various parts of a country or state are seldom similar; local and regional circumstances play a critical role; some villages and towns have high rates of migration, whereas others remain virtually impervious to migration; 4) migrants cluster in some districts while avoiding settlement in others; "chain migration" ensures that some communities "send" many emigrants to a few receiving areas; 5) return migration has occurred often, especially during the past two centuries; 6) migration frequently induces changes in gender roles. For example, Sibylle Quack finds that German Jewish women arriving in America as refugees from the Nazi regime adjusted far more rapidly than their spouses to vast changes in their life situations.

Other themes in Hoerder's and Nagler's collection pertain mainly to German migration within Europe. These include the often underestimated extent of German migration eastward, especially to Poland and Russia, as late as the nineteenth century, as well as the migration by non-Germans, predominantly Prussian Poles, from their homes in the east to western Germany, most notably the Ruhr, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Some of the essays have great significance for other broad areas of research. Among these areas are Jewish, women's, and working-class history. An excellent instance of the analysis of the working class is Sven Beckert's study of the textile industry in Passaic, New Jersey. Beckert finds that, until the mid-1920s, ethnicity acted as a divisive force hindering the development of trade unions; the overwhelmingly German employers favored German workers and appealed to a common German culture that ostensibly bound together all Germans regardless of social class. Taking an approach common in labor studies, Beckert contends that economic leveling of the working force during the early 1920s encouraged skilled German workers to cooperate with other workers regardless of nationality.

Several essays furnish dramatic warnings to anyone who still assumes that internal, continental, and overseas migration constitute realistic alternatives for most individuals. Social, vocational, religious, and other groups have at a given time opted for one migratory path without seriously considering others. Susanne Meyer examines an industrial island created in northwestern Germany in an agrarian district near Os-

nabrück during the nineteenth century: although many local people emigrated overseas, the blue-collar workers in this new industrial area were drawn largely from other regions of Germany excepting the lowest sectors of the indigenous rural labor force. Similarly, Jackson's essay on Duisburg shows that in the nineteenth century, Catholics flowed into this expanding city while local Protestants tended to depart for America; and Axel Lubinski's study of "Overseas Emigration from Mecklenburg-Strelitz" concludes that during the nineteenth century, emigration from state-owned or ducal villages in that principality was more than twice as intensive as that from the villages of the independent peasantry. According to Lubinski, the so-called free laborers had fewer financial resources. Characterizing one result of overseas emigration as exporting the "social question," he employs a concept that one of the senior contributors, Klaus J. Bade, has helped to make known among the reading public in Germany.

In a concluding essay, Bade suggestively links past, present, and future by recapitulating his thesis that Germany shifted from its role in the nineteenth century as a prototypical land of emigration, whether the emigrants went eastward in Europe or to the Americas, to a country importing labor in the twentieth century. He argues that the importation of workers on a large scale after World War II was preceded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries first by the seasonal employment of Prussian Poles in eastern German agriculture and western German industry and subsequently by the Nazis' use of forced labor predominantly from Eastern Europe. Bade provocatively describes Germany after World War II as absorbing over fifteen million migrants—expellees and refugees from Eastern Europe—as well as some five million "foreign workers" and their families, and as thereby becoming a "new type of immigration country" (p. 405) with a large resident population of foreigners, many of them born in Germany but few able to become citizens. He contends that the ratio of immigrants to inhabitants in West Germany was unrivaled during the era following World War II except in Israel and Australia. Noting the hostility of many German citizens to the large numbers of resident "foreigners," he seeks to relativize it by suggesting that animosity toward foreigners is common in contemporary Europe. With a touch of irony, he contrasts this animosity to the welcome that, he believes, German emigrants generally received in other countries during the era of large-scale external emigration from Germany in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Hoerder's and Nagler's collection will be read with great profit, both for its contributions to migration theory and for the rich data it contains.

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MARIA TATAR. *Lustmord: Sexual Murder in Weimar Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 213. \$23.00.

Film director Alfred Hitchcock wrote of the terrifying shower scene in *Psycho* (1960) that he sought "[an] impression of a knife slashing, as if tearing at the very screen, ripping the film" (cited on p. 35). Maria Tatar uses that remark to support one of her major contentions: that male artists depicting a sexual murder have often identified with the murderer, despised the female victim, and infused their works with the sense of these emotions. The men in her focus were among the stalwarts of modernism in Weimar Germany—visual artists Otto Dix and George Grosz, novelist Alfred Döblin, and filmmaker Fritz Lang. Hitchcock, of course, was not a Weimar artist. Tatar indeed moves freely across the boundaries of time and nationality, making Weimar seem like an episode and implying that this proclivity toward violence against women has always and everywhere found a home in modernist culture. For immediate context, she also examines the cases of several of Weimar's real-life sexual murderers and analyzes public response.

There is a good deal of theory at the beginning of the book. Seeking to explain male (and male artistic) mistreatment of female bodies, Tatar cites Walter Benjamin and Elisabeth Bronfen to the effect that male artists think of their masculinity being born and of their femininity dying through the creation of art. Men fear engulfment by women or project onto women their own hated sexual desires; by lashing out at a woman, a man demonstrates his own spiritualization. Feminism had stoked men's fears, and World War I had threatened or destroyed male identities and bodies alike. Also, men used women to obtain things: why would a male artist not represent a female corpse and climb over it for fame?

Actually, another theory crops up in the four artists' work, "the most prominent explanatory model in our own culture" (p. 28), and Tatar decries it: the idea that a man's violence comes from a woman's prompting, often his mother's in the form of hostile overregulation or seductiveness or both. The purpose of the conception is to confuse or reverse the roles of "agent" and "victim." In Lang's *M* (1931), for example, the murderer Beckert has a "pathology . . . linked to a need for maternal punishment embedded in a fear of maternal surveillance" (p. 169).

Tatar's book turns to a degree upon the (usually intricate) application of the cited theories to the works at hand. Dix seems ready-made for this form of interpretation. Even that most abstract point about the male artist's exultation in transcending lower, female levels of creation or reproduction is shown in Dix, whose paintings present "an implied dividing line . . . between male creative spirits and female reproductive bodies" (p. 91). Grosz, too, leads Tatar to draw from her stock of theories, but much of the theoretical discussion is held from the chapters on Döblin and

Lang. All told, Tatar is an intelligent and very deft interpreter in all media. She pushes her theories, but not where the works do not support them. She is quick to concede that many features of this art seem overdetermined, and modulates her voice effectively along the register of assurance and speculation.

This book points in too many directions for a single, main contribution to be named. That it should unsettle the historiography on Weimar culture will be clear. The approach to modernism is bold, particularly the critique of "our attempts to produce stabilizing definitions of modernist aesthetics by emphasizing manners over matter" (p. 8). For Tatar, the represented female corpse does not gain its significance by way of color or shape. There is in this book also an impressive and timely plea for clarity about who is "victim" and who is "agent" in sexual crime.

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MARY LOWENTHAL FELSTINER. *To Paint Her Life: Charlotte Salomon in the Nazi Era*. New York: HarperCollins. 1994. Pp. xiv, 290. \$27.50.

Charlotte Salomon's painted autobiography is perhaps the most unusual account of the Nazi era by a Holocaust victim. In 765 colored paintings, produced in French exile shortly before her deportation to Auschwitz in 1943, Salomon recreated numerous episodes of a remarkable life that had begun a mere twenty-six years earlier in Berlin. Although Salomon's life and work has received some attention in the 1980s—the Amsterdam Jewish Historical Museum boasted a successful exhibit in 1981, the same year in which there appeared a complete edition of her autobiography, the screening of a feature film, and the staging in Jerusalem of a play based on her life—a definitive biography remained a desideratum. Mary Lowenthal Felstiner has now filled this gap with an impressive work.

Felstiner tells a story whose significance reaches far beyond the fascinating fate of Salomon herself. By contextualizing her life, Felstiner provides glimpses into a broad range of topics concerning German-Jewish life during the first third of this century. When discussing the numerous suicides in Charlotte's family, she points to the high number of German Jews who took their own lives even before the Nazi era. The portrait of Charlotte's parents—the father a professor of mathematics, the stepmother an acclaimed opera singer—is placed within the context of German-Jewish acculturation.

This biography also offers an impressive account of the cultural ghetto to which German Jews were returned by force after 1933. Charlotte's stepmother and some of her own friends were active in the Jüdischer Kulturbund (Jewish Cultural League), where only Jewish artists performed before exclusively Jewish audiences. Kurt Singer, the founder and president of the Kulturbund, figures prominently in the paintings as

"Dr. Singsang," while Charlotte's stepmother, Paula Salomon-Lindberg, is transformed into "Paulinka Bimbam." Finally, this is a feminist biography, which demonstrates that women often suffered a different fate than men even when standing at the ramps of Auschwitz. By 1939, more Jewish women than men had stayed behind in Germany; the number of Jewish women deported from Austria by Alois Brunner was twice that of men. Once the women arrived in Auschwitz, they were more likely to be sent straight to the gas chambers. When Auschwitz was liberated, only seventeen percent of the survivors were women.

While Nazis figure less prominently in Salomon's memoir, Felstiner provides insight into a parallel biography: that of Alois Brunner, Adolf Eichmann's right-hand man and the SS official responsible for Salomon's deportation from southern France to Auschwitz. Felstiner chose to present Brunner's personal life rather than his SS career. In a fascinating section, she juxtaposes Salomon's wedding shortly before her deportation in 1943 with Brunner's marriage application a year earlier, presented to the SS Race and Resettlement Office to avoid any racial or character flaws for the future bride. Unlike his victim, Brunner survived the war, escaped the Allies, and may still be alive in Syria, where he spent the last decades.

Notwithstanding the important historical contextualization, the most precious value of this biography is the uncovering of a whole range of previously unknown material about Salomon herself. Felstiner has interviewed surviving friends and family members and has found relevant material in French, Dutch, British, Israeli, and American archives. Historians may disapprove of the lack of footnotes (notes are provided according to the key terms on the page), and it is not easy to trace the sources, especially without a bibliography. One may also object to Felstiner's conclusion, which compares the Holocaust victim Salomon with her distant murderer Brunner: "The SS killer who believed the Reich would thrive minus the Jews—the new war won, the last war reversed, the world in Deutschland's debt, the nation whole, the children safe, the Germans' blood too pure to spill again—that person was by far the more deceived" (p. 234). This is an honorable but perhaps unconvincing attempt to find justice even in the darkest hours of history, an almost desperate search for a posthumous happy ending.

Salomon herself struck a more somber tone when she painted, in 1937–1938, what her closest friend called a self-portrait: a birch tree, which "seems without a root to rest on . . . Only the tree's topmost crown is trying not to give up but to keep going on" (p. 235). In her case, even the top proved too feeble in the end. In the face of death, she made no attempts to resist or escape her murderers. In the middle of the war, under immediate threat of deportation from France, Salomon married openly under her real name, and when the authorities ordered her to appear, she willingly presented herself. What happened to her, to her friends and family, to all Jews in Europe must have

struck her as almost unreal and perhaps provided the title of her unique account, "Leben oder Theater?" (Life or Theater?). Although one may disagree with some of Felstiner's conclusions, this remains a masterful biography of a woman famed for her own autobiography and an essential new source for every scholar of the Holocaust.

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JONATHAN PETROPOULOS. *Art as Politics in the Third Reich*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xviii, 439. \$45.00.

Judging from the title of this book, one might assume that it was written for an audience curious about the way the arts—specifically painting and sculpture—were incorporated into Nazi propaganda. This is not the case. Jonathan Petropoulos does not study connections between aesthetics and ideology in the National Socialist *Weltanschauung*. Unlike the best-known monographs and exhibition catalogs that have documented this topic—for instance, Berthold Hinz's *Art in the Third Reich* (1979) and the catalog edited by Stephanie Barron, "Degenerate Art": *The Fate of the Avant Garde in Nazi Germany* (1991)—Petropoulos's book does not focus on how Adolf Hitler and his gang perceived paintings and sculptures, nor does it explore their exploitation of art to heighten the popularity of the Nazi Party. Instead, his primary subject is the effort of Nazi leaders to obtain European art treasures, sometimes by legal but usually by underhanded methods, in order to "further their own careers and as a means of self-definition" (p. 7).

Petropoulos treats the history of Nazi art plundering in two stages. In the first part of this study, he details how each of the Nazi principals, including Joseph Goebbels, Alfred Rosenberg, Hermann Göring, Heinrich Himmler, Robert Ley, Bernhard Rust, Baldur von Schirach, Albert Speer, and Hitler himself, competed to control party and state policies toward the arts. Like Petropoulos, I am struck by the "inordinate amount of time and energy" (p. 5) they devoted to administering museums, academies, art journals, exhibitions, and cultural exchanges at the same time that they were managing the rest of the "Nazi revolution" and pushing their nation toward war.

In his close reading of many new-found sources, Petropoulos finds much that justifies Martin Broszat's (*The Hitler State* [1981]) theses about the competitive environment at the top of the Nazi hierarchy. No area of cultural authority remained uncontested as the subleaders struggled to earn their Führer's favor. In most cases, the intention was not to realize a vision of German or National Socialist beauty, although all of these parvenus pretended cultural expertise. Many of the works they deemed unacceptable were destroyed, but their main aim was to position themselves to steal from the victims of Nazi racial and foreign policies. In perhaps the most extreme and heinous case of conspic-

uous consumption on record, these men (especially Hitler) undertook a ferocious campaign of pillaging on a scale greater than any in European history.

In the second part of his book, Petropoulos provides chapters on the "collecting" habits of each of the major plunderers, particularly in the occupied territories. Supposedly devoted to establishing a new German community based on subsuming individual under state identity, Petropoulos argues that the thieves were motivated less by aesthetic, national, or even racist ideals than by desire for personal gain. Behind the façade of ascetic commitment, greed, corruption, and a taste for luxury were common to all the leaders of the "new order," even Speer, the supposedly respectable "artist." Petropoulos is right when he treats this as a revival of gift and pillage traditions: in the case of Himmler, it was a way to live out feudal fantasies (pp. 216–220). More broadly, he holds, the amassing and exchanging of stolen treasure was a process "laden with symbolic meaning" (p. 15) by which the perpetrators demonstrated personal authority (vis à vis victims and other perpetrators), marked power alliances (by giving gifts to friends and enemies), and competed for the affection of their Führer (by providing him signs of fealty). Petropoulos closes with the suggestion that the hoarding was also meant to signify that these men constituted a new elite destined to replace the old German aristocracy, and thus it foreshadowed the class war launched after July 20, 1944.

One should be familiar with the literature on National Socialist culture before reading this book, because Petropoulos offers little information about the theories behind the actions. He often attempts to explain concepts such as *völkisch* culture, National Socialist art, and degenerate art in parenthesis (pp. 28–29, 52, 56). Moreover, he does not discuss the earlier phases of Nazi art policy. Although Petropoulos's story begins in the 1930s, attacks on modern art were common in the main party newspaper before then. A tradition of antimodernism among people of all political persuasions led up to the Nazi imposition of conservative aesthetic principles, and this partly explains the enthusiasm, or at best indifference, with which these measures were received by the public at large.

In addition to leaving the artworks themselves out of sight, Petropoulos also omits the stories of persons victimized by Nazi thievery. Although he is compassionate about the suffering they caused, he does not communicate how art seizures added to the pain of people who lost everything. This said, Petropoulos has developed important insights into the motives of the perpetrators and thereby clarified the context that surrounded the specific actions described by Lynn H. Nicholas in *The Rape of Europa: The Fate of Europe's Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War* (1994).

By mentioning these omissions, I do not mean to criticize Petropoulos's work but to specify its contents. It is not about art as expression, but art as commodity,

which would have been clear had the book carried a different title (perhaps "Artworks as Booty Inside and Outside the Third Reich"). If Petropoulos's book is not compelling reading for someone interested in aesthetics and ideology, it is an excellent source of information about art theft and destruction by the self-styled cultural elite of Nazi Germany, men obviously not talented enough to create anything on their own.

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DORIS L. BERGEN. *Twisted Cross: The German Christian Movement in the Third Reich*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 341. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

During the Third Reich, the pro-Nazi Protestant faction known as the German Christians (*Deutsche Christen*) tried to revitalize the German Protestant Church according to Nazi racial and organizational principles, thus transforming it into the mouthpiece of *völkisch* nationalism. Yet in the literature on the Church Struggle (*Kirchenkampf*), the German Christians have received less attention than their opposition, the Confessing Church (*Bekennende Kirche*). After the war, the most prominent oppositional figures assumed the ecclesiastical leadership, and the most blatant pro-Nazi attitudes were suppressed. The impact of the German Christians has therefore not been fully confronted. Instead, scholars routinely agree that, for all their success in centralizing the Protestant church immediately after the Nazi takeover and installing Ludwig Müller as Reich Bishop, the German Christian movement declined thereafter.

Doris L. Bergen effectively challenges that view. Although by 1935 the Nazi regime had withdrawn its support from the German Christian church because of the uproar it produced, the German Christians maintained an insidious presence not only in many parishes, where they attracted a vocal laity, but also in the theological faculties of German universities. Despite internal dissension, Bergen argues, the German Christians remained unified on crucial points, especially the "dejudaization" of Christianity. Rather than being the opportunistic parasites of the Nazi party, the German Christian revival sprouted from a deeply rooted Protestant nationalism and anti-Semitism exacerbated by Germany's defeat in World War I.

To be sure, notes Bergen, contradictory aims and theological bankruptcy weakened the German Christians. Their fusion of Christianity and Nazism—in her view two incompatible belief systems—attracted but a small percentage of Germany's Protestants. The German Christians wanted a *Volkskirche* that welcomed nominal Protestants, yet they excluded racially impure "non-Aryans." They desired a "manly" church but relied on female participation. The mindless anticlericalism and contempt for academic theology not only of the German Christian laity but also of sympathetic

pastors and theologians scorned serious engagement with the issues that defined the Christian tradition. The German Christians reduced worship services to nazified spectacles, while the church as an institution with its own integrity and mandate disappeared into the will of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. (Some German Christian pastors, Bergen writes, held meetings in pubs so as to accommodate the beer-guzzling propensities of their parishioners.) Furthermore, the German Christians wanted a supranational church that elided confessional differences, but their anti-Catholicism belied the sincerity of their overtures across the confessional divide. Finally, their determination to de-judaize Christianity by eliminating the Old Testament and revamping the New dechristianized Christianity altogether. Nevertheless, Bergen maintains, the German Christians did more damage than their numbers would indicate. They did not simply undermine church autonomy and politicize the Protestant faith beyond recognition. They created an "anti-Jewish religion that echoed and promoted Nazi genocide" (p. 171).

Bergen is most convincing when she demonstrates the German Christians' abiding influence throughout the Nazi period. Although she acknowledges the profound ambivalence toward Judaism in the Christian tradition, the fanaticism of the German Christians is inexplicable without the contingencies of historical context. The poisonous climate of interwar Germany did more than spawn the German Christians; it also prompted them to reinvent basic Christian concepts and to transform the meaning of the sacraments to conform to the politics of the radical right. Bergen argues that the vehement anti-Semitism of the German Christians could not have developed without distorting Christianity, for the "twisted cross" refers to more than just the swastika. (Sin, for example, was downplayed in favor of heroism, largely because of Germany's wartime defeat. Baptism became an anti-Semitic celebration of *völkisch* unity.) Bergen insightfully links the exaggerated masculinity of the German Christians with their racism. Only a battle-hardened, masculine toughness would defeat the racial enemy and the judaized "soft" Christianity favored by conventional theology. Further, by covering the postwar period, she shows how the Protestant church, eager to limit denazification, quietly reinstated German Christian pastors and lay leaders. Her photographs, which include "Reibi" Müller's baby kissing (p. 78) and *der spießbürgerliche* Hans Kerrl, minister for church affairs, lounging at the piano while his dour wife plays (p. 56), exquisitely support the text.

Less compelling, however, is Bergen's attempt to implicate the German Christians in the Final Solution. To be sure, the German Christians facilitated the social exclusion of non-Aryan Protestants. Church officials, as Bergen points out, issued the baptismal certificates that the regime used to determine racial ancestry. And the anti-Semitism of the German Christians was *apocalyptic*. It is to Bergen's credit that she identifies anti-Semitism as the life force of the German

Christian movement, for although the German Christian dejudaization campaign was crucial to the *Kirchenkampf*, it has been easy to dismiss its pernicious effects because the Reich church failed and the German Christians factionalized. But asserting that the "final world struggle" with Judaism voiced by the German Christian pastor Julius Leutheuser meant that Leutheuser knew about the Holocaust (p. 152) because he served on the eastern front does little to connect the "ecclesiastical final solution" (that is, dejudaising Christianity) with the "real" one. Bergen needs evidence beyond the similarities in German Christian and Nazi language to sustain her understandable suspicion. Finally, despite the validity of Bergen's claim that the German Christian movement had to destroy Christianity to create its anti-Jewish version, she barely recognizes the persistent, if less extreme, anti-Semitism elsewhere in Protestant circles. Admittedly, the very existence of the German Christians testified to the sickness of German Protestantism during the Third Reich. Yet that sickness also infected the Confessing Church, whose pastors and theologians took Christian doctrine and Christianity's Jewish origins much more seriously. German Protestants did not have to distort Christianity to condone Nazi anti-Semitism. They could draw from the anti-Judaism that defined the tradition.

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PETER HOFFMANN. *Stauffenberg: A Family History, 1905-1944*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 424. \$39.95.

On July 20, 1944, a handful of German anti-Nazis tried but failed to assassinate Adolf Hitler and overthrow the Nazi regime. The trigger of the conspiracy was Claus Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg. For over fifty years now, bitter, emotional, and often partisan controversy has swirled around the conspirators of July 20. Peter Hoffmann, in numerous books and articles, including his massive *Widerstand, Staatsstreich, Attentat: Der Kampf der Opposition gegen Hitler* (1969), has explored virtually every dimension of the plot against Hitler. This book (first published in German as *Claus Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg und seine Brüder* [1992]) is his most recent contribution. Unlike earlier biographies, Hoffmann's study places Stauffenberg's life in a much wider context, using a range of materials unexamined in earlier biographies. As in all his earlier work, Hoffmann's command of the primary material is prodigious.

A model of dispassionate historical investigation and exposition, this book is also driven by a deeply moral concern. Hoffmann's central question is: "What road brought Claus . . . to the sandpile in the courtyard of the Berlin War Ministry where he was shot, and his brother, Berthold, to the hook on which he was strangled in the execution hut of Plötzensee Prison? What is the meaning of these sacrifices?" (p. xiii). His

unstated premise is that ethical choice is the fateful outcome of character, chance, and circumstance, not of abstract lawyerly deliberation; ethics is a matter of history, not casuistry. Hoffmann identifies three master themes that pointed the Stauffenberg brothers to the plot against Hitler: their allegiance to family; their family's tradition of service to the state; and their intense engagement with the peculiar Stefan George circle.

One of this book's greatest merits is that it will please neither the Stauffenbergs' uncritical admirers nor their often vehement critics. Hoffmann fully explores the most serious charge raised by critics of the brothers, their support of National Socialism. The three Stauffenberg brothers (Alexander, Berthold, and Claus) were educated as aristocratic conservatives. Neither racist nor anti-Semitic, they nevertheless endorsed in varying degrees the sinister identification of patriotism with ethnicity, the so-called "racial principle." Although only Claus became a professional soldier, all three brothers accepted the military's "principle of subordination" and the cult of patriotic self-sacrifice. They enthusiastically adopted poet Stefan George's elitism, his idealization of the "heroic aristocratic warrior," and his fascination with an exclusive "Secret Germany." Not surprisingly, the Stauffenbergs were attracted to National Socialism.

Hoffmann also traces the brothers' alienation from Nazism and the development of their determination to destroy it. Neither anti-Nazis from the start nor last-minute opportunists, the Stauffenberg brothers went through a long and painful moral purgation. Chronology is crucial. Although the Stauffenbergs approved in general the policies of the Nazi government from 1933-1938, they repudiated what they thought were its more extreme manifestations. But the purge of generals Werner von Fritsch and Werner von Blomberg in 1938, Hitler's increasing adventurism, and the pogrom of November 1938 disabused them of their illusions.

Conspiracies are notoriously difficult to track, and precisely when Claus decided to attack the regime is difficult to determine. Although he was critical of the regime since at least 1938, the Russian campaign apparently proved decisive. By early 1942, Hitler's military incompetence and the murder of the Jews in the East convinced Stauffenberg that "there is only one solution. It is to kill him" (p. 145). It would take the better part of two years for him to act. The fundamental problem was not indecisiveness on his part. Circumstances intervened: he was at the front in Africa for part of that time; much of early 1943 he spent recovering from severe wounds. But the fundamental problem was finding allies among the military leadership.

When, at long last, Stauffenberg succeeded in forcing the coup attempt, he and his fellow conspirators were motivated not by any real hope for success but rather by a moral need both to strike at Hitler and to purge themselves publicly of their complicity in Hitler's crimes. Paradoxically, the conspirators would

agree with their harshest critics that they were indeed responsible for deeds done in Germany's name; precisely this sense of responsibility and the guilt it entailed drove them to action. Hoffmann concludes: "Claus and Berthold Stauffenberg gave their lives . . . as . . . atonement for the crimes of the Reich's leaders. They could not live without revolting against those crimes . . . the conspirators' self-sacrifice represents a continuing existential challenge to contemporaries and successors alike" (p. 285). Theirs was the most dramatic public act of German anti-Nazism, and in this sense it symbolically incarnates German resistance: "All acts of resistance to the criminal regime participate in the legitimacy that Stauffenberg's act created" (p. 285).

Controversy will undoubtedly continue to swirl around the conspirators of July 20, but it will, one hopes, be informed by Hoffmann's exhaustive scholarship. This book is both a major contribution to a specific historical discussion and a model of immense erudition, exhaustive research, and intense moral concern.

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CHRISTOPHER A. REYNOLDS. *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's, 1380–1513*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 439. \$60.00.

The spectacular patronage of the arts by early sixteenth-century popes, particularly Julius II and the Medici popes Leo X and Clement VII, has tended to obscure our view of ecclesiastical patronage in fifteenth-century Rome, and the prominence accorded by music historians to the Papal Singers of the Sistine Chapel, has, in similar manner, played to the misconception of Rome as another Italian city-state characterized by monolithic institutions and patronage structures. Christopher A. Reynolds's intricate and profound study transforms our understanding of musical Rome during the early Renaissance by examining the rise of the musical establishment at St. Peter's during a critical, resurgent period in the history of Rome.

The chronological heart of Reynolds's book is the period 1447–1485, by which time Rome was emerging from the economic and political chaos wrought by the Schism. Popes Nicholas V (1447–1456) and Sixtus IV (1471–1484) undertook architectural and decorative projects consonant with their vision of Rome as the new Jerusalem. Financial windfall from the influx of pilgrims during the Jubilee of 1450 enabled Nicholas to begin new construction at St. Peter's, and within months of his election a number of changes signaled the attendant expansion of the basilica's capacity for liturgical splendor in a manner that provided a model for successive Renaissance popes: the arrival of "northern" (primarily French and Flemish) musicians,

the expansion of the choir and the overhauling of its administration, the granting of benefices to musicians, the presence of trained boy singers from the north (who facilitated the performance of more complex polyphony), organ construction, and an increase in music copying. The presence of northern musicians and repertoire in Rome is a central theme of the book, for it characterizes a mid-fifteenth-century period of multinationalism—begotten by a desire to heal the nationalistic divisions of the Schism and promote the image of a united church and cosmopolitan city—that was maintained by the large number of northern cardinals in the Roman curia. All this had changed by 1513, when, in a climate of increasing nationalism following the French invasions of Italy, Julius II founded the *Cappella Giulia* at St. Peter's and the italianization of the curia had laid the foundation of a patronage network that would foster the rise of Italian musicians in the sixteenth century.

Reynolds's book is worthy of attention just for its exposition of the evolution of the St. Peter's musical establishment, which occupies part one. The amount of detail packed into these early chapters, relieved at times by some of the twenty-five tables at the back of the book, makes for some slow reading, but parts two and three will repay the reader's patience. Reynolds marshals an ingenious array of archival evidence to establish the Roman provenance of the polyphonic manuscript San Pietro B 80 (SPB80), which contains "sacred polyphony from the middle decades of the fifteenth century, including Vespers polyphony by Binchois, Du Fay, and Busnois, Mass cycles by Du Fay, Faugues, and Martini, motets by Puyllois, Compère, and Josquin, and hymns in the style of Pipelare from circa 1500" (p. 80). Much of this primary material raises more questions than it answers, however. The payment records often provide partial or confusing information regarding a musician's name (or no name at all, especially in the case of boys) and fail to distinguish between singers and composers, and most of the repertoire in SPB80 is anonymous.

Reynolds overcomes the limitations of his diverse archival and repertorial materials by integrating them in parts two and three, where he interprets SPB80 as both text and archival material, capable of shedding light on "the personal taste of the collector . . . the aesthetic values of the society that the collector belonged to . . . and the tastes and needs of the group for which it was written" (p. 80). Part two is devoted entirely to the study of a group of anonymous Mass cycles in SPB80 and engages in a lucid and detailed musical analysis that non-musicians will find daunting but instructive. Drawing on the established procedures of art historians for determining the attribution or association of anonymous works, Reynolds proceeds through the examination of structural, mensural, melodic, and contrapuntal features of these Mass cycles to their attribution to or association with the northern composers Guillaume Faugues, Philippe Caron, and Johannes Martini. The particularly Roman features of

these works in their SPB80 redactions are then combined with St. Peter's archival material to achieve stunning results, as when Reynolds identifies "Guillaume Faugues with the St. Peter's composer and scribe Guillelmus and also with Guillaume des Mares, a singer both at St. Peter's and the Sistine Chapel" (p. 194).

Having argued convincingly for the Roman features of these Masses (and Roman affiliations for their composers), Reynolds proceeds in part three to a long-overdue re-examination of a traditional musicological paradox (most recently formulated by Claude Palisca and Nino Pirrotta): "French and Flemish composers were, as products of a northern scholastic environment, inherently insensitive to the aims and methods of Italian humanists" (p. 280). Reynolds's sensitivity to the implications of his material, coupled with his impressive knowledge of fifteenth-century music, enables him to demonstrate that "northern composers showed a remarkable ability to adapt their sophisticated contrapuntal techniques to rhetorical modes of expression advocated by Italian humanists" (p. 285) prior to the early sixteenth century. Reynolds shows not only how Franco-Flemish composers developed an international musical language for "persuading, teaching, and entertaining" in their settings of the Mass but, more importantly, that they had developed a refined practice of the rhetorical techniques of quotation, allusion, and paraphrase with respect to the French chanson repertoire.

The nature of Reynolds's insights and the implications of his material extend well beyond the bounds of his archival material, making this study essential reading for anyone interested in Renaissance Rome. An excellent bibliography, appendixes of archival records and musical personnel, and lavish numbers of musical examples, tables, and illustrations all reveal careful preparation by both author and editor.

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FREDERICK C. SCHNEID. *Soldiers of Napoleon's Kingdom of Italy: Army, State, and Society, 1800–1815*. (History and Warfare.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1995. Pp. xiii, 145. \$49.95.

Frederick C. Schneid's book is one of several recent publications focusing on some aspect of Napoleonic Italy. These works are quite important, in that the impact of Napoleon on Italy has been neglected compared to other areas. Schneid surveys the kingdom's army from its senior officers through its conscripts. This is followed by a discussion of problems of desertion, conscription, and battlefield performance. He concludes with a discussion of this army's influence on the Risorgimento.

The Kingdom of Italy was unique in that, unlike most other Napoleonic satellites, it had never existed as a nation in modern times. Its army was entirely a creation of Napoleon. The army broke down old

barriers and gave the Italian soldier a feeling of national identity hitherto unknown, providing a major conduit for national feelings. Schneid notes that it is significant that this army contained officers from portions of Italy such as Piedmont and Naples that were never a part of Napoleon's kingdom.

For Napoleon, the Italian army was an arm of French expansionism, fighting his battles from Spain to Russia—areas where its soldiers had absolutely no interests, leading to disaffection and desertion. This was tempered, however, by the continued presence of the Austrian enemy to the north. Italian nationalism was a byproduct of Napoleon's ambition. Had there not been Austria—an enemy the Italians detested far more than they resented French imperialism—this nationalism may well have backfired on Napoleon in the same manner that it did in Germany.

Schneid maintains that while it was not popular, conscription was generally accepted in the kingdom, particularly prior to 1813. What resistance existed took the form of failing to report for induction. This is in stark contrast to the Kingdom of Naples, where the mere rumor of conscription led to a violent revolt in Calabria during 1809.

Commanded by Viceroy Eugene de Beauharnais, the Italian army developed into a potent fighting force. During the Russian campaign of 1812, the Italians were plagued by the common problem of desertion, but on the whole they performed better than all other allied troops. As with the other allied contingents, the Italians were virtually destroyed in Russia. The new army of 1813–1814 was clearly inferior to its predecessor, but it remained loyal to Napoleon long after the other allies deserted.

Schneid's book is well-documented, utilizing all available Austrian, French, and Italian archival material. This is supplemented with printed memoirs and letters, and Schneid includes a judicious bibliography of secondary works. The book would be most valuable for the reader possessing a broad general knowledge of Napoleonic and nineteenth-century Italian history. It is well written and easy to read. Despite the large volume of published material concerning the Napoleonic era, many gaps remain, especially with regard to Italy. Schneid's work admirably fills one such gap and makes a significant contribution to the study of Italian history.

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GIAN LUIGI BASINI. *L'industrializzazione di una provincia contadina: Reggio Emilia, 1861–1940*. Rome: Laterza. 1995. Pp. xvi, 631.

The province of Reggio Emilia should be an excellent case study for a history of economic development. Today it is a prosperous, highly industrialized region within the "Third Italy," the northeast and central regions dominated by small firms grouped in Marshal-

lian industrial districts. But at the time of Italian unification, as Gian Luigi Basini's account makes clear, its economy was backward and industry was almost non-existent. Farms of small dimensions were oriented largely toward self-consumption and only secondarily toward the market. Productivity was low. Practices already widespread in nearby Lombardy, including sophisticated crop rotations, the use of fertilizer, and the introduction of new varieties of crop seeds and animal types, were virtually unknown in Reggio. The one bright spot was the production of *formaggio grana* or Parmesan cheese, which achieved a certain international reputation as early as the eighteenth century. ("Parmesan" cheese has long been produced in greater quantities in the province of Reggio than in neighboring Parma.) But there was no quality control or guarantee of uniformity of the product, much less a centralized organization for marketing or distribution.

How did a province with such weak economic structures at the time of unification industrialize? Basini traces the modernization of the agricultural sector: the slow but steady introduction of new equipment in the production of cheese and butter, beginning in the 1890s; the triumph of cooperatives over family cheese and butter-making facilities; the growth of export markets and name recognition for the distinctive local product.

He also gives us an account of the rise of Reggio's engineering industries. Some firms in the sector began by repairing locomotives and other railroad equipment, from which they graduated to actually producing such equipment and then to more sophisticated engineering products, including airplanes. Others started out repairing agricultural equipment, from which they progressed to producing cheese and butter-making machinery, irrigation pumps, and tractors.

Still, despite the intrinsic interest of the subject, this study is not very satisfying. Basini bores readers with lengthy recapitulations of standard texts on international and Italian economic history, while his account of developments in the province is often compressed. Most of his primary research consists of evaluation of statistical material—government census data and questionnaires prepared by state authorities and the local chamber of commerce. The results are summarized in an excellent statistical appendix prepared by Jacopo Pergreffi. Unfortunately, Basini's text is encumbered with numerous additional charts and tables, often lifted from standard textbooks, which add little or nothing to his account. The footnotes indicate that there is a wealth of local historical studies of Reggio's most significant entrepreneurs, manufacturing firms, and institutions of economic significance (including professional schools). Basini does not integrate convincingly the qualitative information on economic development that these sources offer with his quantitative data, however.

The book literally has no conclusion, and it proposes little in the way of a thesis or argument. The dust

jacket makes a more ambitious attempt than the actual text to situate the results of the study within scholarly debates about a "Padanian" model of development based on dense, territorially bounded networks of small firms that cooperate intensively and within which technological innovation diffuses rapidly. Readers interested in evidence to prove or disprove Robert Putnam's thesis that social capital is the most significant prerequisite for economic development also will be disappointed. Basini's neo-liberal ideology makes him hostile to, and uninterested in, both the Socialist (later Communist) and the Catholic cooperative movements, despite the massive presence of cooperatives in Reggio's economy from the turn of the century until today. In sum, Basini's book may prove useful as a source of statistical data and bibliography, but it won't change our minds on any of the issues at stake in the major scholarly debates.

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NORBERTO BOBBIO. *Ideological Profile of Twentieth-Century Italy*. Translated by LYDIA G. COCHRANE. (The Giovanni Agnelli Foundation Series in Italian History.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. xxxviii, 239. \$29.95.

The translation of Norberto Bobbio's classic work is a welcome event. First published in Italian in 1969, Bobbio's book deals mainly with thinkers and movements from the 1890s to the immediate post-1945 period. His sympathies lie with the supporters of a secular, democratic, and reformist Italy, such as Gaetano Salvemini, Luigi Einaudi, and the Resistance leaders of the Action Party. No systematic analysis of the resurgence of rightist political culture over the past fifteen years is provided, and recent developments are included almost as an afterthought.

Bobbio gives us a depressing meditation on the historic weakness of the democratic culture that he favors. At the end of the nineteenth century, neither positivism nor Marxism produced major theorists capable of defending their shared "ideals of science, of progress through science, and freedom through science" (p. 13). Italian socialism was "reformist without having elaborated a philosophy of reformism" (p. 64). Even his heroes, Einaudi and Salvemini, offered little in the way of broad theoretical justifications. Both represented a modest and practical Italy, involved in the solution of concrete problems rather than the pursuit of grandeur.

The failure of the proponents of a secular, progressive, and reformist Italy to formulate a comprehensive defense of their position left the field to the anti-democrats. Catholic thought remained hopelessly opposed to liberal and democratic ideologies. The failure of Romolo Murri's Christian Democratic movement to find an anti-conservative solution to the integration of the Catholic masses into the state is particularly instructive. Bobbio noted that other societies solved the

crisis of secularization (coming to terms with the new modes of thinking imposed by the Industrial Revolution) before they had to deal with the crisis of mass participation. Italy reversed the process by expanding the suffrage before a consensus in support of liberal parliamentary institutions emerged. Mass participation led inevitably to the creation of clerical and socialist blocs in both of the postwar periods.

But it was not just Catholic thought that retarded the rise of a democratic culture. Major thinkers like Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca, and Benedetto Croce showed open contempt for democratic theory and fueled the anti-egalitarian and pseudo-aristocratic frenzy of lesser writers like Giuseppe Prezzolini, Giovanni Papini, and Enrico Corradini.

Neither the war nor the turmoil of the post-1918 period offered solutions. Fascism is dismissed as "a profoundly antihistorical movement" (p. 123) that produced only two intellectuals of note: the philosopher Giovanni Gentile and the jurist Alfredo Rocco. Bobbio, whose own education took place under fascism, separates the lively cultural life of the 1920-1940 period from any intrinsic contact with fascism. This restatement of classic anti-fascism ignores recent research on the substantial acceptance by many intellectuals during the 1930s of the framework presented by the fascist regime.

Nor does Bobbio see the Resistance as offering a way out of the impasse of failed modernization. The only ideology produced wholly by the anti-fascist struggle was the liberal socialism of Carlo Rosselli and Guido Calogero, embodied in the Action Party, but that party, which defended the secular and democratic tradition, found itself swept away by the rise of Christian Democratic and Communist voting blocs, just as earlier democrats like Francesco Nitti and Salvemini found little political space between clericalism, emerging fascism, and revolutionary socialism.

The only defect in this fine and well-annotated translation is a minor one. Presumably, this survey is to serve the general, non-Italian readership, but the bibliography, prepared expressly for this edition, contains almost none of the English-language scholarship on Italian political thought.

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LORING M. DANFORTH. *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 273. \$29.95.

In this engaging, original, timely, and conscientiously written study, Loring M. Danforth, a cultural anthropologist known for his studies on modern Greece, explores the complexities of the Macedonian Question and the processes of the construction of Macedonian national identity, cultural distinctiveness, and nation-building. To demonstrate the continuity of these processes at the individual level and to show the centrality of the discovery or rediscovery of their Macedonian

identity, he focuses on present-day Macedonian and Greek Macedonian diaspora communities in the multicultural societies of Australia and Canada.

The book consists of a preface, an introduction, eight chapters, and a bibliography. Its several maps and seventeen illustrations provide visual images of the Macedonian conflict. Danforth, while agreeing with scholars who regard nationalism as a modern political phenomenon, nonetheless argues that any study of the construction of ethnic or national identities must consider preexisting self-identities, traditions, and cultural attributes. Asserting that national identities are constantly situationally or socially constructed, Danforth uses the recently manufactured conflict between the newly established Republic of Macedonia and Greece as a means to study the ongoing processes of identity-formation in the Macedonian republic, in Greece, and among Macedonians and Greek Macedonians in Australia and Canada.

Danforth advances three different interpretations of Macedonian history, culture, and identity. The first two comprise the competing Macedonian and Greek nationalist claims over what constitutes the territory and true identity of the ancient and modern peoples inhabiting the Macedonian lands, the name "Macedonia," and various other historical symbols. Even though these arguments are diametrically opposed and distorted, Danforth finds many similarities in the essentialist Macedonian and Greek views of ethnicity, nationality, and the uniqueness of their cultures. The Greek position on most of these matters is unitary; that of the Macedonians is pluralistic.

In his imaginative approach, Danforth uses historical, linguistic, political, and personal fieldwork to deconstruct the Macedonian and Greek versions, and he then presents his own perception of Macedonia's past and present—a "third history of Macedonia." In his opinion, national identity was "imposed" on the illiterate Macedonian peasants "from the outside as a result of the three competing nationalist campaigns of Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece." After the tripartite division of Macedonia in 1913, the governments of these states continued to deny the right of the Slav Macedonians to call themselves Macedonians. The sole exception was when the second Yugoslavia gave Macedonians the right to assert themselves as a nation. Danforth declares that Macedonian national identity was constructed through complex processes in which "some of the Slavic-speaking people of Macedonia, and of Greek Macedonia in particular, developed a Macedonian national identity." This process started in the middle of the nineteenth century and continues in our time. His version of Macedonian history "also confirms that national identities develop in opposition to categories of 'others'—that people know who they are not before they know who they are" (p. 56).

Danforth thinks that diaspora communities and international organizations significantly contribute to the development of ethnic identity and nationalist struggles. Therefore, ethnic nationalism ought to be

approached by studying the construction of "transnational national communities." In discussing the relationship between the Macedonian and Greek Macedonian diaspora communities with the Republic of Macedonia and Greece, he emphasizes their roles in the conflict and in the changing and strengthening of national identities and the propaganda wars each side wages in the international arena. Danforth thinks that despite the claims of the Greek state that there are no Macedonians and despite a "climate of fear and intimidation" that is still prevalent in Greece, the existence of Macedonian human rights movements and Macedonian cultural activities in Greece and in the diaspora effectively refute Greek allegations that the Macedonians are "Slavophone Hellenes."

Danforth also analyzes the conflict through an analysis of the meaning of national symbols such as the name "Macedonia," Alexander the Great, the sun or star of Vergina, national heroes, the Macedonian constitution and the flag, the meaning and use of historical and contemporary maps, folklore, and place and personal names. The last part of the book, based on oral history, is the most innovative, and the case studies should prove of lasting significance for all those interested in the intricacies of Macedonian national identity. Danforth examines the labyrinthine construction of national identity among individual Macedonian immigrants in Australia as they play out the conflict with Greek Macedonians. It is here that his study of national identities is put to the test: a woman can give birth both to a Macedonian and a Greek Macedonian, because national identities are not biologically or ethnically determined but situationally constructed.

Danforth's book demonstrates how people invent and reinvent Macedonia to fit their own perspectives. He also shows that Macedonia's inhabitants and land are now not only abstract ideas but also realities. He maintains that the Republic of Macedonia and Macedonians everywhere, born and developed mainly in adversity, the product of contested claims and counterclaims, antagonistic forces, and struggles, have finally attained a national consciousness, collective identity, and their own literary language and state. He argues that Slav Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia, in Greece, or in Australia, have the right to call themselves Macedonians and to name their state Macedonia. Their claims are more valid than the claims of Greek Macedonians and Greeks to be the only Macedonians.

Danforth's work would have been even more valuable had he given greater emphasis to the historical processes of the formation of Macedonian consciousness, the nation-building role of the Macedonian republic since the 1940s, and examples of a similar process—how individual Bulgarian Macedonians attained Macedonian identity. Although Danforth mentions "fear" as a hindrance in the development of Macedonian national identity, he should have assigned greater weight to its effect, that is, the cryptoethnicity that exists among Macedonians in Greece or even in

Australia. While his analytical constructs tell us much about the formation of national identity, they cannot fully explain the nagging persistence of particular or regional ethnic identities within a larger national or cultural framework.

In summary, this is a well-written work and a major contribution to the study of national consciousness and nation-building. It also sheds new light on a very significant, divisive Balkan problem that has been around for almost two centuries. Writing as a historian, I particularly welcome Danforth's anthropological approach to a problem that is both historical and contemporary. Although many of the protagonists in this study, as well as historians, would disagree with parts of his argument, his book represents the best available work on the construction of Macedonian national identity and the emergence of a modern Macedonian nation-state.

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TUOMO POLVINEN. *Imperial Borderland: Bobrikov and the Attempted Russification of Finland, 1898–1904*. Translated by STEVEN HUXLEY. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 342. \$29.95.

This translation of Tuomo Polvinen's important study of relations between Finland and the Russian Empire in the late tsarist era, first published in Finnish in 1984, is a welcome addition to the sparse literature in English on this topic. Focusing on an analysis of tsarist policy in Finland, Polvinen's book represented a breakthrough in Finnish historiography in the mid-1980s, because the latter had previously concentrated almost exclusively on the Finnish reaction to russification.

The moving force behind the confrontation between Finland and St. Petersburg at the turn of the twentieth century was Nikolai Ivanovich Bobrikov (1839–1904), Governor-General of the Grand Duchy from 1898 until his assassination by a Finnish civil servant six years later. The product of a narrow military education and career, Bobrikov combined an intolerant Russian nationalism with a fanatic devotion to autocracy at a time when the empire seemed increasingly threatened. What he found most reprehensible in Finland was its "separatism," that is, its autonomous political, economic, and cultural institutions that diverged sharply from the Russian model. These also held the danger of encouraging alternative ways of thinking elsewhere in the empire, including the ethnic Russian lands. Although Bobrikov envisioned the complete integration of Finland into the empire in the long run, his immediate goals included elimination of the Finnish army, adoption of Russian as the language of administration and education, and abolition of Finland's separate monetary institutions. Bobrikov's success, however, remained limited. First, his adamant positions were often undermined by more moderate officials in the

upper echelons of the imperial government, especially Interior Minister V. K. Plehve and Finance Minister S. I. Witte. Second, Bobrikov lacked the resources and personnel to carry out the sweeping changes he had in mind. The educational realm, for example, remained relatively untouched. Third, the Finns themselves, mobilized by this attack on their already developed identity, used passive resistance against conscription and other measures, combined with delaying tactics at the level of the Finnish government, to frustrate most of the governor-general's plans.

Polvinen's study is thoroughly documented, making excellent use of a wide range of primary and secondary sources in Russian, Swedish, and Finnish. Because the book was originally written for a different readership, it assumes a basic knowledge of Finnish history in this period; for a wider audience, a glossary of names and a chronology of key events would have been helpful. The translation is serviceable but clumsy at times. I would also have expected that the term "russification," a notoriously vague concept, would have received more theoretical elucidation than is the case here.

As Polvinen carefully notes in the conclusion, although some Finns needlessly provoked the Russian authorities, the root cause of the confrontation lay in "Bobrikovism." He contends that Finland's two-pronged response, involving both broad-based passive resistance and compliance by the Old Finns in the Finnish Senate, permitted the Grand Duchy to weather the storm until Bobrikov's removal. With regard to the larger context of late imperial Russian history, Polvinen argues that the course of the clash between Finland and St. Petersburg during the Bobrikov years illustrated the crisis of autocracy as a premodern political system. The tsarist regime's inability to establish a clear and consistent policy in the Finnish case revealed its "inherent weaknesses and contradictions" (p. 21), characterized by a small but divided political elite along with an indecisive ruler.

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PRISCILLA ROOSEVELT. *Life on the Russian Country Estate: A Social and Cultural History*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 361. \$45.00.

Priscilla Roosevelt's book, aimed at readers with little background in Russian history, deals with the physical setting of and life on the country estates of Russia's serf-owning nobility from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. It discusses architecture, interior design and furnishing, landscaping, relations between noble owners and their serfs, and the social, cultural, and intellectual life of the former group. Roosevelt's focus is on the estates of the aristocracy, the elite minority (fewer than ten percent) of nobles who owned more than 200 male serfs.

In concept and execution, the Russian country estate was borrowed from eighteenth-century England, as

Roosevelt notes, but it operated "in a political and social context quite different" from that of England (p. 3). Unlike its English counterpart, the country estate in Russia was not emblematic of political power based on the owner-family's local roots (p. 30) but was rather an isolated island of, and the main purveyor of, European culture in the Russian countryside (p. xii). The Russian estate frequently changed hands or even fell into decay as its owner sold it or focused his attention on another estate or on life at court, the only seat of power in Russia.

Roosevelt's book is difficult to categorize. In size and format, it is closer to a coffee-table book than a monograph, but it is too serious in content and presentation to warrant being classified as the former. The book is a social and cultural history, to quote its subtitle, only in a modest sense.

What Roosevelt has accomplished most successfully is the creation of what amounts to a fascinating and valuable anthology of quotations and vignettes drawn from memoirs and diaries of the inhabitants of, and visitors to, the estates in question, as well as from contemporary fiction. She thereby gives the reader the kind of feeling for the quality of country life among the Russian elite that cannot be gained from most historical monographs.

It is regrettable that so useful a volume contains some significant errors, even if they are peripheral to its subject. Roosevelt's assertion that Peter the Great wanted for Russia "a *noblesse de robe*, a dynamic elite whose energies would transform Russia into a modern military power" (p. 8) is a misapplication of this term to Russia. Peter's mechanism for the ennoblement of commoners via military or civil service neither intended to nor did produce anything similar to a *noblesse de robe*, which in France owed its status largely to the purchase of office and constituted more of a conservative than dynamic element, as well as a limiting factor on royal absolutism.

In stating that Peter's Table of Ranks "made lifelong service to the state . . . the precondition for noble status" and that "only by working one's way up . . . [in] the Table of Ranks—from the fourteenth rank . . . to the eighth, which conferred hereditary nobility—could one lay claim to an estate" (p. 15), Roosevelt implies, wrongly, that even those born into the nobility had to (re-)earn that status. To characterize the eighteenth-century Russian nobility as "one of the largest groups of nobles in Europe" (p. 28) is somewhat misleading; they were such in absolute size but by no means as a percentage of the total population. And to call the famous Pole, Adam "Mitskevich" (a transliteration from the Russian of his name, properly spelled Mickiewicz in Polish) a "Ukrainian bard" (p. 300) is a monumental error, for which the author may already have heard from indignant readers of Polish descent.

These criticisms aside, the book is beautifully produced and generally well written. Roosevelt has assembled a selection of color and black-and-white illustrations (paintings, sketches, photographs) that bring

immediacy to her subject and complement nicely her very useful anthology of quotations and vignettes. They are beautifully reproduced.

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ALISON HILTON. *Russian Folk Art*. (Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1995. Pp. xxi, 356; 20 plates. \$39.95.

Alison Hilton's richly illustrated study of Russian folk art belongs to a burgeoning literature on the Russian peasantry as well as a much older nineteenth-century and subsequently Soviet quest for a distinctive Russian folk culture. Unfortunately, it is this latter legacy that defines the parameters and methodological underpinnings of the book. As an art historian, Hilton begins her exploration of folk art through nineteenth and twentieth-century artifacts that ethnographers collected in central and northern Russia during the last century or so. These objects, along with sections of huts and textile arts, form for Hilton a composite of pre-Revolutionary village life. Whether purely utilitarian or ceremonial in function, they were heavily ornamented as peasants combined ancient with newer images, reflecting the social and economic changes of imperial Russia.

Hilton is not, however, content to remain in the nineteenth century and describe the techniques and styles of these village artifacts. Instead, she broadly defines folk art to include crafts that peasants made for local and more distant markets, products of cottage industry, and more specialized arts, including birch-bark and bone carving, metalwork, ceramics, and popular prints. She partly justifies this approach by arguing convincingly that growing markets allowed for a diffusion of artistic styles from specific regions to other parts of central and northern Russia. Lumping popular prints, designed initially in eighteenth-century Moscow by urban entrepreneurs with an upper and increasingly merchant class in mind, and factory mass-produced ceramics with folk art is, however, problematic. Hilton also justifies her definition of folk art by noting that a constant exchange among various art forms occurred in Muscovy as the boundaries between elite and popular culture were more fluid than they were in imperial Russia, when westernization affected mainly the upper classes.

Taking a Slavophile interpretation of Russian history, Hilton traces the decorative flourishes of nineteenth-century Russian peasant art back to pagan and early Christian times, uncritically adopting the outdated paradigm of *dvoeverie* or dual faith as reflecting Russian peasant culture and religious practice for ten centuries. The discussion of Muscovite art forms and influences is marred by lack of sensitivity to historical periods. Hilton jumps back and forth over centuries, errs in dating (Old Believers did not exist in the

sixteenth century or St. Petersburg in the seventeenth) and defining Muscovite society, and illustrates medieval church art with eighteenth and nineteenth-century examples. She neither proves her contention that Novgorodian manuscript miniatures and iconography influenced folk art nor adequately explores church and court patronage of the arts. Lack of sensitivity to the artistic influences of the larger Orthodox Slavic world also mars the discussion of religious art motifs.

Hilton is on more solid ground in the imperial and Soviet eras. Here she discusses the wrenching of serf artists from their peasant milieu into stylized academic painting, realist painters' portrayals of peasant life, late nineteenth-century philanthropists' attempts to revive folk art, and avant-garde artists' use of folk art. In noting the similarities between the fashioning of a national identity through folk art in the pre- and post-Revolutionary eras, Hilton does not, however, consider the ways in which nineteenth-century elite culture created *kustar* (domestic) industry out of traditional peasant handicraft and artisanal production as a counterpart to industrialization. Furthermore, she ignores the political messages behind museum and exhibition displays of so-called Russian folk art in Russia and Western Europe (and later in the United States) from the 1870s onward. Nowhere does Hilton apply gender analysis to her study of folk art.

Readers may be frustrated by the incomplete index, the poor quality and close cropping of some illustrations, and what appears to be an inadequately edited text. They should be aware that the St. Sergius Monastery, the Trinity Monastery, and the Trinity-Sergiev Monastery are one and the same place. Given these problems and the book's inaccuracies, it should be used circumspectly by students and scholars for information about styles, motifs, and peasant artists.

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LAURIE BERNSTEIN. *Sonia's Daughters: Prostitutes and Their Regulation in Imperial Russia*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 344. \$45.00.

The social changes accompanying urbanization and industrialization in the late nineteenth century produced a striking increase in prostitution in Russia and aroused the concern of its educated elites. Laurie Bernstein has written the first study of this important subject. Adopting a thematic rather than a chronological approach, she sets out to place prostitution and its regulation within a broader context. The book examines the system of regulation, the physicians who oversaw it, the policemen who enforced it, the members of society who upheld it or challenged it, and the prostitutes who had to live with it. Starting in 1843, lower-class women suspected of selling their bodies became subject to a system of regulation that separated them from the rest of society. In its origins and development, that system reflected the gender order

that gave rise to it, Bernstein argues. Imposed at the initiative of the autocratic state, regulation was based on the institutionalization of gender difference and the inferior status of women: it aimed to ensure not only public health but also an orderly social body, in which women outside of the patriarchal family remained subject to male control. In Bernstein's words, regulation "created a category of 'public women' whose bodies were supposed to be available to clients, doctors and policemen on demand" (p. 3). The class and gender order that confined lower-class women to labor that paid far less than men's made prostitution a rational job choice for some women. The gender order undermined efforts to understand prostitution, leading people to represent the women either as inherently bad or as passive victims of the system. It doomed the efforts of upper-class reformers who wanted to rescue prostitutes, because they framed their efforts in moral terms that ignored the real needs of the women. Finally, the gender order ensured the survival of regulation until the end of the imperial period, despite attempts to reform regulation from within and external challenges to it from a newly assertive intelligentsia.

Bernstein sets herself an ambitious agenda. Prostitution is a highly charged subject that elicits strong feelings in those who address it. This makes prostitution an unusually rich topic for the historian who seeks to understand the dynamic relationships among gender, sexuality, and power, but only if she or he can probe systematically beneath the rhetoric of the times and avoid the temptation to embrace too closely the views of a particular side. Bernstein is only partially successful in this. She is at her best as a social historian of lower-class women and an investigator of the regulatory system that shaped their existence, and she adeptly manages the difficult task of being sympathetic to her subjects without romanticizing them. Her discussion of the evolution and operation of the regulation system brings the women's dilemmas and choices vividly to life. On the other hand, her treatment of the groups that patronized, controlled, or tried to reform prostitutes and the complex discourse that they generated is less satisfactory. Sometimes, as for example in her discussion of contemporaries' fascination with prostitutes' age of defloration, the analysis is right on target. But she is often uncritical of sources deeply colored by a political agenda, or critical of them but inclined to use them notwithstanding her criticism. For example, she discusses the hysteria concerning white slavery as yet another discourse in which women figure as victims, yet on the following page she draws upon the texts she has just critiqued to describe how women were trapped into white slavery (pp. 146-47).

This book's promise to explore the relationship between gender and power is not really fulfilled, in part because the reader learns too little about most of the regulators, reformers, and abolitionists who figure in the book. What led them to take up the cause of moral reform? What relation did their actions and rhetoric have to the other political issues of their day?

The thematic approach enables Bernstein to provide different perspectives on the question of prostitution but entails some repetition and a tendency to make attitudes rooted in particular historical configurations appear timeless and unchanging. Still, this book provides an important, if flawed, introduction to the subject of prostitution in Russia.

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JOHN DOYLE KLIER. *Imperial Russia's Jewish Question*. (Cambridge Russian, Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, number 96.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 534. \$69.95.

Most recent academic books on Russian Jewish history have concentrated on internal developments in the Jewish community. We have new and important studies of religious life, the *Haskalah* (Enlightenment) movement, and the emergence of Jewish politics, along with biographies of Jewish thinkers such as Ahad Haam and research into particular communities such as that in Odessa. John Doyle Klier's formidable volume, on the other hand, is a study of the "Jewish question." More precisely, the study is an inquiry into what Russian "society" (*obshchestvo*) in the period of the Great Reforms thought of the rapidly growing Jewish community of Lithuania-Belorussia and Ukraine (the Pale of Settlement) and how Russian society proposed to deal with this community.

Klier considers the attitudes of the imperial bureaucracy, by no means uniform in nature, along with the views of journalists, publicists, and intellectuals ranging from outspoken liberals to archconservatives and including Ukrainians as well as Russians. Although the book deals chiefly with what Russians thought about Jews, the views of russified representatives of the Jewish community are by no means ignored. His main sources are writings in the Russian-language press, including obscure provincial publications, which he has mined in a remarkably thorough way. When Klier tells us that he has invested twenty years in this scholarly project, we are inclined to believe him.

Klier's analysis is enlightening if not uplifting. At the beginning of the reign of Alexander II, he tells us, Russian society was moderately well disposed toward the Jews. By its end, Judeophobia (Klier eschews all use of the term "anti-Semitism," seeing it as a German import) was definitely on the rise. Despite improvements in their legal status, the Jews had not been emancipated as they had been virtually everywhere else in Europe, including the Kingdom of Poland. There was a widespread, although certainly not universal, readiness to believe that Jews were hostile to Russia, as proven by their unwillingness to "merge" or even effect a "rapprochement" with the Russian population (these two terms, whose precise meaning was open to interpretation, were common currency in the debate on the Jewish question). It was claimed that the

Jews exerted a negative influence on the peasantry, the objects of their ruthless exploitation. As the impact of European anti-Semitism grew in the late 1870s, more extreme varieties of anti-Jewishness emerged, such as the belief in the blood libel and in the Jewish conspiracy to control the world. The Society for the Spread of Enlightenment among the Jews of Russia was implicated in this latter claim, which attracted considerable support. Jews were subjected to violent attacks. The scene had been prepared for the bloody and tragic 1880s.

What went wrong? The vast majority of Russian Jews, Yiddish-speaking and orthodox, refused to abandon their ways in order to merge with the surrounding gentile population. They failed, for example, to exhibit much enthusiasm for the idea of serving in the tsarist army after the military reform of 1874. Russia was not Germany, where a relatively small Jewish community lived in an economically advanced nation-state. The russified Jewish elite, whose views Klier analyzes acutely, hoped to bring about rapprochement, but they did not speak for the Jewish masses, and they offered Russian society nostrums (such as educational reform) that inevitably failed.

The Polish revolt of 1863 brought into sharp relief the need to russify the western borderlands, and the Jews were seen as an obstacle to that much-desired process. At the same time, the pioneers of what eventually was to become the Ukrainian national movement were sharply disappointed at the russifying tendencies of the Jewish elite and at Jewish indifference to the Ukrainian cause. Klier also emphasizes the crucial impact of the peasant question on attitudes toward the Jews. Explaining the paradox of liberal opposition to Jewish emancipation, he notes: "Concern for the welfare of the peasantry was a central concern for Russian liberal thinkers and fear of a destructive role played by the Jews in the post-reform village dominated liberal thought" (p. 454). The Judeophobic attitudes of at least some Pan-Slavists and Slavophiles are much easier to account for, as are the hostile attitudes of people connected with the Russian Orthodox Church.

Klier's book is well written and well argued; although some may regard the study as too inclusive, he succeeds in holding his reader's attention. It might have been useful to compare the situation in the Pale of Settlement with that in the Kingdom of Poland but, given Klier's thoroughness, that would no doubt have added several hundred pages to the volume. Nor can we expect the author of a book about Russian public opinion on the Jewish question to inquire into what traditional Jews and their leaders, and not only russified, "progressive" Jews, were thinking. Klier's extensive research and deep knowledge of Russian history has enabled him to demonstrate and contextualize the remarkably wide range of views expressed by different sections of Russian public opinion; an excellent example is his nuanced discussion of the views of A. S. Khomiakov. The main story line of Russian Jewish

history has not been changed, but Klier shows once again that God is in the details. Students of Russia's attitude towards its nationalities problem in general and of modern Jewish history in particular will greatly benefit from reading this book.

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KATERINA CLARK. *Petersburg, Crucible of Cultural Revolution*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 377. \$39.95.

"This book tells the story of the Great Experiment," begins Katerina Clark's bold study of Russian intellectuals who sought to create a revolutionary culture in the first decades of the twentieth century (p. 1). Although it is a story that has been told many times, Clark displays her remarkable ability to reconceptualize her subject matter. As she did in her influential work on socialist realism, *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual* (1981), Clark rejects standard narratives. She argues that Soviet culture was not shaped solely by a powerful Communist Party imposing its will on an unsuspecting intelligentsia. Instead she discovers beliefs that non-party intellectuals and Bolsheviks held in common, especially their hatred of capitalism and their faith in the intelligentsia's vanguard role. The final ending of the Great Experiment was not predetermined. "[T]here was no absolute agency in the evolution of Soviet culture" (p. 11).

Clark makes her case by examining the cultural elite of Petersburg from 1913 to 1931. In this period, the city not only was rechristened twice (to Petrograd in 1914 and Leningrad in 1924) but was also transformed from the first home of the avant-garde to a cultural outpost, a special target of Moscow's centralization. Clark shows how Petersburg intellectuals were shaped by an ecology of revolution. Deeply ingrained cultural myths of the city, particularly the myth of radical transformation and modernization linked to its founding by Peter the Great, imbued them with a sense of aesthetic utopianism. They believed that culture could be purified through power.

Petersburg claimed a unique function as a crucible of cultural revolution both before and after 1917, Clark argues. It was the staging ground for futurist experiments as well as the center of a cultural preservationist movement that aimed to establish an aesthetic aristocracy. After the October Revolution, the city was home to Mikhail Bakhtin's circle. Its academic institutions housed the Russian formalists and experimental linguists. In the late 1920s, a new form of opera took shape here, with Dmitri Shostakovich at the forefront.

While Clark investigates a breathtakingly long list of cultural endeavors, from architecture to detective novels, she gives a special place to theater as "the cradle of Soviet culture" (p. 104). Before the revolution, cultural activists such as Vsevolod Meyerhold embraced the-

ater as a force to restructure society. The revolution provided opportunities to conduct theatrical experiments on a grand scale. Academic stages opened up to the lower classes, and innovators such as Sergei Radlov, in his People's Comedy Theater, sought to create a new form of *commedia dell'arte* permeated with revolutionary values. Petrograd was the most important locus for revolutionary festivals during the Civil War, through which viewers and participants were to be transformed into ideal citizens of the soviet state. During the New Economic Policy (NEP), Leningrad club theaters devised a distinctive form of agitational performance, staging festivals on a small scale in club theaters. From these small stages emerged the radical Komsomol youth theater, TRAM, one of the most militant voices of the radical cultural revolution launched by Josef Stalin in 1928.

At several points, this book bursts its urban confines, staking claims for broad trends in Soviet national culture. This is most telling in Clark's analysis of the NEP, where she offers both a new chronology and interpretation of this contested phase of Soviet development. According to Clark, the NEP was not a unified cultural period. Already by 1924, patterns took shape that were to reemerge in bolder contours during the 1930s—including a marked shift away from internationalism and iconoclasm. But these first shoots of Stalinist culture were not nurtured by the Communist Party. Indeed, the party was deeply divided about cultural policy, more a mirror than a shaper of intellectual attitudes (p. 195). The palpable shift toward integration and homogenization emerged from within the intelligentsia itself.

This provocative book asks us to reconsider the origins of Stalinist culture. Instead of clear progression toward a predetermined goal, Clark offers us an ecological model of struggle and adaptation where the flora and fauna of the old world survived only through radical mutation. Even the myth of Petersburg persisted in a drastically altered form. No longer the home of alternative cultures in a positive sense, under Stalin the city became a negative paradigm of opposition, singled out in every campaign against the intelligentsia. Stalinist culture emerges both as more complex and more ominous in this challenging reinterpretation of the Great Experiment.

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HUBERTUS F. JAHN. *Patriotic Culture in Russia during World War I*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 229. \$39.95.

This book is a soundly researched, well-written, and admirably concise exploration of a heretofore little-known subject. As Hubertus F. Jahn notes in his introduction, World War I has been a forgotten war in Russia, with both Soviet and Western scholars fixated on the culture and politics of the revolution. After the

fall of the Soviet Union, however, the intellectual focus in twentieth-century Russian studies has shifted to the history of late imperial Russia, especially the development of its nascent commercial, urban, and middle-class cultures. This monograph makes an important contribution to this ongoing investigation.

Jahn focuses on popular entertainments and cultural production related to the war in the hopes of reconstructing a popular *mentalité*, although he recognizes the limits of this approach. He specifically omits *belles lettres* and most other forms of high culture on the war as "foolhardy" (p. 5) for a single volume (I hope this might be a future project). Nevertheless, we cannot complain about the scope of the work; Jahn manages in fewer than 200 pages of text to cover posters, postcards, broadsides, caricatures, circus acts, puppet shows, cabaret, operettas and opera, songs, dances, plays, and movies in a way that is both informative and entertaining. His knowledge in these areas is clearly prodigious, but he sensibly refrains from the encyclopedic approach that so often mars pioneering works of this sort.

Jahn's book is divided into three chapters, the first two comprising the majority of the book. In "Picturing Patriotism: The War for the Eye," Jahn covers the visual commercial arts, tracing the evolution of themes and stylistic connections to other Russian art forms, particularly the folk art woodcuts known as *lubki*. Although this section is well illustrated with good examples, Jahn also demonstrates his gift for telling description. It is easy to visualize even those works for which he was not able to provide illustration.

The second chapter, "Performing Patriotism: The War on the Stage," holds a great deal of interest for social historians, as it brings the nightlife of Russian urban society in Moscow and Petrograd into sharp focus. Here, Jahn vividly describes not only the subject matter of the plays, songs, and performances but also the personalities involved, such as the phenomenally popular "songbird" Nadezhda Plevitskaia (who was among the first Russian gramophone stars) and the poet-singer Aleksandr Vertinskii. Both effectively used their putative patriotism to further their show business careers.

The final chapter, "Violence, Schmaltz, and Chivalry: The War in the Movies," is not as successful as the others. This is not because the subject is not interesting (it is) but because the material covered is slight. By 1915, feature filmmakers were little concerned with the war, preferring instead to churn out the sensational and apocalyptic melodramas that Russian audiences loved.

If there is a fundamental weakness in this book, it is one beyond Jahn's control: Russians simply were not very patriotic after 1914. As Jahn himself notes, in a throwaway line: "Patriotism was on display only sporadically and disappeared almost completely in 1915. This phenomenon was not restricted to the world of theater" (p. 134). The dramatic decline in public patriotism provides important evidence of the wide-

spread loss of faith in the tsarist regime, but it is difficult to write a book about patriotic culture when concrete manifestations of it are absent.

A second problem is that the book relies too much on description and too little on analysis of the material. Jahn could, for example, have strengthened his presentation significantly by including sustained comparisons to the cultural paradigms developed in France, Germany, and Britain during the war. He also could have considered what the early Soviet government learned from these failed efforts to develop Russian patriotic culture during World War I. Finally, Jahn seriously overestimates the universality of the urban culture he describes. The vast majority of his examples come from Petrograd, which was not even representative of the provincial cities, let alone the countryside.

These reservations notwithstanding, Jahn's book makes a valuable and unique contribution to both Russian cultural history and the comparative cultural history of World War I.

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GEOFFREY ROBERTS. *The Soviet Union and the Origins of the Second World War: Russo-German Relations and the Road to War, 1933–1941*. New York: St. Martin's. 1995. Pp. x, 192. \$39.95.

This slender volume re-examines Russo-German relations from 1933 to 1941. Geoffrey Roberts's intention is to come to some conclusion, based on a rereading of older sources and examination of newly published Russian archival sources, as to which of the conflicting views regarding the Soviet role in the origins of World War II is more accurate. The conflicting interpretations outlined by Roberts include that Soviet policy was 1) geared toward protection of Russia by the formation of a collective security system of Western Allies against Germany; 2) aimed at protection of Russia by means of a reconstruction of "Rapallo" relations; 3) vacillating and reflective of these contending schools of thought within Soviet policy-making circles, plus one aimed to advance Soviet ideological and political interests by opportunistic manipulation of the changing political situation in Europe.

Roberts concludes that Soviet relations with Germany were a matter of reactive expediency. According to Roberts, Joseph Stalin's aim was at all times defensive against both Germany and the West, and the road to a secure defense vacillated between collective security with the Allies or rapprochement with Germany. He argues that the Nazi-Soviet Pact (1939) was neither an act of war nor an aggressive grab for territory but merely opportunistic reaction to an evolving situation. Roberts contends that the turn to Germany was based on German initiatives, not Russian ones or the failure of collective security, and that the Nazi-Soviet Pact was a delimitation of spheres, not a green light for war or an excuse to seize territory (p. 92). Subsequent Soviet

actions were based on a working out of what the suggested spheres in the pact meant in real terms. Thus, Stalin moved into the Baltic countries, Finland, and eastern Poland, annexing the Baltic states only after the swift German conquest of Western Europe in the spring of 1940 appeared to threaten Russia. According to Roberts, the turn of events in the Baltic "illustrates dramatically the role of external circumstances, forces and influences in the making of Soviet foreign policy" (p. 121). Presumably, the invasion of Russia by Germany was the final external circumstance leading to Nazi-Soviet war.

Roberts's conclusions proceed not from a narrative in which new archival sources reveal the story but from episodic analytical digressions that favor interpretative conclusions. This makes the book somewhat disappointing, although Soviet archives still are not open to the extent that a thorough and definitive reading can be made of this subject. The book is a short, readable, and thoughtful look at Soviet policy toward Germany from 1933–1941, but it is not a new look. It would be useful as supplementary reading in college classes.

MARILYNN GIROUX HITCHENS
Denver, Colorado

DAVID M. GLANTZ and JONATHAN M. HOUSE. *When Titans Clashed: How the Red Army Stopped Hitler*. Assisted by DARIN GRAUBERGER and GEORGE F. McCLEARY, JR. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1995. Pp. xi, 414. \$29.95.

At last, an operational history of the eastern front based mainly on newly released Russian sources has appeared to counterbalance the usual German-derived and Soviet accounts. As pointed out by David M. Glantz and Jonathan M. House, the German version focused more on their victories and the earlier part of the war, while the Soviet views were too "politically correct" and uncritical. This first good, balanced account of the eastern war contains numerous surprises and corrects many previous errors but substantiates the major interpretations already made; the Soviets were poorly led at first but quickly adapted to the new style of warfare and then outmastered their German foes, but at a terrible cost. Joseph Stalin in particular, unlike Adolf Hitler, gradually developed confidence in his military commanders and allowed them to run the war, at least operationally.

Starting with a brief review of the rival armies, Glantz and House move quickly into the war. They follow what is now the conventional three-part division of the war: June 1941–November 1942, November 1942–December 1943, and January 1944–May 1945. The authors use new archival materials to explain the initial Soviet disasters while mentioning standard historical interpretations and the global context of the war. Despite the horrendous losses of the first six months of the campaign, the Soviets staged a remarkable recovery, but their counteroffensives turned out to be premature and costly—a pattern that was typical

for the rest of the conflict. While the world thought them on the verge of defeat, the Soviets were remarkably confident. That was one of their many problems: their overreaching confidence and attempts to win the great strategic victory forced them into numerous defeats at the hands of the crafty Wehrmacht. Once they learned to restrain their goals, manage their resources, and utilize their strengths, they did much better. In the second period of the war, the Soviet General Staff or Stavka overcame many of its weaknesses and laid the groundwork for ensuing victories. Innovative doctrine, better commanders, and a sure sense of the possible marked the emergence of a Soviet war effort that finally crushed its enemies.

The descriptions of Soviet use of combined arms, deep territorial advances, and a more judicious use of human resources and materiel are excellent and based on a sure grasp of the sources. The Soviets made the greatest contribution to winning the war, but at what a cost. Using new Soviet archival information, Glantz and House argue that the Soviets were at the end of their labor supply, and this forced them to adopt more prudent tactics. Clearly, Soviet losses were much greater than heretofore admitted. Glantz and House explain why the many ambitious plans of the Stavka and the Wehrmacht went awry. They maintain a high level of readability, and their book is easily the best operational account of the eastern front to appear in the West.

A few minor criticisms concern the coverage of Soviet and German airpower and naval support. Soviet code breaking and the use of Allied war supplies and intelligence are treated briefly, but further study is needed, especially because Glantz and House provide tantalizing hints throughout the text that they are too discreet to develop until further information is available.

EDWARD L. HOMZE
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ROSALIND MARSH. *History and Literature in Contemporary Russia*. New York: New York University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 289. \$42.50.

Russians have often learned their history from works of fiction. This literature-centeredness, as the critic Alla Latynina calls it, has been a mixed blessing. It has given writers and their critics an enviable power and prominence; yet Russia might also have gained by distinguishing history from fiction and its past from its myths.

This monograph by Rosalind Marsh introduces readers to Russia's most recent flurry of fictionalized history, which accompanied Mikhail Gorbachev's *glasnost* policy and was later stifled by market forces after 1991. Literature led the assault on the taboos of Soviet historiography. Initially a trickle and by 1987 a torrent, imaginative literature filled in the vast blankness of the past. Works long repressed, such as Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* (1957), were released, and new works

opened forgotten chapters of the past. Joseph Stalin was the first target of exposure: his harsh treatment of the peasantry, the prison camps and mass arrests, and sometimes even his wartime errors were revealed. A similar trend had developed three decades before under Nikita Khrushchev, but the new publicists went further, questioning even the holy of holies, V. I. Lenin and his October Revolution. Marsh organizes her chapters according to the historical topics of the novels: we see their interpretations not only of Stalinism and the Great Patriotic War but of the Civil War, the February Revolution, even of the tsar, who eventually, and briefly, became the object of much sympathy.

Marsh scolds "sophisticated western critics" of the sometimes traditional tone of Russian historical fiction. Yet it is not untoward to ask why, after seventy years of official Marxism (not to mention Lev Tolstoy), Russian writers were still stuck on the "great men and events" school of history. Starting with Stalin and then moving on to Lenin and their lessers in the Soviet pantheon, writers such as Mikhail Shatrov and Anatolii Rybakov debated the role of leaders in Russia's tragic history. Good and evil, in the rawest possible interpretation, were the most common terms of debate. Very rarely was the role of society in general discussed, rarer still was the very construction of history laid bare (the exception would be Mikhail Kuraev's *Kapitan Dikhshtein* [1990]). Marsh might have questioned more deeply the odd synthesis of history and fiction. She occasionally notes that the new historical fiction resembles the old socialist realism, simply reversing the ideological pluses and minuses, and that writers are guilty of biases and inaccuracies. Yet readers would also gain from a discussion of how fiction shapes the historical imagination and acknowledgment that history is a form of rhetoric, not just a record of the past.

Marsh is correct in asserting that spiritual matters must be written into history, but some of her excitement seems premature. Certainly the rapid decline of such fiction after the introduction of the free market (which Marsh calls "market censorship") suggests that its hold over readers was not deep. The attribution of a democratic spirit to the movement also seems problematic. This was still, after all, permitted literature. Much of it was decidedly Leninist, and the authorities felt free to continue banning the publication of an anti-Leninist like Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. The professional rebel Yevgeny Yevtushenko demanded the closing of conservative journals without a trace of irony. Finally, although Marsh cites Stephen Wheatcroft to the effect that "a general or mass notion of history has always co-existed" alongside the Party version," the movement seems less an outburst of popular opinion than a quarrel between two elites, the cultural and political. To evaluate fully the intersection of mass readers and historical fiction, Marsh needs to take seriously a writer like Valentin Pikul, perennial king of

the historical fiction market, whose lush epics of tsarist politics have long been the target of intellectual scorn.

Marsh performs a valuable service by recording an important episode in Russia's cultural history. Her book is filled with important and interesting facts and can serve as a reference for historians and literary scholars. Although the subject awaits its final analysis, students now have a way to acquaint themselves with that exciting period in the late 1980s when the edifice of Soviet culture began to crumble.

JAMES VON GELDERN
Macalester College

MIDDLE EAST

JUSTIN MCCARTHY. *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821–1922*. Princeton: Darwin. 1996. Pp. xv, 368. \$35.00.

History is a matter of perceptual narrative, the fundamental framework of which is the story of human civilizations. Historians are products of their respective civilizations, so the tales they relate are as much a reflection of their own civilization's realities as they are of those whose past they recount. This raises issues of historical objectivity. When dealing with "dead" civilizations—like the Egyptian or Minoan—varying interpretations made by historians usually do little more than spawn academic discussions. Historians treating their own civilizations are constrained in their interpretations by innate perceptions of ethnic, social, economic, political, or national realities, which force on them standards of accepted objectivity. Such constraints often become liabilities when historians deal with other contemporarily existing civilizations, especially when these others possess longstanding, frequently competitive, contacts with their own. Then the historians' own perceptual realities, possibly intensified by traditional cultural animosities, can result in unintentional misrepresentation of events.

An example of the latter has been Europeans' traditional historical perceptions of Islamic civilization. Perhaps no other Islamic society received as much European attention as that of the Ottoman Empire. In its fourteenth through sixteenth-century heyday, it inspired in Europeans fear and grudging admiration; in its seventeenth through early twentieth-century decline, it was the object of contempt and loathing. Most twentieth-century European historians portrayed the former stage in terms of the progressive subjugation of Christians in the Balkans, Anatolia, and the Caucasus and characterized the latter as the victorious march of European values and nationalism among that empire's subject Christian populations, accompanied by increasingly futile, often atrocious, attempts on the part of the empire's Islamic authorities to stem the tide.

Over the past three decades, a revisionist school regarding the stock portrayal of Ottoman history has arisen within European historiography. Stressing that

most modern studies were produced by former European enemies and nationalists from among former Christian subjects, Stanford Shaw and Maria Todorova, among others, have demonstrated that the cultural and social implications of Ottoman rule for the empire's non-Muslim populations were far less onerous than previously represented in Western literature. The touchy matter of "Turkish atrocities"—the "Bulgarian Horrors" (1876) and the "Armenian Massacres" (1915) being two infamous examples frequently presented in European texts—has lingered on. Justin McCarthy confronts the traditional European characterization of this issue head on.

Blatantly revisionist, McCarthy provides a graphically detailed and profusely documented account of Christian atrocities perpetrated on Ottoman Muslim populations in the Balkans, the Caucasus, and Anatolia, beginning with the Greek War of Independence (1821–1830); continuing through the Russo-Turkish Wars of 1828–1829 and 1877–1878, the Russian expulsion of Caucasian Muslims in the 1860s, the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), the eastern Anatolian front in World War I (1914–1917), the Transcaucasian expulsion of Muslims following that war (1917–1920); and ending with the nationalist Turkish War of Independence (1919–1922). While McCarthy admits that available population statistics are often sketchy, inexact, and muddled in categorization (the methodology in dealing with the thorniest statistical problems is presented in an appendix), his demonstrated expertise in Ottoman demography permits him to posit a conservative estimate that, during the period under discussion, the Muslim populations of the Ottoman Empire suffered approximately 10.3 million victims—almost evenly divided between deaths and forced émigrés to Anatolia—at the hands of their Christian enemies (primarily Greeks, Russians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Armenians, Cossacks, and Georgians). McCarthy's statistical analyses are summarized in thirty-two tables.

Although the work focuses on atrocities inflicted on Ottoman Muslims, McCarthy treats the traditional issue of Turkish enormities in passing, essentially attributing them to the Ottomans' gut reactive survival instincts in the face of dual fatal threats: the genocidal ultranationalist policies of Russia, the newly emerging Balkan states, and the Armenians, all of whom were intent on carving out ethnically homogeneous nation-states encompassing lands torn from the empire; and increasing economic and military strangulation by European Great Powers, which left the Turks unable to cope adequately with a rising flood of refugees into a shrinking territory.

The book makes grim reading, complicated by a somewhat pedantic writing style and assorted typographical errors. One may pick arguments with specific interpretations of events depicted in the work, but the statistical data appear generally valid. McCarthy succeeds in providing factual material for bringing the European historiography of the later Ottoman Empire into more objective balance. Like most medicines,

although difficult to swallow, its corrective potential should prove beneficial in the long term.

DENNIS P. HUPCHICK
Wilkes University

VAHAKN N. DADRAN. *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus*. Providence, R.I.: Berghahn. 1995. Pp. xxviii, 452. \$39.95.

Between 1894 and 1896, hundreds of thousands of Armenians were massacred in the Ottoman Empire, then headed by Sultan Abdülhamid II. In 1908, the sultan was dethroned by a coup of military officers and intellectuals, headed by a party of Young Turks calling itself the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). In the beginning, the CUP was eager to reform and reunify the empire, including its many ethnic and religious minorities. Hence, it cannot be fully blamed for further massacres that ensued in 1909, when some 20,000 Armenians were killed by forces loyal to the deposed sultan. By 1912, however, following the disastrous Balkan wars, the CUP became increasingly xenophobic and nationalistic, calling for a homogeneous Turkish state and society. In the context of World War I, the Turkish regime committed genocide against its Armenian minority. It is estimated that a million Armenians—half of the population—were massacred or died of illness and starvation during the war. A half million more perished between 1918 and 1923, when the Turkish Republic declared its independence.

This is a brief sketch of the history that Vahakn N. Dadrian attempts to describe, explain, and assess. He has spent decades on this project. Much of the research is based on primary archival materials and on Dadrian's translation of documents, including Armenian and Turkish sources. This work is a major contribution and should become a primary point of reference for future scholarship concerning the Armenian genocide and its implications for international law and the study of the Holocaust. Dadrian's principal thesis is that the various Ottoman and Turkish regimes of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, starting with that of Abdülhamid II, were intent on destroying the Armenians and eliminating them from the Ottoman Empire. Hence, the genocide of 1915 was a more extensive and better-planned version of the massacres of 1894–1896.

According to Dadrian, the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire were viewed as a Christian community that, following Muslim law, could be tolerated as long as it did not aspire to independence or equality with Muslims. By the nineteenth century, however, many of the ethnic and religious minorities in Greece and the Balkans were successfully challenging Ottoman rule. They were aided in this process of secession and self-determination by the great powers, especially Russia. Under the guise of "humanitarian intervention," the European powers pressured the Ottomans to ease

their controls over their Christian minorities, enabling the latter to break away from the empire.

In the case of the Armenians, however, the European powers failed to bolster their diplomatic pressure with military force. The unintended effect of such European meddling was to further endanger the Ottoman Armenians. At one and the same time, Ottoman authorities came to fear the possibility of Armenian secession and realized that it could repress this minority with impunity. It was in this context that Abdülhamid II abetted the massacres of 1894–1896. Dadrian views these events as setting the stage for the genocide of 1915.

Although Dadrian emphasizes the continuity between the massacres of 1894–1896 and the genocide of 1915, he notes other factors that made the later event more widespread and better planned. He singles out the role that a newly minted Turkish nationalism played for the Young Turks, and he also stresses the context of World War I and the complicity of Turkey's German allies. Other writers have noted the role of the Germans in the Armenian genocide, but no one has stressed it as much as Dadrian. He suggests that German military advisers saw the Armenians as a military nuisance and approved of the Turkish policy of deportation. Indeed, pointing to the close relationship between Wilhelm II and Enver Paşa, the minister of war, he suggests that the lines of complicity reached all the way to the kaiser.

Dadrian moves on to discuss the aborted court-martial of the principal Young Turk perpetrators of the genocide following the defeat of the Ottomans in World War I. He concludes with a brief comparison to the Holocaust, suggesting that the failure of the international community to take sufficient note of the Armenian genocide and punish the leaders of the CUP set the stage for the later disaster.

This is a work of such wide scope that it is bound to keep scholars busy for years to come. Much work remains to be done in spelling out the details of the genocide and filling in the process from initiation to conclusion. Moreover, the principal thesis, stressing the continuity between the massacres of 1894–1896 and the genocide of 1915, is open to question. It assumes that the mental world of Abdülhamid II, with its emphasis on Ottoman traditions, hierarchy, and Pan-Islam, was in principle indistinguishable from that of the Young Turks and their fascination with modernization and Turkish nationalism. To the contrary, it may be suggested that the sultan wanted to repress but not fully to destroy the Armenians in order to preserve the Ottoman old order, whereas the Young Turks wanted to eliminate them so as to create a new Turkish state and society. Hence, the regime of the sultan may have abetted massacres, but it was the Young Turks who perpetrated genocide.

ROBERT MELSON
Purdue University

ZACHARY LOCKMAN. *Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906–1948*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 440. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$25.00.

Zachary Lockman's analysis of what he calls a relational model is based on impressive research sources and on a scholarly mission to rewrite the on-the-ground reality of the era covered. Rejecting what he calls the "dual society" model because it "posits the existence in Mandatory Palestine of two essentially separate societies and distinct and disconnected historical trajectories," Lockman explains that much of the literature in this field "has been premised on the implicit or explicit representation of the Arab and Jewish communities in Palestine as primordial, self-contained, and largely monolithic entities" (p. 4). While not providing a completely accurate representation of the work of other scholars such as Walter Z. Laqueur (aka G. Z. Israeli) and myself (pp. 4–7), his subsequent extensive exploration of the "mutually formative interactions" between Arab and Jewish workers does provide new insights.

Although well documented and usually well written, at times the prose makes for tedious reading, laden as it is with minute details to support the noble notion that but for this or that, things could have, would have, should have been different. Despite Lockman's protestations that he is "not making an 'if only' argument," that "it seems clear to me that the Zionist and Palestinian nationalist movements sought irreconcilable objectives and were on a collision course from the very start" (p. 360), and that his "chief purpose is not to judge but to understand" (p. 29), there is ample evidence to the contrary.

Throughout this reconstruction of the labor-Zionist movement's efforts to organize Arab workers, Lockman speaks of the "grip of mythologized national pasts on both Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs" and of the problems that supposedly objective historians face in their attempts to transcend the "nationalist filters through which they understand the past" (p. 7). Chapters three and four, based on the author's previously published work, deal with the railway workers of Palestine; others deal with the dock workers in Haifa and Jaffa, carpenters and tailors, postal and telegraph workers, drivers, sanitation and quarry workers, and those who toiled at British bases throughout Palestine during World War II. A great many pages are devoted to minute details describing the various failed and rarely successful efforts, meetings, discussions, arguments, and approaches to organizing Arab and Jewish workers in clubs, unions, cooperatives, or joint worker groups in Haifa, Tel Aviv, Jaffa, and Jerusalem. Some strikes were jointly supported, others were not. Some Arab and Jewish workers became friends, most did not. Since Lockman's goal is to provide readers with ample evidence that Arab and Jewish workers interacted in their mutual quests for better wages and working conditions, he has certainly achieved it.

A disturbing element of this book—which should not diminish its value as an intellectual exercise—centers on its ideological underpinnings. As is characteristic of revisionism in general, political realism is mostly absent from this discourse. Thus, we are told that "as an ideology and a movement, Zionism emerged at the very historical moment when the European imperialist powers (and the United States) were engaged in the territorial division of the globe . . . Zionism was, inevitably, strongly influenced by that conjuncture; it is hard to imagine how it could have been otherwise" (p. 29). Zionism was not a myth created during the age of imperialism to rationalize conquest of a strange, distant land. Of course, portraying Zionism as pure colonialism diminishes the historical and religious significance of Israel to the Jewish people and ignores the centuries-old dream of a return to Zion.

We are then told that "the ultimate success of Zionism was predicated on the denial of self-determination and self-rule to Palestine's indigenous population pending its transformation, under the auspices of the British colonial state, into a minority" (p. 61). Lockman attributes to Yitzhak Ben-Tzvi, then involved in the labor-Zionist movement (later president of Israel), the strategy of disaggregating the Palestinian Arab community so as to portray the Jews of Palestine as "a monolithic bloc with self-evident national characteristics" (p. 62). Political realism, time, place, circumstances (both endogenous and exogenous) are either virtually ignored or inaccurately portrayed in this discussion. Two endogenous circumstances to consider are that *effendis*, the wealthy (often absent) Arab land owners, were willing to sell land at exorbitant prices to Jews, and that there was on ongoing struggle between the leaders of the Arab tribes for dominance. Two exogenous circumstances to consider are that Jews suffering violent pogroms and virulent anti-Semitism felt they had more in common with Palestine's Jews than with their European persecutors and that monies collected from Jewish communities and from Jewish philanthropists went to purchase land for Jewish settlement in Palestine. While it may no longer be "politically correct" to point out these conditions, they obtained at that time.

David Ben-Gurion's and Ben-Tzvi's commitment to Ber Borohov's (spelled with a "k" by the author) "conquest of labor" did lead to a "Jews first" philosophy in employment. They were Yishuv leaders, and, as Ben-Tzvi said: "This was a question of life or death for the Jewish working class in Palestine" (p. 51). Thus, political realism guided the Jewish leadership throughout the period under discussion, even if this meant an ambivalent policy toward Arab workers. Of course, Lockman is correct when he writes: "Their conception of Zionism had little room for, indeed explicitly rejected, too much concern for the needs and rights of others." Today's political correctness tells us this is wrong. But, at that time, given the circumstances and "world-historical events over which the Zionist move-

ment had little influence" (p. 57), this policy resulted in a viable Jewish community and ultimately in a viable Jewish state.

A particularly well-written and interesting section describes "the descent into madness" (p. 351), the events following the United Nations vote to partition Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state. Lockman describes the bloody incident at the Haifa oil refinery, which employed 1,810 Arab and 460 Jewish workers, and concludes, "The vision of Arab-Jewish worker solidarity and of peaceful coexistence which had once motivated so many people could not survive the actual physical displacement of much of Palestine's Arab population (p. 354). Lockman is correct that this was a great tragedy. It is truly sad that the Arab leaders lacked the foresight to accept the partition agreement and to work to build a strong and independent Palestinian state alongside the Jewish state of Israel.

SONDRA M. RUBENSTEIN
Hofstra University

MARK TESSLER. *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. (Indiana Series in Arab and Islamic Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 906. Cloth \$57.50, paper \$27.50.

This fair-minded survey of the Arab-Israeli dispute consolidates a consensus that has emerged among scholars as to its nature, origins, and historical evolution. From its inception, this conflict has really been a struggle between two peoples—Palestinians and Zionists/Israelis—for control of historic Palestine. This is neither a religious nor an ethnic dispute but rather a classic clash between two modern nationalisms with roots dating to the nineteenth century. Arab states have served as principal actors for less than one-quarter of the conflict's history. Even then, Mark Tessler reminds us, Palestinian issues remained at center stage. In 1948, Israel established its rule over most of what had previously been British-controlled Palestine. Today, the contest is primarily over the disposition of the remaining fragment (the Gaza Strip, West Bank, and East Jerusalem), occupied since 1967 by Israel but containing an overwhelmingly Palestinian population.

Based on an impressive array of secondary materials and published documentary sources, this study may be compared to a similar survey by Charles D. Smith (*Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* [1988]), widely used as a textbook. Tessler, like Smith, views the conflict as having passed through distinct historical stages, beginning with the arrival in the mid-1880s of the first "wave" (*aliya*) of modern Jewish colonists to a Palestine inhabited by a long-established, Arabic-speaking, mostly Muslim population. During this time (1882–1917), increased Jewish immigration and land settlement inspired Palestinian resistance and led to formal political protests by community leaders. Under British rule (1918–1947), the balance of power turned against the Palestinians, whose continued opposition

to Zionism helped transform them into a modern nation while the Zionists constructed national institutions inside Palestine, built up a crucial demographic mass as a result of immigration from Germany, and (after 1939) turned more militant. Following the establishment of the Jewish state in 1948, which entailed the displacement of most of the indigenous Palestinian population, the main protagonists became the Arab states and Israel. After 1967 (1977, according to Smith), the conflict moved back to its original Palestinian-Israeli core, and developments such as the moderation of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) strategy anticipated the current peace process, which is cautiously regarded as possibly marking the beginning of the end of this conflict.

As for the causal dynamics behind historical events and the crucial question of why the Zionists have prevailed, Tessler emphasizes internal factors such as superior Jewish planning, organization, and solidarity versus Palestinian ineptitude and weaknesses arising from family divisions and the less politically developed nature of the community generally. Smith, on the other hand, stresses the exogenous factors, particularly assistance rendered by Great Britain through the Balfour Declaration and the loading of its Palestine mandate in the Zionists' favor (until 1939) and U.S. support subsequently. Tessler by no means neglects these outside forces, but he tends to minimize their importance. In view of the daunting tasks confronting Zionism, especially in its early years, the role of the "outside" must not be underestimated.

This book does not lend itself to smooth reading. Partly this is because Tessler lacks skill in whittling down his material, summarizing it succinctly, drawing out the main points, and stating clearly his own conclusions—strengths of Smith's book and marks of any successful textbook. The wealth of detail thus tends to overwhelm. This is also partly due to the author's present-minded purpose. Desirous of exerting a positive influence on current peace prospects, Tessler seeks to show to Palestinians and Israelis the common elements in their history and the possibilities for peaceful cooperation. In an effort to demonstrate symmetry in the development of Jewish and Palestinian nationalism, Tessler distorts history by placing nineteenth-century Palestinian society in the context of an Arab nationalism that was just beginning to appear in various parts of the Middle East rather than in the appropriate framework of religious allegiances and familial ties. Understanding the weaknesses of this old society thus becomes more difficult, and the fact that the Jews were able to develop their nationalism first (a great advantage) is less easily perceived. Tessler also inserts into his book numerous accounts of past efforts at cooperation by Arabs and Jews. The problem is that (until recently) these went nowhere. Some of these episodes, such as the Faysal-Weizmann understanding, receive far more attention than they deserve, to the detriment of the really important developments. At least Tessler has called attention to the truth that

violence and diplomacy go hand in hand and that both have been and are still being used in the struggle of Palestinians and Israelis for control of the same land.

F. ROBERT HUNTER
Tulane University

JOSEPH HELLER. *The Stern Gang: Ideology, Politics and Terror, 1940–1949*. Portland, Oreg.: Frank Cass. 1995. Pp. x, 358. \$47.50.

Of the myriad paramilitary organizations that prowled Palestine during the 1940s, the so-called Stern Gang (or Lehi) was certainly the most mysterious and fanatical. Much of the historical literature to date seems intent either to rationalize its activities in a sort of “ends justifies the means” formula en route to exaggerating its role in the creation of the state of Israel or to vilify its terrorist activities as aberrant, odious, and peripheral to that end. Joseph Heller’s ambitious book on the Stern Gang seeks therefore to fill a historiographical void and to analyze dispassionately the ideological evolution and eventual implosion of this group, notorious for its high-profile assassinations of Lord Moyne and Count Bernadotte.

On perhaps the most critical level, Heller succeeds admirably, painstakingly chronicling even the most subtle permutations of revisionist ideology that gave rise to this obsessed splinter group, once described by Conor Cruise O’Brien as “the margin of a margin.” The tale he weaves is one of ideological quest and ultimate failure. In the end, Lehi’s members were pinched in a vise between their determination to evict the British from Eretz Israel (a role filled more prominently by Menachem Begin’s Irgun) and their belated (perhaps contrived) conversion to an enigmatic “rational bolshevism” in an effort to compete with David Ben-Gurion’s Mapai Party. This forced marriage between extreme nationalism and “classless” socialism proved spiritually enervating and ideologically incoherent. Heller’s analysis is commendably thorough and his sources wide-ranging. It is an impressive work of analysis.

That said, the reader is cautioned. Heller is intent on navigating the bayous of ideological discourse among various organizations, factions within organizations, and sects within factions. And in the universe of Zionist politics during the 1930s and 1940s, these divisions and subdivisions were legion. The inherent complexities of this task may well prove daunting to the uninitiated. Moreover, Heller’s promiscuous introduction of persons, organizations, events, and Judaic allusions without adequate clarification may be more off-putting than illustrative to many readers.

Heller’s prose seems overwrought at times. Given his focus on ideological debate, this is perhaps unavoidable. Nonetheless, the result is occasionally ponderous. For example, the tenets of the Stern Gang’s “integral nationalism,” he concludes, “were historical determinism, social Darwinism, militarism, corporatism and imperialism, xenophobia, ‘sacred egoism,’

suppression of opposition, subordination of the individual to the state, anti-liberalism, a denial of democracy and an internally centralised regime” (p. 82). Whew!

Perhaps the most grievous deficiency in this otherwise estimable work is its shallow treatment of the actual members of the Stern Gang. I offer this criticism advisedly because it may not be altogether fair. This is, after all, an ideological history. But by any measure this was a strange bunch. They held the British Government more culpable in the destruction of European Jewry than the Fascists to whom they proffered cooperative alliances. Indeed, Lehi’s founder, Avram Stern, harbored his own dreams of *Lebensraum* “from the Nile to the Euphrates” (p. 207). “The Jews,” Heller contends, “had to learn from Hitler and set up a vast hinterland dedicated to the service of ‘the great cause’” (p. 70). Likewise, Lehi’s attitude toward the Palestinians became so Hitlerian that by May 1945, in the wake of its participation in the grisly massacre of Arab civilians at Deir Yasin, the Stern Gang saw its goal clearly: “The Arabs had to be returned to their deserts” (p. 219). Yet of the wellsprings of this fanaticism, the source of such zealotry, the personal stories that drew tortured souls to an equally tortured ideology, Heller gives us next to nothing. Even Avram Stern remains something of a stock ideologue, with few glimpses offered into his soul. Surely an additional volume addressing such themes awaits Heller’s considerable analytic gifts.

Finally, Heller errs, in my opinion, by depicting the Ben-Yehuda Street bombing of 1948 as the work of a “British gang” (p. 204). While two British army deserters were involved, the atrocity was conceived and financed by the Arab terrorists who claimed credit for it. Designating the perpetrators in this way connotes a degree of official British collusion that is grossly misleading.

This book is an important work that provides a fair and accurate analysis of an historical anomaly: a fascistic Jewish terrorist organization that proved unable, Yitzhak Shamir’s later ascent notwithstanding, to make the transition to peacetime Israeli politics. It might have been improved, however, by judicious concessions both to greater accessibility and to a more idiosyncratic perspective.

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BURTON I. KAUFMAN. *The Arab Middle East and the United States: Inter-Arab Rivalry and Superpower Diplomacy*. (Twayne’s International History Series.) New York: Twayne of Macmillan. 1996. Pp. xvii, 291. Cloth \$26.95, paper \$16.95.

The sands of diplomacy are ever shifting in the Middle East. Since the creation of the state of Israel, warfare and secret negotiations have dominated the agenda. Today, finally, we may be reaching a period of success-

ful negotiations and a movement away from the battlefield. The recent agreement between Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Chairman Yasir Arafat concerning Hebron and the West Bank has created further hope that the Arab-Israeli conflict will finally be settled. Burton I. Kaufman's insightful volume allows the reader to explore the major issues that affected inter-Arab politics and United States-Arab relations from the end of World War II to the present.

Relying heavily on secondary material, Kaufman presents his own analysis before he summarizes the views of other experts, thus allowing the reader to become familiar with leading works on the subject. In addition, Kaufman provides an extensive bibliographical essay at the conclusion of the book.

Coverage of the divisions within the Arab world, according to Kaufman, sets his work apart from others. Among the inter-Arab rivalries that he analyzes are the Saudi-Hashemite rivalry of the 1920s; Hajj Amin al-Husayni and King Abdullah's attempts to secure Palestinian leadership in the 1940s; Gamal Abdel Nasser and Nuri al-Said's desire to lead the Arab world in the 1950s, the competition between Hafez el-Asad, Hosni Mubarak, and Saddam Hussein for the Nasserite mantle; and the struggle for leadership of the Palestinian people involving King Hussein and Yasir Arafat. To support his case, Kaufman points to the civil war in Yemen, the failure of the United Arab Republic, the ostracizing of Egypt following the Camp David accords, the Intifada, the Persian Gulf War, and negotiations leading to the Madrid Conference and the Oslo accords.

Extensively discussing the United States' obsession with communist expansion as the major obstacle in Washington's relations with the Arabs, Kaufman accurately points out that U.S. policy makers erred by viewing the Middle East solely in a global context while ignoring the internal dynamics of the region. He argues that the Suez Crisis resulted in large part because President Dwight D. Eisenhower's and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles's global concerns did not allow them to understand Nasser's regional goals. Although this is true, Kaufman should not discount the roles of Egypt and Saudi Arabia, particularly in light of events over the past ten years. He should have devoted greater attention to the Eisenhower Doctrine, which squandered any good will the United States may have acquired during the Suez Crisis by creating the perception in the Arab world that Washington was merely displacing the British as the dominant western imperialist force in the region.

Discussing the Johnson administration, Kaufman perceives the president as politically tied to the oil industry and not making the necessary "distinctions between communism, nationalism, and neutralism" (p. 45). This position allowed a continuation of the Eisenhower policy opposing any form of Arab nationalism as a potential tool of the Soviet Union. The Cold War theme continued in Nixon administration policy to-

ward the Arab world, and competition between William Rogers and Henry Kissinger is explored in the context of the "war of attrition," the Jordanian civil war, and inter-Arab relations following the death of Nasser. Events leading up to the Yom Kippur War are thoroughly analyzed, although Kaufman does not deal with the issues of why Israel did not launch a preemptive strike against the Arabs and what Kissinger's role was in making that decision.

Kaufman is on firm footing in his summary of Arab-Israeli negotiations following Anwar Sadat's visit to Jerusalem. He explores in detail the nuances of diplomacy when analyzing the attempts of George Schultz and James Baker to reach a settlement of the Arab-Israeli crisis. Kaufman successfully interweaves the role of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Persian Gulf War in the process, and his survey ends with Israel's withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho.

This concise book is a useful review of Arab-American relations since World War II. The author has done a prodigious amount of reading, and despite some minor shortcomings, his volume is a welcome addition to the field.

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AFRICA

CHRISTOPHER WRIGLEY. *Kingship and the State: The Buganda Dynasty*. (African Studies Series, number 88.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 293. \$64.95.

Christopher Wrigley's book is a study of how the Ganda rulers standardized and secularized traditional mythology and religion for political ends. A theological and ethical commentary on the political morality of Buganda, it reflects Wrigley's own anxiety about the lack of a moral anchor for modern society. I am less certain that the book speaks accurately about the values and political structures of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Buganda.

According to Wrigley, the Lakeland area was once covered by hundreds of micro-polities sharing a common language and culture. Although these small clan-based communities had no political unity, they were loosely joined by sacred kings (who were often children), dance groups, and oracles whose main functions were religious and ritualistic. The work of these leaders was to participate in ceremonies acknowledging central and timeless human realities such as the passage from innocence to maturity and sexuality, the transition from isolation into society, the tension between nature and culture, the complementary roles of males and females, and the link between death and life. In their ceremonial role, the sacred kings and other leaders of the Lakeland marked and controlled the passage of time whose progress and decay distinguished the human realm from the unchangeable

domain of the gods. The mortal dignitaries, however, did not rule in any coercive or administrative fashion.

In reconstructing the customs, rituals, and myths of the early Ganda, Wrigley relies on his extensive knowledge of world literature and mythology (acknowledging his debt to James Frazer) and on the methodology of French structuralism (especially as employed by anthropologists Claude Lévi Strauss and Luc de Heusch). Besides agreeing with the structuralists that the mechanics of the mind implant a common template of oppositionally paired ideas into all human thought, Wrigley also posits a unity based on an ancient family of myths and rituals once shared by all peoples of the earth. As a result, Wrigley uses Old Testament myths, Celtic tales, ancient Greek drama, Amerindian lore, and Egyptian religion to inform his study of Ganda intellectual history. In fact, Wrigley attempts to reconstruct incomprehensible gaps in the mythological rituals and recollections of one culture by drawing on parallels from the intellectual attics of other traditions.

In Wrigley's view, the heroes of the ancient myths were incorporated into Ganda "history" by relatively recent political leaders. A new political and economic elite gained control of the fertile banana-growing region around Nalubaale (Lake Victoria) in the 1600s and 1700s. In an attempt to generate wealth, they raided neighboring lands for women who could cultivate the fields and produce children. In their effort to establish dominion over the land, these politicians consolidated the multiplicity of ancient Lakeland stories into a single "official" version to ratify their own rule. Thus, ancient gods and mythological heroes were incorporated as mere dynastic trophies into expanding royal genealogies. Tragically, says Wrigley, once the myths were separated from their original cultural moorings and made to serve the pedestrian purposes of politicians, they lost their authority and moral bearings. In former times, the myths and rituals (even those involving human sacrifice) reminded people of human finitude, the sanctity of life, the high value of women, and the dangers and limits of political power. While the early ritual specialists had championed and modeled the concept of the suffering servant, the new venal and secular leaders treated their people with contempt and cruelty. By the end of the nineteenth century, therefore, when the myths survived only as simplified political tools, the Ganda state became uncontrollably brutal, human life was trivialized, and women were treated as slaves or sexual objects.

Wrigley is at his best when analyzing the ancient meaning of Buganda's earliest myths and rituals and when discussing the decline of their moral impact in the nineteenth century. Many scholars, however, will question Wrigley's paradoxical assertion that stories and rituals remained identifiably intact for centuries—even millennia—prior to the 1700s and 1800s, only to be transformed unrecognizably in just a few generations. His study of the tales' less esoteric political content also is problematic. In the face of strong evidence to the contrary, he denies that competing

versions of Ganda history existed much after 1700. As a result, he gives scant attention to any ideological role the stories played in eighteenth and nineteenth-century political contests. Nevertheless, his book, which is provocative on almost every page, rightly challenges historians and anthropologists to move beyond mundane temporal issues to consider how Africans dealt with the deepest questions of moral and political philosophy.

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ROBIN LAW, editor. *From Slave Trade to "Legitimate" Commerce: The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth-Century West Africa*. Papers from a conference of the Centre of Commonwealth Studies, University of Stirling. (African Studies Series, number 86.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 278. \$59.75.

The British-led effort to suppress the slave trade from West Africa after 1807, instead of curtailing African participation in Atlantic commerce, was accompanied by tremendous growth in the region's overseas trade. African rulers and merchants sought to continue the profitable slave trade with varying success. Slave exports from the Gold Coast declined rapidly, but they continued at high levels from Upper Guinea and the Bight of Biafra until 1840 and from the Slave Coast until 1850. As the abolitionists had hoped, "legitimate" goods such as palm oil took the place of human exports in satisfying Africans' growing demand for foreign goods, notably for the new, cheap manufactures of British factories, but the sequence varied. In some parts of West Africa, the new "legitimate commerce" became established while the external slave trade was still strong, whereas in others it only arose after the Atlantic slave trade's decline.

This collection of essays, edited by Robin Law, examines how perspectives on the transition have changed since the topic was examined in publications of the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s. The authors agree that the salient theses to be tested are those that A. G. Hopkins raised in his *Economic History of West Africa* (1973), which posited a "crisis of adaptation" within West Africa and identified the transition to legitimate trade as the beginning of the region's modern economic history. Aside from a contribution by Martin Lynn on the British side of the trade, the essays are concerned with the political, economic, and social consequences of this transition for African societies. As many of the studies are at pains to stress, these consequences were due to internal as well as external factors.

The essays pay considerable attention to the growth (or continuation) of slavery within West Africa and its relationship to the production of goods for the "legitimate" trade. Gareth Austin links the growth of the kola and gold trades in Asante to the increased use of slaves, even suggesting that human sacrifices decreased

as slave prices rose. Ray A. Kea documents the growing use of slaves in agricultural production on Danish plantations on the Gold Coast and Kristin Mann examines the gradually changing position of slaves in the Lagos palm oil trade. Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson argue that slave prices steadily recovered from their fall immediately after Britain's withdrawal from the Atlantic slave trade in part because of continuing exports to Cuba and Brazil but also due to the growing internal demand for slaves.

Another central topic is the role of African states in orchestrating the transition to legitimate exports. Elisée Soumonni shows that King Ghezo of Dahomey, while continuing to trade in slaves as long as possible, encouraged production for export by requiring that a long-standing agricultural tax be paid in palm oil. Austin's insightful essay examines the role of Asante chiefs in increasing the production of both gold for export into the Atlantic and kola nuts for shipment to more northerly parts of Africa. Both authors undercut exaggerated older ideas about royal monopolies.

One of the freshest themes examined in the volume is the significance of the transition to legitimate trade for gender relations. Despite problems of fragmentary evidence, Robin Law's case study of Yorubaland and Dahomey highlights meaningful variations in the benefits and burdens for women in agricultural production, marketing, and transportation (by head portage). On the basis of rather better evidence, Susan Martin's perceptive and richly textured study of the Ngwa Igbo argues that "the key to a man's success as commercial palm producer lay in control of women's labour" (p. 181) and that nearly all of that female labor was by wives rather than by slaves.

For some specialists, the value of these case studies will be in their varied perspectives and details, but for those concerned with the larger picture the narrowness and diversity of approach in these chapters will be frustrating. Though originally presented at a conference at the University of Sterling in 1993 and then revised, few of the essays make any references to the others or to related work on other areas. In her study of Lagos, for example, Mann ignores the well-documented, closely parallel developments up the coast at Old Calabar.

These problems are partly alleviated by the four essays that do take on larger issues and themes. Law's introduction is well-written and balanced, but it is also cautious and tentative in deciding whether Hopkins's theses have survived or are in need of serious revision, perhaps constrained from sharper criticism by its function in showcasing the other studies. Undue caution is not the problem of Lovejoy and Richardson's wide-ranging essay, which in its eagerness to press its case is inclined to ignore disagreeable variations and generalize on the basis of slender evidence. At one point, they assert that "expanding production of . . . palm oil [etc.] provided a major impetus to slavery within Africa" (p. 46), ignoring Martin's strongly argued essay and citing in its support a broader, older

study by this reviewer that also argued that slaves were not important in the production of palm oil. An insightful essay by E. Ann McDougall focuses on the complex relations of inland communities on both sides of the Sahara's southern edge and artfully relates these insights to the coastal trade. A concluding essay by Hopkins places these regional studies in the global context of nineteenth-century trade and imperialism, and considers transitions underway in other parts of Africa. He might well be speaking of some of his fellow authors when he praises "case studies" that are rich "in their detail and . . . in their obscurity, too" (p. 240). Hopkins's tongue-in-cheek call for a "magnificent book" of synthesis by "a fresh and enthusiastic author" (p. 243) justly points up the fact that this scholarly and useful volume falls short of defining a new standard of interpretation.

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WILLIAM A. HOISINGTON, JR. *Lyautey and the French Conquest of Morocco*. New York: St. Martin's. 1995. Pp. viii, 276. \$45.00.

In comparison with the British empire, the French colonial empire has primarily been perceived as lack—it was poor (no jewels in the French crown), politically inept (Indochina, Algeria, Syria), and expensive (direct rule). Mostly, of course, it was lacking in style. No durbars, no splendid little wars, no Kipling, no Forster.

The principal exception to these rules was Lyautey's Morocco. Louis-Hubert-Gonzalves Lyautey was Resident-General of Morocco from 1912 to 1925 (except for several months in 1917 when he served as minister of war). Lyautey had style—gobs of it. A strong proponent of indirect rule who delighted in photo-ops and media-stroking sessions designed to establish his brilliance and flair, Lyautey is widely credited with being the architect of modern Morocco. As indeed he was.

With a few exceptions, historians have largely left intact the Lyautey legend: that Morocco was conquered with a minimum of force and a maximum of charm, with Lyautey's enlightened policies smoothing the transformation of this Muslim Shangri-la into a modern society. Even Daniel Rivet's massive three-volume *Lyautey et l'institution du protectorat marocain* (1988) has trouble in retaining its critical aplomb in the face of a protagonist so witty, so clever, so manipulative of the historical record.

William A. Hoisington's book is the most recent effort at a critical assessment of the Lyautey methods of conquest and rule. Based extensively on the French military archives and ex-protectorate archives conserved in Rabat as well as on published sources, it assesses the development of Lyautey's ideas on conquest and rule and their application to Morocco during the period of the French conquest.

Hoisington's treatment of the early phases of

Lyautey's career largely follows the legend. Here he relies heavily on the published correspondence, seemingly unaware that the letters included have been selected (and in some instances that I have checked, massaged) by Lyautey's nephew and literary executor, Pierre Lyautey, with an eye toward placing his uncle in the most favorable light.

The core of the book, however, is a series of case studies evaluating the application of the Lyautey method of conquest and native policy to Morocco. Successive chapters examine in detail the pacification of the Middle Atlas, the conquest of the Sous Valley and the south, municipal policy in Rabat and Casablanca, the establishment of French civil administration in the Shawiya plain, and the fiasco of the Rif (where the Lyautey methods foundered in the face of Abd al-Krim's rebellion).

As an exercise in colonial administrative history, the book has the strengths and weaknesses of its sources. Thus it is nuanced and careful in its tracing of the day-to-day evolution of policy, about which Hoisington makes some notable discoveries. But the book's narrow perspective precludes an independent assessment that deals adequately with the colonial context or Moroccan resistance. I recommend it primarily for Morocco specialists.

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PAUL B. RICH. *State Power and Black Politics in South Africa, 1912–51*. New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. x, 248. \$59.95.

A picture of a young man standing before a raging fire with his fists clenched defiantly above his head adorns the cover of Paul B. Rich's book. Emblematic of the popular upsurge that made South Africa's apartheid policies untenable, the picture promises an analysis of that young man's power against a state willing and able to use all of its resources to silence him. Yet this picture is the last we see of him. Instead, Rich describes the dialogue between the state bureaucrats who oppressed him and the African politicians who claimed to represent him. In this process, the men and women on the streets of South Africa are victims or followers but never actors.

Rich presents a chronological analysis of the interplay between African politicians and state bureaucrats attempting to fashion policies of political control over the African population. Relying heavily on the private papers of many of the principals, he provides a close and revealing look at how these policies were fashioned. Beginning with the formation of the African National Congress in 1912 in opposition to the Natives Land Bill (which segregated ownership of land on a racial basis), Rich focuses on the government's legislative agenda and the reactions of the African elite, covering most of the important politicians of the day. He sees two pieces of legislation as particularly impor-

tant: the Native Administration Act of 1927, which he argues instituted a type of "indirect rule" (p. 32) in South Africa's rural areas, and the Representation of Natives Act of 1936, which took Africans off the voting rolls in the Cape and established the Natives Representative Council. His focus is squarely on attempts by the state to find ways to control Africans.

Rich insists on the importance of the state, an area of study he feels has been too long ignored by South African social historians. Situating his work in recent scholarship, he argues that state policies were formed by a "state within a state" operating autonomously in the realm of "native affairs" (pp. 9, 10). He refers to Stanley Greenberg's *Race and State in Capitalist Development* (1980), which argued that "the state did have a certain political autonomy and the bureaucracy was able to develop a momentum of its own as it sought to establish its domination over the wider society" (p. 8). Rich also borrows the concept of a "state within a state" from Adam (not Andrew, as he repeatedly writes) Ashforth (*The Politics of Official Discourse in Twentieth-Century South Africa* [1990]) and draws on Saul Dubow's argument (*Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid, 1919–1936* [1989]) that conflicts arose due to "bureaucratic rivalry" (p. 10) between state actors. Rich sees African politics as a reaction to the activities of this autonomous state.

The weakness of this study is that Rich goes too far in avoiding social history but does not delve deeply enough into political analysis. Unlike Greenberg, Ashforth, and Dubow, Rich does not produce a detailed analysis of the internal workings of his autonomous state. For example, he asserts a rivalry between the Department of Justice and that of Native Affairs but never fully describes or explains it. Although the state is portrayed as autonomous, African actors appear in a vacuum, without motivation, power, or consequences. Too often the actions of African politicians are described as "quixotic," a vague term that pays little attention to the context in which people acted. The most complete narrative of the battles between African politicians and government bureaucrats during this period remains Peter Walshe's *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa* (1971).

Rich has given us a partial picture of the process through which important state policies were formulated in South Africa from 1912–1951. Unfortunately, because he limits that picture to the immediate actors—state bureaucrats and African politicians—we gain little understanding of their actions. The forces affecting both bureaucrats and African politicians, including businessmen, the white electorate, and the majority African population, remain offstage. Without an understanding of those powerful forces, we are left to wonder how that young man with the clenched fists finally triumphed.

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DENNIS D. CORDELL, JOEL W. GREGORY, and VICTOR PICHÉ. *Hoe and Wage: A Social History of a Circular Migration System in West Africa*. (African Modernization and Development Series.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview of HarperCollins. 1996. Pp. xiv, 384. \$69.95.

This book by Dennis D. Cordell, Joel W. Gregory, and Victor Piché investigates the social, political, and demographic evolution of the largest migrant labor system in West Africa over the period 1900–1975. In continent-wide terms, this system, centered on Burkina Faso, is second only to the migrant labor complex in southern Africa. The *burkinabè* system developed in the West African savanna zone, at considerable remove from the coastal areas that underwent a commercial revolution in the nineteenth century following the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade. The region of Burkina Faso itself was transformed by French military conquest and occupation in the twentieth century. The colonizers came to regard the relatively densely populated region as a “labor reservoir” from which to export workers to commercial plantations in the colonial Ivory Coast.

The book is based in part on the National Migration Survey in Burkina Faso (1974–1975), which interrogated nearly 100,000 male and female return migrants who had travelled from Ivory Coast, Ghana, and other neighboring states in West Africa. The authors treat the experiences of male and female migrants separately and consider all major flows of migrant labor, including those within Burkina Faso and those in which migrants settled beyond the boundaries of the state. Their efforts are focused, however, on the principal flow of return migrants who made up a circular system within which laborers left largely rural, subsistence-oriented farming to find wage labor and then returned to their villages, going from hoe to wage and back again.

The book is organized into six chapters and a summary conclusion and epilogue. In the first chapter, Cordell, Gregory, and Piché introduce the methods and models of social science literature on present-day and historical migration in West Africa. They argue that the largely rural savanna sending areas and the largely coastal receiving areas need to be understood as parts (“articulated spheres”) of a larger unified system and that the household rather than the individual migrant is the appropriate unit of analysis. In the second chapter the authors consider the historical population dynamics of the precolonial *burkinabè* societies and the impact of colonial policies. These chapters provide a deep and nuanced context for understanding the evolution of the migrant labor system.

The last four chapters, which include more than 100 tables of data, develop a historical narrative and an extended analysis of *burkinabè* migration. The period 1900–1931 saw the extension of colonial administration, the imposition of heavily burdensome head taxes, and the implementation of forced labor and military

conscription. In the period 1932–1946, the colonizers attempted to restructure the savanna societies even more aggressively. Indeed, in these years, the territory of Burkina (then Upper Volta) was reapportioned between neighboring French colonies, with the primary aim of stimulating labor migration to the Ivory Coast. Ironically, the data indicate that in the period 1900–1945 *burkinabè* migrants preferred the neighboring British colony of Ghana (then Gold Coast) to the Ivory Coast. It was only with the abolition of forced labor in 1946 and the end of military conscription that the larger flow of *burkinabè* migrants went to the Ivory Coast. Yet, interestingly, this pattern of circular migration continued after the end of coercion. According to Cordell, Gregory, and Piché, the need for cash income constituted the major incentive for out-migration during the late colonial and early postcolonial periods, 1947–1959 and 1960–1973, respectively.

In the authors’ view, the *burkinabè* migrant labor system contributed directly to structural underdevelopment and massive poverty. The benefits from circular migration have not exceeded the costs, in part because wages earned in international settings have not been invested in economically productive activities and because household members who stayed behind bore uncounted social and economic costs. Most return migrants expressed ambivalence about circular migration, although roughly a quarter of those migrants interviewed considered migration to be negative.

Through its analysis of a major West African migrant labor system, this book makes a valuable methodological and empirical contribution to the study of global labor migration. It explores the direction, intensity, and duration of migration and the different experiences of male and female migrants. It will be required reading for demographic historians and for all West Africanist social scientists concerned with twentieth-century affairs.

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ASIA

JOSEPH NEEDHAM and ROBIN D. S. YATES. *Science and Civilisation in China*. Volume 5, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*; part 6, *Military Technology; Missiles and Sieges*. Assisted by KRZYSZTOF GAWLIKOWSKI, EDWARD MCEWEN, and WANG LING. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xxviii, 601. \$130.00.

This fine, copiously illustrated volume edited by Joseph Needham and Robin D. S. Yates reminds us how much the excavations of recent decades have changed our understanding of ancient China and how much more surely remains to be discovered.

The book is divided into three main sections. The first covers Chinese military thought and its place in Chinese culture. Among many fascinating insights, three stand out. First, the authors suggest a fundamen-

tal difference between European and Chinese concepts of war: Westerners "tended to fight against something whereas the Chinese tended to fight for something" (p. 37). In China, the "ultimate aim of war is a change of the enemy's mind," and philosophers from many different schools, recognizing the dangers of war, recommended achieving this aim, if at all possible, without resort to actual combat (p. 39). The recently published hypothesis of Alastair Iain Johnston (*Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* [1995]) that a readiness to use force frequently prevailed over such "pacifistic" approaches casts the latter in a new perspective. Second, the authors note the association of military affairs (*wu*) with the *yin*, or female principle (in this context identified with violence, destruction, and savagery), in contrast to the association of culture (*wen*) or "civilization, virtue and rites" with *yang*, the male principle (p. 92). Third, Chinese high culture has consistently preferred that *wen* prevail over *wu*, but popular culture differed markedly. Drawing attention to the centrality of military themes in popular literature and drama and to the abiding popularity of martial arts (*kung fu*), the authors note also that several important gods of popular religion gained immortality precisely because of their military prowess. This contrast has heretofore been little remarked.

The second section discusses weapons: bows; crossbows, including repeating models; and projectile weapons, especially the missile-hurling trebuchet, manned or counterweighted. The highly technical matter included in this section is clearly explained and much obscure technical terminology is elucidated. Assisted by Edward McEwen and Wang Ling, Needham also discusses topics such as the comparative history of missile technology and analyzes the social role of these weapons.

The third and longest section, by Yates, describes methods of defending walled cities under siege, from the urbanizing Warring States period (463–221 B.C.E.) to the militarily weak but technologically creative Sung (960–1279 CE). In particular, Yates gives details of often rivetting the "extraordinary inventiveness" of the Mohists, members of a philosophical school almost contemporaneous with Confucius and often at odds with the sage's followers (p. 466). Mohist military thinkers devised means of piping noxious fumes into enemy tunnels; lowering armed defenders on primitive elevators; building up walls with "mobile towers"; hanging down huge mud-encrusted curtains from city walls to deflect blazing missiles; and mining city approaches. The degree of organization was remarkable.

Yates explicates incomplete or intractable texts as thoroughly as possible, and his tendency to speculate is balanced by his excellent use of written and archaeological sources. By presenting the military ideas of a philosophical school, he also highlights the complex ways in which warfare and culture have been linked in China since antiquity. This work is a mine of information on a broad range of topics and is indispensable

reading for historians of technology, military thought and philosophy, and urbanization.

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SHIH-SHAN HENRY TSAI. *The Eunuchs in the Ming Dynasty*. (SUNY Series in Chinese Local Studies.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 290. \$18.95.

Shih-shan Henry Tsai here examines the role that eunuchs played in Ming government. The eunuch agencies were established to take charge of various aspects of palace maintenance and to look after the palace women and cooperate with them in satisfying the intimate everyday wants and needs of the emperors, but they gradually grew to dominate the administration of the Ming empire. The result, Tsai argues, was the creation of "a third administrative hierarchy through which emperors could, and did, exercise their power in all areas of government" (p. 9).

The first chapters of this book examine the origins and development of the eunuch system, the demand and supply of Ming eunuchs, early eunuch establishments, and eunuch agencies inside the Imperial City and outside the capital. The next chapters discuss the rise of eunuch power in six major aspects of Ming government: the military system, the intelligence-gathering apparatuses, diplomacy, maritime activities, economy, and miscellaneous duties such as flood control projects and judiciary reviews. Tsai has tried to explore systematically and thoroughly every aspect of eunuch function within the complexity of Ming government. For its presentation of a comprehensive picture of the role eunuchs played in Ming government, this study has much to recommend it.

The Ming dynasty was the high point in the history of eunuch influence in traditional Chinese government, and eunuch power and its abuse in Ming times have been the focus of much modern scholarly attention. Ding Yi's *Politics of the Secret Police during the Ming Dynasty* (*Mindai tewu zhengzhi* [1950]), written in Chinese and published in Beijing right after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, was a great sensation of its day. Ding portrayed Ming government as a system dominated by institutionalized terror that was manipulated largely by wicked, rapacious, and unscrupulous eunuchs. Exaggerated as his analyses generally are, Ding's book turned scholars' attention to the historical significance of the Ming eunuch institutions because he collected a great amount of Ming primary source material on eunuchs in one single book. Almost all the primary source material cited by Tsai can be found in Ding's book. But the interpretations and conclusions of the two books are poles apart.

Tsai's discourse of eunuch influence starts from a different direction. The new approach, according to Tsai, is "to break free from the traditional framework" in which the eunuchs were blamed for "being usurpers

and terrorists" whose interference in governmental affairs was a cause of corruption in the imperial government. Tsai presents, for instance, the Ming eunuchs as a group who "had remarkably assumed an unprecedented role in the stewardship of the Ming economy" (p. 187). He examines eunuchs' roles in six major areas of economic activities: managing the imperial plantations (which belonged to the state land category); collecting all sorts of taxes; supervising the salt monopoly; managing the production of various kinds of textiles and silk; purchasing palace supplies and other special goods and managing the manufacture of porcelain and pearl cultivation; and promoting mining and metallurgical renovations. Tsai is fully aware of the controversial nature of these activities. Although the eunuch managers and entrepreneurs brought their energies and ingenuities to many endeavors, they also at times abused their authority by taking over land by force, extorting money and other valuables, and imposing undue hard labor on the poor and helpless. These things explain why the eunuchs were notorious for crimes and scandals according to contemporary writers.

Tsai takes a "scholar-officials versus eunuchs" approach. "The two groups collided, interacted, and conflicted throughout the Ming period and for nearly 250 years vied with one another for control of the imperial apparatus" (p. 8). But should the scholar-officials be viewed as "idealistic and timid" men who "gleefully served" the very imperial institution that caused the ills of the society, while the eunuchs are treated as "needed hewers of wood and drawers of water" who just did what they were ordered to do, as Tsai suggests? This is questionable, because one of the reasons that the Ming emperors chose the informality and irregularity of eunuch employment over that of regular civilian bureaucracy was to avoid the endless obstructions and moral exhortation of the scholar-officials. Admonition and remonstrance were a significant part of the Confucian heritage. Many Ming scholar-officials challenged emperors to their faces in the best Confucian manner; in fact, the Ming dynasty had a disproportionately large number of China's most famous remonstrators.

Whether or not one agrees with all of Tsai's conclusions, his book is undoubtedly an impressive and challenging contribution to the field of Ming history. It is important not only for the wealth of data it presents but also for the insights it offers. It provides a sound foundation for future research on the government and politics of late imperial China.

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JAMES L. HEVIA. *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 292. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$15.95.

James L. Hevia has written a very important book on a critical moment in the history of the Sino-British encounter. Drawing on the theoretical insights of Edward Said and other postcolonial theorists, Hevia represents the Macartney embassy of 1793 as "one between two . . . expansive colonial empires," "each with universalistic pretensions and complex metaphysical systems to buttress such claims" (p. 25). His study begins with an analysis of the different views of sovereignty and the respective processes through which power was constructed within the Qing and the British empires. On the Chinese side, he distinguishes the Qing empire from its predecessors, arguing that by the late eighteenth century, the Qing empire was "multinational, multiethnic, and multilingualistic." The Qing emperor positioned himself above a multitude of lords such as those of the Tibetans and Mongols, seeking to include them in his own rulership. Involvement took the form of participation in a "Guest Ritual" process that "organized a center relative to the peripheral kingdoms of other lords" (pp. 30-32). When Macartney came, he was treated as one of the lords.

By focusing on Guest Ritual, Hevia departs from current interpretations of the embassy, which he criticizes for their modernist, functional, and culturalist treatments of ritual. He challenges studies that treat the mission as an encounter between two essentialized cultural entities—China and the West. Interest in ritual has been considered a cultural trait of the Chinese in particular and of traditional societies in general. Scholars of the mission who rely on the Euro-American system of international relations as the frame of analysis therefore fail to understand that ritual was no less important to the British and the European governments. By the late eighteenth century, in European political theory and diplomatic practice, the ambassador represented the honor and dignity of the sovereign. "It was through ceremony that mutual recognition of sovereignty was asserted and state-to-state equality achieved" (p. 76).

Underscoring the signifying ritual for both the Chinese and the British, Hevia demonstrates the flaw of conventional studies that attribute the failure of the Macartney embassy and subsequent attempts to China's "isolation" policy, its Sinocentric worldview, and its obsession with ritual. The failure was rather a result of "competing and ultimately incompatible views of the meanings of sovereignty and the ways in which relations of power were constructed. Each attempted to impose its own views on the other; neither was (at the time) successful" (p. 28). Hevia recontextualizes the tribute system as part of the Guest Ritual and explains how the *koutou* (kowtow) was objectified as a symbol of Chinese national character in subsequent European representations of China. This line of analysis provides new insights for reassessing the Opium War and the role of British and American missionaries in the production and dissemination of Orientalist discourse on China.

Hevia analyzes the Guest Ritual as a "centering" process, which "allows the differentiation and inclusion of the powers of others into the emperor's rulership as desirable superior/inferior relations" (p. 123). It is "one means by which vast and complex hierarchical relations are constituted through the activities of multiple agents, agents who are neither unitary individuals nor individuals who engage in voluntaristic action" (p. 216). But it was also the process through which the Qianlong emperor gathered information about Macartney's embassy and adjusted his treatment accordingly. Indeed, Hevia demonstrates clearly that this process depended primarily on the degree of attention and "intervention" of the Qianlong emperor, and one wonders how much less "centering" the Guest Ritual might have been had the emperor been less interested. Left to the officials, both at the provincial level and in Beijing, the process would have fallen into either the rigidity or the laxity that the Qianlong emperor had complained about. Which produced the centering effect: the Qing emperor or the Guest Ritual?

Hevia's study is an exciting and important contribution to Chinese and cross-cultural studies. It is broadly conceptualized, taking issue with various views of the history of Sino-British diplomacy. Historians interested in the bureaucratic operations and the complex system of communication between the central government and local officials will enjoy the meticulous reconstruction of the activities of both the Macartney embassy and the Qing court's vigilant management of the Guest Ritual. The book is well researched, using both English and Chinese archival materials. It should be read by anyone interested in Chinese history, postcolonial studies, or the history of diplomacy and cultural encounters.

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PAUL R. KATZ. *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: The Cult of Marshall Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang*. (SUNY Series in Chinese Local Studies.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 261. \$19.95.

This is a capable and clearly-written study of a fascinating topic, the history of a plague-exorcising cult that has held broad appeal for much of China's southeastern coastal population for nearly a millenium. Paul R. Katz offers rich detail about the disease history of the region that spawned the cult, the hagiographic traditions of its central deity (the seemingly composite figure, Marshall Wen), the ecology of the cult's spread (most often by means of commercial diasporas), and the practice of its central prophylactic and apotropaic rituals, including the spectacular boatburning rites noted in the book's title.

The book combines the techniques of religious studies and social history, explicating the cult's textual,

iconographic, and ritual traditions with the utmost care while making an equally serious effort to situate these within the context of the Zhejiang region's marked demographic and economic change during the late imperial era. It is diligently researched in a wide range of difficult written sources and demonstrates with unusual force the value of fieldwork (in Taiwan) to enrich the study of a cult such as this, which enjoys a living history.

One of the most interesting revelations of the book is the way Confucian scholar-officials, Buddhist and Daoist clerics, plebeian religious specialists, mercantile elites, and organized marginal groups such as actors and beggars systematically orchestrated their efforts in staging mass exorcistic rites in Wenzhou and Hangzhou when those cities confronted serious epidemics. In an article in *Late Imperial China* (1995), Mingming Wang describes a similar exorcism in Quanzhou in 1895, when the debacle of the Sino-Japanese War threatened the city with visitation by hordes of war casualties' "hungry ghosts." Such effective role-specific coordination on the part of otherwise antithetical orthodoxies and social constituencies to serve a common community purpose says much about the extraordinary syncretism and flexibility possible within late imperial Chinese culture.

Katz's efforts to extrapolate from his central subject into wider areas of discussion achieve mixed results. Most successful is the critique he offers of the theoretical perspective of "Daoist studies" specialists, notably Kristofer Schipper and Kenneth Dean (whose work he treats with due respect). Following an argument suggested in Susan Naquin's and Cho-feng Yu's *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China* (1992), Katz contends that it is a mistake to view ecclesiastical Daoism as a "higher form" of worship than the cluttered and messy popular religious practices of the Chinese people and, following biases inherent in many written sources, to see Daoism as a pristine theological tradition influencing popular practices but relatively immune from reciprocal influence by them. Marshall Wen's cult offers, as Katz shows, powerful counterevidence to this assumption.

Broadening his focus to issues of popular and elite culture more generally, Katz puts forward notions of "cogeneration" and "reverberation" to suggest that processes of appropriation work in both directions. There is little reason to doubt the veracity of this, though in the context of a generation of work on the history of popular culture in the West the insight seems perhaps less original than the author imagines.

In what appears almost obligatory fashion, Katz concludes his book with a meditation on the somewhat tired subject of civil society in China. He argues that previous works by Mary Rankin, David Strand, and myself, among others, pay insufficient attention to the role of religious institutions and practices in making up the "public sphere," or, in Philip Huang's more cautious phrase, the "third realm" between state and society. This much is easy to concede. Katz's further

suggestion that, with the definition thus expanded, public sphere activity in China has a history stretching back many centuries is again unlikely to invite dispute. The question is whether expanding the frame of reference of this category (which, one might argue, is over-generalized in the first place) does not rob it of any possible value as a device for analyzing historical change?

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BRYNA GOODMAN. *Native Place, City, and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853–1937*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 367. \$48.00.

This fine piece of work adds much to our ever more nuanced view of Chinese society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Bryna Goodman examines native place associations in the rapidly growing city of Shanghai, a mosaic of people primarily identified as coming from other places, over nearly a century: from the years immediately following the Opium War and the 1853 occupation of the city by the Small Sword Society through the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, when the Japanese army took control of the city. Goodman adds much to her analysis by paying attention to temporal changes and nuances in the Chinese terminology for these associations (*huiguan*, *bang*, *gongsuo*, *tongxianghui*) and by including visual material. Occasionally, comparative data is drawn from *Landsmannschaften* elsewhere, although I found these arguments less persuasive.

One of the book's recurrent themes is the mediating role played by native place societies in the furtherance or hindrance of nationalism. Eschewing a simple-minded analysis, Goodman shows how, over time, the *huiguan* might play both roles. As many thousands of people descended for a variety of reasons on the city of Shanghai, they frequently needed and found support from their fellow locals, also immigrants. An essentially local identification militated against the development of a national "Chinese" consciousness. In times of crisis, however, these *huiguan*, later *tongxianghui*, provided the infrastructure for an emergent national awareness in opposition to foreign intruders. Interestingly absent, as Goodman notes, was a strong urban consciousness of the sort that William Rowe found in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Hankow (*Hankow: Conflict and Community in a Chinese City, 1796–1895* [1989]). Goodman offers a textured treatment of this important issue.

The section on native place organizations in the period of the May Fourth Movement is especially well done. In her examination of what is so often and so simplistically treated as a conflict between tradition and modernity, Goodman demonstrates the active role of an old social institution (*huiguan*) in the articulation of modern values. This happily confounds the neat manner in which emergent Chinese nationalism is

usually narrated and challenges scholars to drop their comfortable understanding and reassess a period we thought we understood.

Goodman's research is based on a wide range of primary and archival sources in Chinese and Western languages. She makes especially good use of the newspapers *Shenbao* and the *North China Herald*. She also judiciously utilizes, as did Rowe, the observances of travelers to Shanghai, although she might have done more with this rich, untapped literature, particularly the numerous Japanese travelogues and guidebooks to Shanghai. There are quantities of documentation in the Japanese Diplomatic Records Office that might have enhanced this study but probably would not have altered its conclusions.

The one qualm I have is with Goodman's comparisons of the Chinese experience with that of the British, French, or Americans. An institution as culturally specific as the *huiguan* would certainly stand out, as it does in this study, in comparison to seemingly comparable Western institutions. A more intriguing comparison might be with societies of similar cultural background—Korean, Vietnam, Japan—to point up the genuinely distinctive traits of Chinese social practice vis-à-vis other societies heavily influenced by Confucian norms. This reservation, however, is entirely minor. Finally, there are a number of annoying typographical errors, some the press's fault and some the author's. For example, the title of the frequently cited work by Chen Laixin should not be *Yu Xiaqing ni tsuite* (mixing Chinese and Japanese) but *Gu Kōkei ni tsuite*.

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CHRISTINA KELLEY GILMARTIN. *Engendering the Chinese Revolution: Radical Women, Communist Politics, and Mass Movements in the 1920s*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 303. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$15.00.

Christina Kelley Gilmartin's admirable book makes a compelling case that, of all the phases of China's "long revolution," it was the period 1925–1927 that saw the most systematic effort to transform gender relations. The first half of the book examines the commitment of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to women's emancipation in the 1920s, suggesting that, unlike Communist parties elsewhere, it had no animus against "bourgeois" feminism. By meticulously reconstructing the ideological context, Gilmartin shows how the party's commitment reflected both the onslaught on Confucian tradition by the generation of the May Fourth Movement and the longstanding assumption in nationalist discourse that China's regeneration depended on the release of the energies of its womenfolk. She demonstrates how the party, especially its female minority, took up issues pertaining to the patriarchal family, relations between the sexes, reform of marriage

practices, divorce, and women's political and legal rights.

Through a novel examination of the personal politics of leading cadres, Gilmartin argues that the party served as a radical subculture in which individuals could escape oppressive families and arranged marriages (although I would suggest that this was true mainly for intellectuals rather than workers, who made up the majority of members after 1925). At the same time, she shows how, despite its feminist rhetoric, the party rapidly reinscribed elements of the wider patriarchal culture in its practice. Men monopolized positions as theoreticians and policy makers. Although there were outstanding women activists, notably Xiang Jingyu (whose complex relation to feminism is thoughtfully reevaluated), their influence ultimately depended on their marriages or liaisons with powerful men. Following the breakup of the united front in 1927, the CCP distanced itself from feminism and, once it became a largely rural party, took care not to antagonize male peasants by reckless attacks on the family.

The second part of the book investigates the campaigns to involve women in the nationalist revolution between 1924 and 1927, revealing how these challenged conventional notions of the family, morality, and gender roles. Gilmartin examines the activities of the women's associations established by the Guomindang in southern and central China, concluding that they pursued a largely feminist rather than nationalist agenda. Gender issues often proved more contentious in the villages than issues of national reunification and socioeconomic policy. Many more women, however, joined the peasant associations than the women's associations (although some may have been enrolled in the former by their husbands), and it would have been helpful had Gilmartin confronted more directly the question of why membership in the women's associations remained relatively small. She points to the latent hostility of male peasants and to the unwillingness of organizers such as Peng Pai to confront such prejudice, but further exploration of how class interest intersected with gender identity would have been valuable.

In keeping with the marvellous photograph on the cover, Gilmartin offers a fine discussion of women's participation in the military campaign against the warlords, showing how they served as agitators, nurses, carriers, and spies even though they were not active in combat as they had been during the revolution of 1911. I wondered whether the Northern Expedition entrenched a model of masculinity—soldiers of the nationalist armies as warriors defending their womenfolk—that marginalized the feminist challenge to patriarchy within the Guomindang, but Gilmartin has more to say about the impact of the revolution on feminine than on masculine identities. Overall, this work exemplifies the potential of gender as an analytical category, especially when used in a culturally and historically sensitive fashion. In sum, Gilmartin's judicious and broadly researched study makes a stimulat-

ing contribution to understanding how China's revolution shook, but never toppled, power relations between the sexes.

STEVE SMITH
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JINNAI HIDENOBU. *Tokyo: A Spatial Anthropology*. Translated by KIMIKO NISHIMURA. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 236.

Ever since historians lowered the veil to reveal all histories as constructs that deploy evidence from texts lacking transparency, historical inquiry has expanded in scope and kind, and new topics and sources have proliferated. Now comes a work of location—of place—that examines the anthropology of Tokyo's space both past and present.

Tokyo is the scene of much of what has changed in Japan since the Meiji Restoration. It embodies the multi-functional metropolis, serving as the country's political capital, its financial and industrial heart, and its communications hub and cultural pivot. In American terms, Tokyo turned into Washington, D.C., New York, San Francisco, and Pittsburgh rolled into one. Paris and London come to mind, but analogies pale.

Everyone knows that Tokyo did not rise full-blown after 1868. Established by the Meiji emperor to replace Kyoto, the "Eastern Capital" had its genesis in Edo, "Rivergate," the vast metropolis fashioned by the Tokugawa military government on ground laid by lesser lords going back to the initial castle-raising in 1457. Edo grew from a fishing village of perhaps 7,000 inhabitants in 1590 to become a municipality surpassing one million by 1720. The shogun's city operated economically as "a potent engine working towards change," to quote E. Anthony Wrigley's reading of London (*People, Cities, and Wealth* [1987], p. 156). Even so, Edo never exceeded three to four percent of Japan's population of thirty million: eleven percent of England's population lived in London by 1750.

Jinnai Hidenobu departs from concern with change to focus on survival. His book is an ethnography of spatial forms in the Edo/Tokyo historical field—what some call urban morphology—and constitutes a novelty in the English-language literature. Inspired by the author's forays via rowboat and shank's mare through Tokyo's waterways and streets, the book presents a topographical mapping of the new city rising on the template of the old. Studies of this sort are in short supply even in Japanese. As a member of several forums engaged in studying Edo/Tokyo (see Ogi Shinzō, ed., *Edo Tōkyō o yomu* [1991]) and as an architectural historian acquainted with architect Ashihara Yoshinobu (*The Hidden Order: Tokyo through the Twentieth Century* [1989]), Jinnai belongs to a hardy band serving up visions of the city's past to an eager public. His work privileges the texture and volatility of urban space over diachronic treatment of political or social behavior. His motif is stability of place—subsur-

face traces that persist despite repeated changes. He considers Tokyo "a great metropolis that [has] lost the face of its own past" but concludes that all over the city "each place [still] evokes a distinctive atmosphere nurtured over a long history" (pp. 1–2). He goes on to show how Edo's residue remains inscribed beneath the overlay generated by constant modification of the cityscape.

How does Jinnai go about representing the kinesis of a great city? Historians normally employ narrative to carry a story from one point in time to the next, a typical mode of telling indicative of a disciplinary norm. When the topic is a city's space, the story line skips in punctuated bursts; Jinnai accordingly deselects the narrative mode for his chapter sequence, adopting a synchronic strategy of working from one part of the city to another. Edo was laid out in two distinct but overlapping topographical sectors—Yamanote, "Upland," and Shitamachi, "Downtown." Jinnai uses this two-part layout both as a synecdoche for the city and to facilitate the arrangement of his study. In one chapter, he writes of daimyo residences on high; then he speaks of the cosmology of a waterborne downtown; next he takes up the rhetoric of urbanism; last he proceeds to the bridges and parks and the buildings and plazas that have characterized Tokyo since the Great Earthquake of 1923.

Good examples of Jinnai's technique include his account of a walk along the east-west ridge at Tsunashaka in Mita, once an array of daimyo mansions and now home to the Mitsui Club and two embassies (pp. 31–33), and his discussion of the massive Tokugawa hydraulic engineering project that thrust Ochanomizu atop a gorge dug out of the Kanda hillside in order to create the Kandagawa canal and divert water eastward to reduce flooding in the Nihonbashi/Ginza area (pp. 70–72). On such occasions Jinnai attains a lyric effect blending history with the forces of urban economic development. He observes that since the "Tokyo boom" of the 1980s, citizens who seek "to create a new set of values for postindustrial society" find themselves "frequently . . . referring to the past" (pp. 217–18).

Minor errors mar the book. "Ōta Dōtan" (p. 70) should be Ōta Dōkan, daimyo and builder of Edo Castle. The publishing house "Chikkuma" (p. 218) should be Chikuma. Ninety illustrations adorn the pages—instructive maps and diagrams as well as photos—but no table lists them. Tallying these and other lacunae and misreadings, however, cannot lower the value of Jinnai's joyous look at the forms of urban existence then and now in the space of Edo/Tokyo.

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KOBKUA SUWANNATHAT-PIAN. *Thailand's Durable Premier: Phibun through Three Decades 1932–1957*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 332. \$38.00.

This is a defense of the policies of Field Marshal Plaek Phibunsongkhram, Prime Minister of Thailand between 1938–1944 and 1948–1957. Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian's five chapters cover Phibun's controversial career. She notes several differences between Phibun's first and second administrations. During the first administration, Phibun's policies and actions were motivated by the need for political survival, in particular, the survival of the People's Party against the conservative-royalist clique representing the monarchy. During this period, however, Phibun was the most free to initiate and carry out his social and cultural reforms; the years from 1939 to 1941 were ones of cooperation and compromise between him and Pridi Phanomyong, the co-leader of the People's Party. Pridi supported Phibun's policies of economic nationalism and military action in Indochina, while Phibun went along with Pridi's tax proposals and plans for Thammasat University.

The second administration was quite different; Phibun's faction was just one of three in the military. He had been chosen to lead because he held a balance between the Phin-Phao and Sarit factions and because he had the support of the West, whose military and economic assistance was considered essential to the maintenance of the Thai state.

Phibun's foreign policy is presented as a continuation of Thai policy since the early nineteenth century, the central concern of which has always been the preservation of Thai sovereignty and independence in a dangerous and threatening world. The shifts in Phibun's foreign policy, from neutrality to an alliance with Japan and then with the anticommunist West, were necessary responses to changing international conditions.

Although Kobkua would clearly like to settle the controversies over Phibun, she may have only increased them. To be sure, many of Phibun's actions do reflect past activities of earlier Thai kings. Mongkut was the first to encourage modification of Thai dress to conform to Western customs, and Wachirawut promoted an intense anti-Chinese nationalism. Kobkua's linking of the programs of Phibun and Pridi to the regional differences in the Thai state contributes to an understanding of the activities of each man. But her portrait of both Pridi and Phibun as supporters of "sweeping autocratic power" (p. 182) despite the constitutional claims of the People's Party and her insistence on the continuity of Thai foreign policy with the past only extend the existing debates.

This study not only challenges scholars in Thai Studies but also serves to focus the debate more clearly on the possibilities and alternatives that existed in a Southeast Asian society during an exceptionally troubled period in world history.

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STEFAN PETROW. *Sanatorium of the South? Public Health and Politics in Hobart and Launceston 1875–*

1914. Hobart, Australia: Tasmanian Historical Research Association. 1995. Pp. vii, 218. \$A20.00.

Stefan Petrow's book—exhaustively researched, elegantly structured, and well written—is the first publication in a projected series of monographs on Australian regional history by the Tasmanian Historical Research Association. This volume traces the history of municipal public-health administration in Tasmania's two largest urban centers, Hobart (the southern capital city) and Launceston (its north-coast rival), between 1885 and 1914. During these years, Petrow argues, municipal sanitary administration extended significantly both in scope and substance, triggered by frequent outbreaks of epidemic disease. He suggests two consequences: first, life in Hobart and Launceston became substantially healthier and safer; second, the municipal corporations of Hobart and Launceston accumulated more functions, becoming more like British municipal corporations than any other agency of local government in Australia.

These are broad and interesting claims. Petrow establishes that municipal sanitary administration expanded in both cities and that community health improved, but he is not able to demonstrate that the first development was entirely responsible for the second. The equation—as the last twenty years of community-health historiography demonstrates—is rather more complex than that. Petrow's assessment of municipal governance in Tasmania is also open to question. He needs a broader comparative canvas of municipal practice in the English-speaking world to make his argument convincingly. Readers will also question the dynamics of municipal change in Tasmania. Although Petrow stresses in his conclusion the contributing effects of Tasmanians' dislike of centralism and preference for local autonomy, much of his text is taken up describing the contingent and piecemeal accumulation of municipal functions. These two important strands of analysis need to be meshed in order to sustain a persuasive line of argument.

Petrow is more convincing when he claims that this work breaks new ground as a comparative study of two councils in the one (often overlooked) region. He excels in this deep-textured local history. The book is structured in three parts. The first surveys urban life and administration in Tasmania between 1803 (when Hobart was founded) and 1885 (when the Tasmanian Central Board of Health was established). Part two consists of four chapters on Launceston. Petrow notes Launceston's civic pride and self-identification, presenting them as an antipodean expression of municipal progressivism equivalent to Birmingham or Glasgow, and he emphasizes the willingness of its business elite to participate in municipal affairs in order to give practical expression to this civic pride. He also gives ample attention, however, to the debilitating chorus for low rates, budget cuts, and the sanctity of private property. Part three consists of four similarly organized chapters on Hobart, emphasizing its narrower

and meaner vision of municipal responsibility, the dominance of the "economist" faction in municipal politics, and the consequent inertness of municipal sanitary administration. Petrow nonetheless insists that—as a consequence of grassroots lobbying for reform—piecemeal administrative improvements (for example, the passing of a tougher Hobart Building Act in 1909) largely overcame Hobart's municipal backwardness by 1914.

ALAN MAYNE

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DEEPAK KUMAR. *Science and the Raj 1857–1905*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 273. \$26.00.

The topic of this book, science in India from 1857 to 1905, is one that, surprisingly, has never before been dealt with in a comprehensive manner. In order to make his task even more daunting, Deepak Kumar defines science as broadly as possible, including not only "pure" research but also medicine, engineering, agronomy, science museums, telegraphy, and scientific and technical education. Kumar has perused documents in more than a dozen archives in India and England, several dozen series of official reports, and hundreds of contemporary and secondary publications. Enough details to fill half a dozen scholarly monographs are here compressed into a relatively short book. This makes the book difficult to read, for it is packed with cryptic references to a profusion of little-known people and events.

Some of the points that Kumar makes will not surprise readers familiar with the history of the Raj. Western science entered India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries through the initiative of individual Europeans—most of them military engineers, physicians, and "surgeon-naturalists"—moved by curiosity and wonder at the strange land in which they found themselves. By the mid-nineteenth century, the government of India began encouraging those kinds of science that met official needs, notably map making by the Trigonometric Survey, coal prospecting by the Geologic Survey, and the training of surveyors and hydraulic engineers needed for its grandiose irrigation projects. The kinds of technologies that would have benefited the government indirectly by improving the general economy or the lives of Indians—medicine, agronomy, mechanical engineering, zoology—were neglected, always with the convenient excuse of the lack of funds. As for pure research and scientific education, bureaucratic obfuscation consistently hindered any initiatives that might have competed with the glory of European science. In this regard, the many-layered nature of the British administration—the India Office in London, the government of India, the several presidencies and provincial governments, all linked to one another in one of the world's most lethargic systems of decision making—made it possible to bog down almost any initiative in endless red tape.

The intention was, of course, to maintain Britain's ascendancy over its richest colony, but the unintended consequence was to weaken both India and the British Empire vis-à-vis the rest of the world.

Also familiar is the theme of Indian powerlessness vis-à-vis the government of India. This derived not so much from the physical power of the British in India, which was rather slight, but from the far more potent aura of British superiority to which most Indians subscribed until the very end of the nineteenth century.

Less well known is the evolution of Indian science. In spite of British racism and bureaucratic obstacles, a few Indians became interested in Western science in the late nineteenth century, some as a means of making a living, others inspired by nationalist aspirations, and yet others out of intellectual fascination. In telling us about Indian scientists, Kumar dwells on the obstacles they faced rather than their achievements. Although some of these men—the biologist J. C. Bose, the geologist P. N. Bose, the chemist P. C. Ray, and a few others—were the founders of India's modern scientific tradition, they are mentioned as rapidly and with as little supporting detail as the dozens of others who learned, taught, or practiced science in an unimportant way. But then, this is not really a history of science so much as a history of science policy and scientific organizations under colonial rule.

This book is a research agenda rather than a definitive work. It will, I hope, serve as inspiration to historians of British India to write more comprehensive and well-rounded studies on so many topics that are important to the history of India but are treated here in far too succinct a manner.

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SUDIPTA KAVIRAJ. *The Unhappy Consciousness: Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay and the Formation of Nationalist Discourse in India*. (SOAS Studies in South Asia.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. 194. \$19.95.

As the first great novelist in modern India, Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay or Chatterjee (1838–1894) produced at least a dozen novels that have been praised not only for their literary merit but for the political, social, and historical questions they raise about the period in which he lived. He also edited an important intellectual journal called *Bangadarshan*. Because Bankim was a career civil servant in the British colonial system until his retirement in 1891, his intellectual pursuits were extracurricular.

As a gifted and provocative writer, Bankim has been the subject of countless articles and books. I am puzzled as to how Sudipta Kaviraj could have been oblivious to more than a century of historiographical commentary on Bankim or the intelligentsia of which he was a member. Kaviraj has written, to use his own terminology, a discourse on Bankim's discourses. What

this means is not entirely clear, except that he has been provided with a license to be as subjective and as ambiguous as he wishes. The first three chapters bubble over with ideas on liminality (humor as applied to Bankim's novels) and the myth of praxis as applied to Krishna, but they are neither integrated nor, beyond one page of acknowledgments, does the author state the book's major questions or hypotheses.

Kaviraj addresses his main theme—Bankim's "unhappy consciousness"—in the final two chapters. He believes Bankim was harshly critical and distrustful of Western historical scholarship on India, primarily because the British "were constructing an essentialist image of a subject people whose history destined them for British conquest" (pp. 108–09). Bankim remained a marginal man because "the colonial asymmetry between the European and the Bengali made a simple imitation of the European manner of doing history impossible" (p. 108). In short, Bankim's "unhappy consciousness" stemmed from his "subalternized" state among a subject intelligentsia.

Because Kaviraj does not acknowledge the historical writings of others, there is no debate on the merits of his argument. The very word intelligentsia, which he never defines, is derived from a Russian word denoting a class created by Peter the Great in the early eighteenth century in response to the threat of radical social change in Western Europe. To save Russia from Western dominance, the intelligentsia invented ideologies of salvation. Soon a schism developed between Westerners and Slavophiles—between those xenophiles who succumbed to the lure of the contemporary West and those xenophobes who strongly defended Russia's Slavic spirit and culture. This schism became the prototype for all such subsequent divisions in the ranks of the non-Western intelligentsia across Asia.

Arnold Toynbee, among world historians of a past generation, saw this phenomenon as existing throughout the history of inter-civilizational encounter. It was thus not a new development that arose in consequence of Western expansion. The intelligentsia arises, according to Toynbee, "in any community that is attempting to solve the problem of adapting its life to the rhythm of an exotic civilization to which it has been forcibly annexed or freely converted"; to preserve their culture from alien inroads, the intelligentsia serves as "a class of liaison officers who have learnt the tricks of an intrusive civilization's trade" (*A Study of History*, V [1962], pp. 154–58). It was his role as cultural broker that made Bankim a marginal man "born to be unhappy."

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B. R. NANDA. *Jawaharlal Nehru: Rebel and Statesman*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. 312. \$27.00.

Although Jawaharlal Nehru's views and policies were widely contested during his public career, the critical nature of much recent commentary reflects a major challenge to his political legacy. Nonalignment in foreign policy, a dominant union government, centralized economic planning, import substitution, and secularism are all under siege. In response, B. R. Nanda presents a spirited defense of the record and achievements of India's first prime minister. He reviews the highlights of this extraordinary life in sixteen essays concerning major events, issues, and relationships. Together, they provide arguments and brief factual accounts in support of two central themes: Nehru's ability to accommodate his idealism to the complex realities of the Indian situation, and the need for his critics to root judgments regarding his failures and accomplishments in the context of Nehru's own time.

The mix of conflict and accommodation is reflected in essays concerning Nehru's associations with other nationalist leaders and his evolving political and social philosophy. The tension in his relationship with Mohandas K. Gandhi in particular becomes a metaphor for his relationship with India: his colleagues on the right and left in the nationalist movement and, after 1947, other politicians in the government of India, rural landed elites, and the vast population he sought to serve and to change. He was an outsider on the inside and Nanda's adept use of quotation and choice of situation evokes both the significance of this paradox and Nehru's awareness of it.

In a lengthy essay on the partition, Nanda responds to critics who argue for Nehru's complicity in undermining the formation of a Congress-Muslim League coalition in Uttar Pradesh after the elections of 1937 and accepting of the Cabinet Mission Plan in 1946. In both cases, he insists that cooperation with the Muslim League was doubtful and that Mohammed Ali Jinnah's aggressive and separatist response was influenced far more by the League electoral losses in 1937 and the continuing need for extreme communal rhetoric to mobilize a large following after the war. In a subsequent essay, Nanda's impatience with the critique of Nehru's handling of the Pakistan issue is reflected in his description of Abul Kalam Azad's famous thirty-page attack and lament in *India Wins Freedom* (1959) as the product of old age and failing memory.

Nanda presents a largely uncritical portrayal of Nehru's unwillingness, before 1947, to make any concession to the significance of Muslim religious identity beyond the newly politicized construction of a populist leader. He notes critically, however, Nehru's subsequent accommodation with distinctive minority rights and institutions and laments the resulting stimulus to both Muslim and Hindu fundamentalism. In an essay concerning Nehru's views on religion and another concerning socialism, Nanda perceptively discusses the problems of incorporating a secular state ideal in a religious country. Nehru's concentration on the immediate needs of the complex world in which he labored is clear both in his attitudes toward Hinduism and in

the conviction that informed his embrace of socialism as a secular theology.

Nanda's essay on Nehru's *Letters to Chief Ministers* (1985–1989) emphasizes his major concern in the early years of independence with economic planning and communal struggle. The ideas and ideals were in place, but implementation was in the hands of others in the states, and they generally did not share Nehru's democratic and socialist convictions. Here again we see Nehru's paradoxical sense of being an outsider struggling from the top of the system. Nanda suggests that part of the problem was Nehru's poor judgment regarding his associates, his failure to build a younger corps of future leaders, and his unwillingness to use sufficient ruthlessness. It is difficult to argue exactly where the line should have been drawn between association with landed elites and members of dominant castes on the one hand and the larger effort to mitigate the poverty and inequity in the system on the other hand. But this mutually beneficial relationship between traditional elites and the state survived the transfer of power remarkably unscathed. Nanda's assertion that the problems that slowed India's development resulted from the policies of successors who failed to modify Nehru's work to suit changed economic realities seems far too sweeping.

This collection of essays effectively evokes this extraordinary man and his times: the breadth of his intellect, the distinctiveness of his leadership, and his recognition of the need to work with situations and colleagues even when that required compromise of principles. Nehru was both an idealist and a pragmatist, willing to work the system and steer it toward something closer to his goals. The current situation, in which the poor are on the verge of achieving some significant political power as a result of the institutions and value of parliamentary democracy in a united India, is not a bad legacy. Nanda's essays will provide little new information or argument for the expert, but they are meant for a more general audience. The book is a good introduction for students and anyone interested in the construction of modern India by one of its master builders.

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AYESHA JALAL. *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical Perspective*. (Contemporary South Asia, number 1.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 295. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

Ayesha Jalal begins her work with the statement that "studies of democratic politics in India and military authoritarian states in Pakistan and Bangladesh have rarely addressed, far less explained, why a common British colonial legacy led to apparently contrasting patterns of political development in post-independence South Asia," (p. 1). Although the statement is far from correct, she refers to this as a "lacuna" that is

"surprising." Reading the comments on the works listed in the introductory section of the "bibliographic essay" in this book, I can see how many of them, in Jalal's view, fail to fill this gap. In her introduction to the essay, she notes that few historians are "ready to cross the 1947 frontier" so that "post-independence history has . . . been dominated by political scientists" (p. 259).

This is, however, an important book and one that may stimulate further work on the role of democracy in South Asia. Jalal distinguishes between what she calls "formal" and "substantive" democracy. The former is what currently exists in all three states that have emerged from British India. There are elections and elected deliberative bodies in each state. Formal democracy has also been interrupted in each state: by military rule in Pakistan and Bangladesh; by civilian authoritarianism in India and Bangladesh. She maintains, however, that the present system is not substantive democracy, which "derives from the empowerment of the people" who have "a measure of autonomy from entrenched structures of dominance and privilege" (p. 3). With such a definition, one wonders whether any state can be called a substantive democracy.

Jalal targets structures both in government, such as the civil service and the military, and outside the government, such as "feudal" landlords and industrialists. India's immediate postindependence pattern, Jalal argues, was one of centralism, despite the federal nature of the constitution. This has been apparent in the Congress Party, especially after Indira Gandhi ended what minimal democracy there was in the party's electoral system. In Pakistan, putting together a state with central control was more difficult, as demonstrated by the separation of East Pakistan to create the new state of Bangladesh.

Jalal's discussion of the "social mosaics" (p. 202) of the subcontinent is excellent. Divisions of language and religion are among the keys to understanding political development in South Asia as elsewhere. To these divisions can be added those of caste and clan (*biradari* in Pakistan). She states that "it is time to abandon the dominant discourse" on these divisions and reinstitute "the narrative of inclusionary nationalism" (p. 248). This is, however, more easily said than done. At various places in the book, Jalal refers to the three states as "nation states," but this is a misuse of the term. States they are, as this is a legal concept and the three are accepted in the world system as states. Nations they are not (with the possible exception of almost unilingual Bangladesh), as the concept of "nation" subsumes the idea of unity, overriding the conflict caused by divisions, including language and religion, even if they remain in society.

I was troubled by the shortage of documentation. For example, Jalal states that, "according to one estimate," a large number of laws and regulations were passed by the Indian government (p. 47). Whose estimate? There are also a number of errors. On the

same page, Jalal writes that "most of the central ministers and state chief ministers" were removed under the Kamaraj plan. Only six were removed in each category; this is hardly most. Many of the errors could have been avoided by a careful selection of an outside reader by the publisher.

Jalal's book has much to say. It should be read by historians of modern South Asia and by political scientists who specialize in comparative politics. They will find much of value, and they might even help overcome the "lacuna" of which Jalal complains.

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VERA LAWRENCE HYATT and REX NETTLEFORD, editors.
Race, Discourse, and the Origin of the Americas: A New World View. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1995. Pp. xiii, 302. \$42.00.

Each era writes its own history. Commemorating the quadricentennial of Christopher Columbus's discovery of America, the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 feted the triumph of European civilization over the primitive savagery, domestic and imported, of Indians and Africans. Mouths agape, fairgoers toured the noisy, teeming "Midway Plaisance," where, among other attractions, exhibits of "the nonwhite worlds of Africa, Asia, [and] Native America . . . were arranged taxonomically," in ethnographic progression, from "higher" to "lower" degrees of savagery (p. 242). It was with relief that (white Eurocentric) fairgoers then entered the "White City," a clean and quiet monument to the modern wonders of triumphal science, technology, and progress.

Times change. A century later, the Columbian quincentennial of 1992 was celebrated schizophrenically. Was the legacy of 1492 a story of progress or disaster, celebration or mourning, European civilization or European savagery? In the aftermath of twentieth-century Europe's two world wars, genocides, and purges, our own era is a time of a new questioning of science, technology, and progress, marking the advances in America of nonwhites' civil rights and the end of European colonialism worldwide. These events, and others, conspired to produce from the 1960s on an unprecedented uncertainty, especially among the young and intellectuals, about the benefits of Columbus's "discovery" of America five hundred years earlier. A century from now, in 2092, how will 1492 be interpreted?

The Smithsonian Institution hosted a symposium in 1991 on the Columbian quincentennial; the present volume publishes the papers presented there. Editors Vera Lawrence Hyatt and Rex Nettleford make clear that the symposium sought to create "a new world view" by both reinvestigating the European context of Columbus's voyage (Iberia's rulers take quite a bashing) and recovering the lost history of the non-Euro-

pean world. The book consists of thirteen chapters on widely disparate subjects. The contributors come from backgrounds in religion, science, literature and linguistics, archaeology, anthropology, and demography as well as history.

Given the great diversity of subjects, the chapters offer much that is new, sometimes bleak, and often illuminating, but the volume lacks structural integrity. Chapters range widely in length (from as short as eight pages to as long as fifty-three) and level of scholarship (from copiously annotated to completely without notes). Thus, for example, the reader encounters Valentin Yves Mudimbe's useful if narrow "*Romanus Pontifex* (1454) and the Expansion of Europe," Maurice Bazin's brief and highly general "Our Sciences, Their Science," and Théophile Obenga's elliptical overview "Discoveries of Yesterday and Today: Africa and the United States at the Horizon of the Year 2000."

Although a mixed bag, this volume does contain several substantive essays. For those inclined to discourse analysis, there is Sylvia Wynter's long and insightful, if also dense and difficult, introductory piece "1492: A New World View." Ivan Van Sertima offers a well-crafted scholarly argument for an "African Presence in Early America." David Kelley follows with a painstaking, constructive critique of Van Sertima's essay. I would also recommend the fascinating and important chapters by A. J. R. Russell-Wood and Jan Carew on, respectively, Portugal's African encounters before 1492 and Spain's juggernaut against North African Moorish culture preceding Columbus's voyage. Russell Thornton provides his usual distinguished caliber of work in "North American Indians and the Demography of Contact."

If this volume contains both wheat and chaff—the essays varying enormously in subject, length, quality, and scholarly integrity—the book is also grandly but obscurely, even inaccurately titled. The contributors do not seriously investigate concepts of race or (except for Wynter) discourse. The book mostly examines the Iberian historical context and developments in Africa, c. 1400–1600. Surprisingly, few of the essayists discuss Native Americans (Thornton and, indirectly, Van Sertima are the only exceptions). How can a volume of this nature not offer substantial investigation of the peoples of the Caribbean and of Central and South America before European contact?

For all the discordance and lack of structural integrity in this book, patient readers will be able to tease out certain recurrent themes. Perhaps because of the materials they have to work with, Hyatt and Nettleford do not help much. They provide a suggestive but inadequate four-page introduction; Nettleford offers a longer, more successful afterword. Among the book's most important themes are: the restatement of the driving role of Christianity, rather than European racism, in the outward expansion of Iberia (infidel Moors and Jews were treated worse than Africa's pagans); the power of commerce and profit, motives

shown to be not at all foreign to African slavetraders; and the importance of not casting non-European peoples affected by the expansion of European powers exclusively in the roles of victims (from this perspective, West Africa's businessmen fare better than, for example, Moors exterminated by or expelled from Spain; North America's natives are portrayed as responding positively and intelligently to their own demographic disasters).

Part of the swelling historiography on the devastating impact of Europe's discovery of America, this volume must be judged unsatisfying as a whole, although parts of it stand well on their own and suggest themes that will guide future historiography. In his afterword, Nettleton argues that it is time to move beyond the anguished negativism of European indictment, just as the celebratory mood of 1892 has long since been displaced. Scholars now need to look "beyond survival" (p. 279) of American and African cultures and begin to focus on "the making of the Americas, the development of a creolized civilization" (p. 287). Over the years the common thread in interpretation has been the importance of 1492, however it was characterized in 1892 and 1992. Nettleton speculates that future interpretations may target creolization triumphant, diversity redeemed. Maybe these will be the accepted interpretations in 2092, but, of course, it is much too soon to tell.

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EDWARD COUNTRYMAN. *Americans: A Collision of Histories*. New York: Hill and Wang. 1996. Pp. xxiii, 294. \$25.00.

Neither Edward Countryman's book nor the figures of Americans in it will suit the politics and tastes of Lynn Chaney. I do not endorse her position, but this is Marxist, materialist history with a vengeance. His effort to make clear the contribution of those too long excluded from the national heritage has undoubted merit. We are abruptly forced to perceive an American world different from what we are used to. Indians, African Americans, and those white women who did not collaborate with the imperialism of their menfolk are the only ones to hold the moral high ground.

The work begins with a moving account of self-discovery: Countryman's felt oneness with a black Texan when both became acquainted during a sojourn in England. But in his effort to rewrite the past, he resorts to preaching a Manichean gospel that ignores moments of irony, complexity, and ambiguity. Countryman assumes that the desires for power and wealth were unique to white Europeans and not a consequence, as theologians put it, of original sin, to which all members of the species are subject. When provided their own untrammelled spheres, Indians and African Americans were just as capable of pursuing self-interest and power as Captain John Smith, John

Winthrop, and their successors. As in the Balkans today, atrocities were by no means confined to only one party.

Throughout the book, Countryman finds little to commend in American expansion and material growth. Treating the history of the first settlements, for instance, he stresses how native peoples fell victim to European diseases, but he also implies that whites intended the convenient removal of opponents as a kind of early germ warfare. Contrary to his characterization, planters as well as their servants found life brutal and short in the hostile environment of seventeenth-century Virginia. Later, as Countryman explains, family-centered communities developed in the tobacco colonies. Yet that transition included a rigid hierarchy of big planters who resorted to slave instead of indentured labor. True enough, but these developments were scarcely unexceptional by contemporary standards, however reprehensible we find them in retrospect. At the same time, Countryman's empathy animates his story and gives it a special character.

Unfortunately, Countryman's moral sentiments burden him with three problems. First, he does not set this work against the prevailing interpretations of early American history, most notably those of Bernard Bailyn in *The Peopling of British North America* (1986), Jack P. Greene in *Pursuits of Happiness* (1988), and David Hackett Fischer in *Albion's Seed* (1987). Of course, Countryman is entitled to challenge the European orientation of these historians without direct reference to them. Yet some historiographical context for his special position would have been helpful.

Second, we learn too little about some important aspects of white institutional and cultural life. Most especially missed are: the variety of religious denominations and sects; the constantly shifting structures of factions and political parties; the American obsession with voluntary associations, from antislavery societies to free libraries; and other factors with an impact on slaves, women, and native Americans. For instance, he fails to note that white Yankee missionaries could be ruthless and naive in seeking conversions among the Indians, even as they and others protested the Indian policies of Presidents John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson. Countryman emphasizes the indisputable savagery and hypocrisy that accompanied the spread of such national ideals as democracy, capitalism, and liberty. These ever-developing concepts and the institutions that promoted them, however, eventually helped to ameliorate or, in part, liberate the dependent groups whose story he movingly tells.

Third, Countryman's moral sensibility at times leads him to muddle or exaggerate. For example, he writes that, "Like Columbus," the Jefferson-era explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark "discovered nothing" (p. 90). He continues that their adventures merely confirmed what the Spanish authorities and Indians already knew was "about to be rearranged" (p. 90). The expedition had more scientific substance than such a dismissal suggests. Besides, how does he ascer-

tain such contemporary prescience about future consequences? Undeveloped pronouncements of this kind abound.

In treating the contrasts between the market-oriented European culture and the doomed dreams of African Americans and Indians for self-governance, however, Countryman is convincing. As he argues, the promise of universal freedom that the American Revolution was supposed to inaugurate failed to materialize for generations to come. In the newly emerging republic, the vast majority of enslaved blacks and Indian clans—the latter reduced to dependency on white handouts and forced westward from ancestral lands—could have detected few signs of coming liberation. Yet, most questionable is his argument that blacks who fought for the crown and later settled in Africa or Nova Scotia really suffered no "heartrending loss" but instead gained "freedom and the chance to form communities on nobody's terms but their own" (p. 66). Probably the choice for fugitive slaves and troopers was ambiguous, with family members left behind and the future in foreign locales less Elysian than he implies. Nonetheless, Countryman furnishes a text that challenges undergraduates, in particular, to rethink conventional attitudes.

In handling the crises of sectionalism, Civil War, and restoration, Countryman is less persuasive than in earlier chapters. He overlooks those religious and political factors that sustained northern abolitionism. Instead, his account centers on resisting southern slaves, whose role is greatly overstated, and northern free-black leaders, who deferred to white abolitionist initiatives more than we may wish to acknowledge. For Countryman, William Lloyd Garrison and his white colleagues were merely "allies" of the black contingent (p. 180). Of course, African Americans must be credited for their contribution, and Countryman does so handsomely. Yet he presents too dismal a picture of white-black collaboration in the antislavery movement and the postemancipation era, particularly in his treatment of Radical Reconstruction. With a nation so long enslaved to racist preconceptions, one has to marvel how much was accomplished in so short a period, the fifty tumultuous years from 1830 to 1880.

In sum, this historical account fills a need but oversimplifies the tangle of forces to which so many peoples of varied colors were subjected. If only history could always be divided so simply between the pure-hearted and villainous. Yet even the most skeptical reader should applaud this attempt to write a different history. Despite Countryman's righteous certitude, the book is truly history written from the bottom up. We learn much that is fresh from that angle of vision.

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PETER CHARLES HOFFER. *The Devil's Disciples: Makers of the Salem Witchcraft Trials*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 279. \$29.95.

Contending that all the recent accounts of the Salem witchcraft crisis fail to explain that complex episode, Peter Charles Hoffer offers another perspective on the events of 1692. The result is both illuminating and frustrating. Usually, Hoffer draws conclusions from a careful evaluation of the documentary evidence, but too often he engages in inconclusive speculation.

A superb legal scholar, Hoffer provides an excellent discussion of the procedures and evidence used in the trials. He reveals that grand juries demanded more tangible evidence of witchcraft than the assertions of afflicted adolescent girls before issuing indictments. Hoffer then demonstrates that, in determining the guilt of the accused, the trial juries essentially followed the lead of the judges, who were insufficiently prepared for witchcraft cases.

In several chapters, Hoffer focuses on the role of individuals and the consequences of their decisions and actions. This approach, to "recast the written documents as conversations among social actors" (p. xviii), leads him to an engaging discussion of familiar key players in the crisis. An ambitious, arrogant, and often reckless Cotton Mather, a resentful Samuel Parris, and the squabbling Porter and Putnam families are all here.

As he describes the escalating crisis, Hoffer is careful to remind the reader that the magistrates and ministers believed in witches and the power of the devil and that their actions constituted a genuine effort to combat what they saw as a fearsome occult threat to their society. In their aggressive actions to vanquish the evil in their midst, they unwittingly became the devil's disciples, helping to spread fears of witchcraft throughout the land. Yet, Hoffer is not as charitable toward the afflicted accusers. Although he does not go as far as Bernard Rosenthal, who condemns the girls as frauds in *Salem Story: Reading the Witch Trials of 1692* (1993), Hoffer sees them as remarkably talented manipulators. In his account, they writhe and scream "as if on cue" (p. 112). They carefully polish "their lines" (p. 168). They become such a well-rehearsed ensemble act that their "performance approached professional quality" (p. 125).

Yet, Hoffer compromises his depiction of the young women as essentially in control by proposing explanations based on "new and striking findings on child abuse, recovered memory, and the psychology of girls in dysfunctional settings" (p. xvi). The result is disappointing. He variously suggests that the afflictions of the adolescents were the consequences of asthma, epilepsy, possession neuroses, adolescent defiance, child abuse, sexual abuse, and juvenile delinquency.

Hoffer has read widely in the secondary literature on these subjects and, in fairness to the reader, he usually acknowledges when he is speculating. Little of the effort is persuasive, however, particularly because he careens from one explanation to another. Hoffer might have been less eager to embrace these modern theories on the behavior of the afflicted had he been able to read David Harley's article "Explaining Salem: Calvin-

ist Psychology and the Diagnosis of Possession" (*American Historical Review* 101: 2 [April 1996], 307-30). Harley urges historians to focus more on the explanations available to participants when analyzing the affliction and possession cases of the seventeenth century.

Not content to speculate on the motivation of the afflicted, Hoffer also spends many pages discussing the origins of Tituba, so critical to the witchcraft crisis because of her elaborate confessions early in the episode. Although he draws clues from a wide range of secondary sources, Hoffer argues that Tituba was from West Africa largely because of his conclusion that hers was a Yoruba name. This is an intriguing suggestion, especially in light of Elaine Breslaw's claim, in *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies* (1996), that the slave's name was Arawak in origin.

Besides Hoffer's too-often-unpersuasive speculation, there is an unfortunate error in his account of the growing tensions in the Salem Village church in 1692. He contends that three men refused to take communion in February because of Samuel Parris's arbitrary conduct of his ministry. Actually, the men withdrew the following February because of Parris's active role in the witchcraft trials.

Hoffer closes his account with an intriguing admission. Buried deep in the note section, he acknowledges that there is no thesis to this study. Rather, he sees his work as a story. It has "plot and character, setting and moral. I hope that is enough here" (p. 266 n. 1). There is virtue in such an approach, but Hoffer could have strengthened his largely effective narrative by refusing to succumb to the temptations of conjecture.

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CORNELIA HUGHES DAYTON. *Women before the Bar: Gender, Law, and Society in Connecticut, 1639-1789*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1995. Pp. xiv, 382. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

This book sets a new standard for early American legal and women's history. In a careful, nuanced interpretation, Cornelia Hughes Dayton documents the ways women's limited participation in the eighteenth-century commercial revolution changed the context for their interactions with the law. The result was a gendered application of law through a court system increasingly foreign to women. Dayton's interpretation is based on a close reading of the records of the courts in New Haven and the Superior Court of Connecticut from the early seventeenth century to 1789.

Dayton convincingly documents that the informality and Puritanism of the seventeenth-century court system of New Haven Colony (and later New Haven County) emphasized individual and communal responsibility in ways that permitted women to participate in

the legal system with near equality, despite a male monopoly on writing and dispensing law. Women were frequent participants in a traditional economy marked by oral agreements, interest-free book debt, and exchange of services. Wives and daughters knew about the family accounts and competently served as administrators of estates. When women were called to testify on commercial matters or in criminal cases of rape, fornication, adultery or slander, justices listened to them. Judges held both women and men equally accountable for their actions.

This was no women's paradise. Married women had more limited rights of dower than in England or the Chesapeake. Male magistrates refused to set limits on abuse by granting women divorces for cruelty. Conversely, seventeenth-century judges protected women's dower rights by refusing abusive husbands divorces based on desertion after a wife had fled. New Haven constructed rape as a capital crime done by outsiders and requiring penetration. Men from the community who knew the women they assaulted were more frequently charged with attempted rape (punished by whipping). Those women and their families who failed to report the assault quickly also faced severe punishment. In incest cases, all parties were punished.

Changes in New Haven's courts came in stages. The merger with Connecticut brought more formal pleadings and the introduction of juries who might be less willing to believe a woman. The reorganization of the courts in 1698 and the growing debt caseload transformed courts during the eighteenth century. Lawyers presented more of the pleadings; English legal precepts carried more sway. Husbands increasingly chose other executors for their estates or hedged their widow's power by adding male coexecutors who would be more familiar with the world of credit.

The result was a legal system that increasingly doubted women's words and in which women constituted a shrinking percentage of those attending court. Juries in rape cases refused to condemn men to death unless the defendants were outsiders by race, ethnicity, or class. Men accused of paternity successfully challenged women's word. Women alone faced punishment in fornication and adultery cases. Men had new success in divorce cases, including those where wives fled from abuse. Women appeared less often to press or defend against charges of slander. Men no longer defended their sexual reputations but brought slander suits against claims that might impair their business reputation.

Throughout this discussion, Dayton is on generally solid ground. Occasionally, she narrows the interpretive options too quickly. For example, it does not necessarily follow that, because slander suits in the eighteenth century increasingly involved two men, women were more silent or deferential in society. They simply may have directed their strong words toward noncommercial concerns in local arenas and thus not have been faced with slander suits. In a larger sense, Dayton's insistence on the unique worldview of the

New Haven magistrates raises other questions. What should we make of the findings of Chesapeake and southern historians who are documenting a similar withdrawal of women from participation in local court proceedings? Perhaps the commercial economy and growing Anglicization have more to do with the shift in status than a uniquely Puritan starting point?

Dayton's accomplishments remain impressive. Her work is very readable, with a strong narrative thread in each topical chapter. Real people populate her pages, illustrating legal issues in a way that is accessible to the nonspecialist. Her exploration of civil and criminal law over a century and a half has much to say to social and economic historians. Not only is it the new starting point for all discussion of women's legal status in colonial and revolutionary America, but it is a major contribution to colonial history generally.

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AARON SPENCER FOGLEMAN. *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1775*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 257.

During the eighteenth century, ethnic diversity became a permanent distinguishing characteristic of American society. In this well-researched, compact study, Aaron Spencer Fogleman analyzes one of the largest non-English immigrant groups who helped to create this diverse, pluralistic America, the estimated 84,500 Germans who settled in the colonies between 1717 and 1775. These were not the first Germans to journey to America: two earlier waves came in 1683-1709 and 1709-1714, the first primarily fleeing religious persecution or seeking to build utopian communities, the second largely in response to the agricultural catastrophe of 1709. The third wave of immigrants, however, were largely impelled by different motives, constituting a different kind of migration, and they are the subject of this book.

This study is organized in two parts. Part one, "The World They Left Behind," examines the conditions that produced the massive emigration of the middle third of the eighteenth century, focusing especially on the area embracing Switzerland and the southwest German states. After recovering from extensive devastation caused by decades of warfare, the area witnessed the resumption of rapid and sustained population growth. This eventually placed heavy pressure on landed resources, particularly in areas where rural inhabitants clung to traditional patterns of partible inheritance. Local rulers sought to restore and extend state power over regional and local governments through heavy new taxes, measures designed to restrict emigration, and efforts to modernize agricultural practices. Their measures sometimes increased ethnic and

religious diversity, and they often met popular, local resistance.

Fogleman examines the nature of local grievances and forms of popular resistance by closely analyzing both in a sample of six parishes in the Kraichgau, an area in southwest Germany of semi-independent territories ruled by lesser nobles and bordering more powerful territorial states. The area was characterized by nuclear, subsistence agricultural villages and considerable ethnic, religious, and political diversity. Local lesser nobility, seeking to maintain and extend their sovereignty and wealth, challenged villagers and townsmen, both serf and free, by increasing taxes, reviving old feudal obligations, and threatening local practices. Peasants resisted by appealing to the "state" for protection, by confronting local nobles directly and collectively, or by emigrating, both to areas of eastern Europe and to North America, which actively recruited them. Emigration from the Kraichgau, which peaked between 1727 and 1754, typically involved chain migration by families and villagers: eighty-five percent of Fogleman's sample traveled with other family members; ninety-six percent left with others from the same parish on the same ship.

Part two, "*Neuland*," examines the collective strategies by which most of these Germans faced the challenges and opportunities of settling in "Greater Pennsylvania," the area of heavy German settlement running from parts of New Jersey and southeastern Pennsylvania southward to the backcountry of North Carolina. Although they could not reproduce exactly the tight nuclear villages they had left, settlement in highly concentrated ethnic clusters and the maintenance of networks of communication and cooperation based on family, kin, and old village ties shaped settlement patterns, survival strategies, and political behavior. For certain radical pietist groups like the Moravians, religious community served similar functions. One of Fogleman's major arguments is that these collective strategies to protect local rights and property were direct transplants from the local, inward-looking, subsistence villages the migrants had left. It is a compelling argument.

Fogleman demonstrates that traditional methods of defending communal rights from encroachments by rulers joined with the adoption of new forms of political behavior as Germans adjusted to the new pluralistic society they helped to create. The construction of a sense of common ethnicity among all German speakers was one form of avoiding failure and exploiting community strengths. The pursuit of naturalization, both to protect the property that immigrants eagerly sought and to acquire weapons of political self-defense was another. In an excellent chapter on German resistance to the oppressive land policies of Thomas Penn, proprietor of Pennsylvania, Fogleman demonstrates how Germans used a mixture of old collective and new individualistic tactics to succeed—without losing their Germanness—in the pluralistic, diverse America they helped to create.

This is a commendable study that makes a major contribution to our understanding of the re-peopling of America in the eighteenth century. It is based on extensive research in German and American archives, reflected in voluminous documentation. The quantitative analysis on which Fogleman based many of his conclusions about motives for and patterns of emigration and settlement is for the most part unobtrusive and well-integrated into the analytical narrative. In short, this study is first-rate.

JAMES H. KETTNER
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ROBERT C. FULLER. *Religion and Wine: A Cultural History of Wine Drinking in the United States*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 140.

In this slim volume, Robert C. Fuller writes lovingly of what is undoubtedly his favorite beverage. His purpose is to investigate the impact of religion on American wine production and consumption, which he describes as a "special relationship" (p. 2) with antecedents dating back to ancient times. Religion influenced the ways that successive generations of Americans viewed wine in relation to their physical, mental, and moral well-being, and wine and religion interacting together have held the capacity to highlight the rich diversity of religious experiences in U.S. history. Fuller promises to focus on these "two aspects of American popular life and culture" (p. 8) in exploring the cultural history of religion and wine over a 375-year period.

The chapters that follow first offer a regionalized overview of attitudes about wine and its use in early U.S. history. In the East, wine, mostly imported, emerged by the mid-eighteenth century as the alcoholic beverage of choice among more enlightened, tolerant, learned folk, especially those with more liberal-minded religious beliefs, the most obvious examples being Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson. In the West, Franciscan friars such as Father Junipero Serra, who brought the Mission Grape to upper California and helped found Mission San Diego in 1769, took the lead in the development of remarkable American wines. In the Midwest, religious visionaries like the German pietists, who settled the Amana colonies in Iowa during the 1850s, produced an abundance of tasteful wine for personal, communal, and spiritual refreshment.

Fuller next turns to the subject of how wine has served "the dual need" among religious groups "to provide members with experiences of the sacred and with experiences of communal belonging" (p. 40). The use of wine in religious rituals and ceremonies, such as in Protestant and Roman Catholic communion services or in a variety of Jewish observances, helps to establish the thrust of Fuller's argument. Wine used ritualistically assisted in reinforcing the unique identity of religious groups while offering partakers special feelings of reckoning with the divine.

In the nineteenth century, some mainline Protestant denominations, such as the Methodists and Baptists, eschewed any ritualized consumption of wine. Favoring "ascetic, as opposed to aesthetic, piety" (p. 84), their leaders viewed wine as just another alcoholic beverage that befouled the mind and played havoc with morals. They offered their parishioners only nonalcoholic beverages, such as Thomas Welch's unfermented grape juice, when observing the Lord's Supper. The more ascetic denominations were also in the forefront of the drive for National Prohibition, which the wine industry barely survived, although it retained the right to engage in some forms of legal production. The stuff turned out for medicinal and sacramental purposes, notes Fuller, was anything but evocative of the divine. Not until the 1960s did America's wine industry recover from the damage wrought by Prohibition and begin to produce world-class wines capable of stimulating an "aesthetic sense of union and communion" as well as "the religious longing for initiation into Nature's higher reaches" (p. 108).

Wine aficionados no doubt will take pleasure in reading this book, especially since Fuller indicates that serious connoisseurs almost invariably possess well developed aesthetic sensibilities. Some historians, even those who appreciate good wine, will be less enthusiastic, because his historical exposition rests entirely on a limited number of standard secondary works. The merit of this study resides in the novelty of Fuller's commentary, which, even if sketchily and sometimes clumsily presented, has its suggestive moments in providing an understanding of the cultural history of American drinking.

JAMES KIRBY MARTIN
University of Houston

STEVEN C. BULLOCK. *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order, 1730-1840*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 1996. Pp. xviii, 421. \$49.95.

In the United States, Masonry is everywhere. Washington, D.C., is laid out as a square, the Washington Monument is built on a Masonic plan, and the pyramid and eye appear on the dollar bill. Brothers have included Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay (but notably not the Adames), and even Earl Warren, Hugo Black, William O. Douglas, and Thurgood Marshall. Until quite recently, Masons have played a pervasive role in America.

At no time was Masonry more important than from 1790 through 1826, when a backlash curtailed its influence. Steven C. Bullock's account is the best study of Masonry in the early republic, especially strong on antecedents in both Britain and colonial America. The book begins with a thorough discussion of the founding by a few members of the upper class in early eighteenth-century London. Bullock shows that En-

lightenment notions about brotherhood, science, and ancient mysteries shaped Masonry. In addition, it enabled adherents to organize their hopes and fears while living in an often confusing and increasingly cosmopolitan imperial capital.

From the beginning, some tenets were fixed. An all-male secret society that allowed a single member to veto an applicant, Masonry imbedded hierarchy in a brotherhood of equality, gave preference to members, used rituals extensively, and expressed a broad religion that welcomed Protestants, Deists, and Jews. Some Catholics joined, too, despite a papal ban. Over time, members were increasingly drawn from the upper-middle class rather than the upper class.

Masonic ideas and practices also were in flux, and these alterations, Bullock shows, were related to changes in society. Masonry quickly spread to colonial America, where it adapted to local conditions. To some extent, then, the institution always mirrored the surrounding culture. To the American revolutionaries, many of whom were Masons, the brotherhood expressed Christian aspiration, the Enlightenment, cosmopolitanism, male fellowship, gentility, and honor. In the end, however, the revolution rather than Masonry defined the founding generation.

The next generation of American leaders, a self-conceived republican vanguard, zealously embraced Masonry, which became the largest voluntary association in the early republic. As Bullock shows, Masons affirmed virtue, practiced benevolence, promoted republicanism, combined elitism with equality, and cultivated potential business relationships. Although open to persons from all classes, lodges restricted membership through blackballing and high fees, which enabled the merchant and professional elite both to retain control and to absorb promising newcomers.

During these years, rituals became more regulated, and Masons established higher degrees that increased hierarchy. In many localities, brothers so dominated society that they were a majority of elected officials. Masonry substituted for and hindered the development of political parties, as politicians used Masonic ties to garner support, especially from areas where they were personally unknown. Politics, however, could not be discussed inside lodges, which limited overt organizing.

The 1820s brought an abrupt transformation to the United States. Most obvious was the rise of an egalitarian, democratic politics organized through the first mass-based parties. A greater change, Bullock argues persuasively, was the increasing importance of the self. Whereas eighteenth-century Masons had used the organization's powerful rituals to teach manners and to provide rules for right conduct, nineteenth-century Americans placed responsibility on individual conscience and favored conscience-based reforms such as temperance or abolition. At the same time, the lodge, which had been a repository for male repose, was supplanted by the Christian home. As wife and family grew in importance, Masonry declined.

In my view, Bullock gives insufficient attention to the role of Evangelicals in the emerging attack on Masonry. The brotherhood bothered Evangelicals. For example, many found it sacrilegious for Royal Arch Masons, one of the higher degrees, to force initiates to drink wine from a skull. Evangelicals preached both universal access to salvation, a doctrine at odds with Masonic elitism, and a religion of the heart that opposed Deist tendencies sometimes associated with Masonry. In addition, new attitudes toward emotional expression handicapped the brotherhood. The stoicism of George Washington, once honored as an ideal by Masons, gave way to an open expression of emotion. Indeed, Evangelicals feared that Masons could not be Christians because they generally avoided public displays.

In 1826, the kidnapping, disappearance, and probable murder of William Morgan, a renegade who had planned to publish an exposé of Masonic rites, set off a firestorm of opposition. As Bullock shows, Antimasonry was modern in its inception and in its organization. Closely related to the Evangelical movement, Antimasonry failed as the basis for a political party, but this moralistic crusade nearly destroyed Masonry in the decade after Morgan's disappearance. Membership dropped by half or more. Antimasons broke the brotherhood's grip on political power, and lodges only regained vitality later in the century.

Bullock's greatest accomplishments are a thorough description of Masonry's founding, an excellent analysis of the Enlightenment's shifting influences, and an insightful discussion of Antimasonry. Tracing Masonry through the eighteenth century reveals a constantly changing brotherhood. At the same time, Masonry's ability to adapt was limited, and when evangelicalism and Romanticism replaced the Enlightenment, lodges waned. Bullock explains both Masonry's short-lived triumph in the early republic and its subsequent sharp decline. Overall, this book has great merit.

W. J. RORABAUGH
University of Washington

DAVID T. MORGAN. *The Devious Dr. Franklin, Colonial Agent: Benjamin Franklin's Years in London*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 273. \$34.95.

With a title calculated to attract those wanting to read about tarnished heroes, David T. Morgan's book, in his view, provides a needed "in-depth examination" of Benjamin Franklin's missions to London, 1757–1775, that departs from both Carl Van Doren's portrait of him in *Benjamin Franklin* (1938), as a "selfless statesman" and Cecil B. Currey's depiction of him in *Road to Revolution: Benjamin Franklin in England* (1988), as an agent "who had allegiance only to his own selfish interests" (p. xi). Franklin's lack of forthrightness has hardly escaped notice, but is most frequently interpreted as secondary to his adherence to principles, reasoned action, and persuasive amiability. Morgan intends to show that deviousness was a key character

flaw, consistently manifested in Franklin's handling of many public issues as well as in his private life.

In many instances, Morgan's research is careful and his judgments insightful. The events of Franklin's first mission to London are accurately handled. Morgan is also thorough on Franklin's reaction to the Stamp Act, his advocacy of paper money, his Massachusetts agency, his obtaining of and forwarding the Hutchinson letters, and his efforts at compromise in 1774–1775. He provides useful explanations of these episodes and on occasion convincingly corrects the views of other scholars.

The book becomes problematic when Morgan strains too hard looking for Franklin's character flaws. As evidence that Franklin "played politics at all times," implying that he had little regard for principles, Morgan cites the *Memoir and Conjecture* (1769) of Ezra Stiles, Congregationalist pastor at Newport, who supposedly made a fair appraisal because he had no "axe to grind" (p. 122). A closer reading of Stiles's memoir and reference to Franklin B. Dexter, editor, *Itineraries and Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles* (1916), reveals a couple of "axes." The first section of Stiles's memoir shows his strong resentment toward Franklin's "Episcopal" and Deist sympathies, suggesting that Stiles thought Franklin's lack of "true" religion made him unprincipled. Moreover, Stiles evidently had been influenced by conversation with and letters from two of Franklin's enemies in Philadelphia—Presbyterian minister Francis Alison and Proprietary Party organizer Samuel Purviance, Jr.—whose condemnations of Franklin's partisan activities Stiles adopted.

Morgan applies Stiles's analysis to the issue that aroused Franklin's Pennsylvania enemies, the substitution of royal government for the proprietorship of the Penns. Morgan thinks that this bad idea could be forwarded only by devious means. These included Franklin's refusal to communicate his "ultimate objective" (p. 46) to the people of Pennsylvania, his failure to apprise his colleagues of "the risks of royal government" (p. 68), and his misleading of his constituents to ensure that they would pay for his second London mission, although he knew "full well" that the cause was lost in November 1765 (p. 101).

In *Franklin and Galloway: A Political Partnership* (1972), I have given a different account of Franklin's motives and actions in regard to this matter, and I am not persuaded that placing an issue before the Pennsylvania voters in the form of petitions in successive hotly contested annual elections in 1764–1766, replete with propaganda for and against the change, is rightly characterized as pushing forward deviously. Franklin was undoubtedly overoptimistic about his chances of success in London, and he probably magnified any positive signs or responses he received, but there is no clear indication that he fabricated evidence. His constituents could choose to adhere to his hopeful view that the Privy Council would in the near future take up the postponed petition or believe the Penns' version

that the petition was in reality rejected, a view that was also broadcast in the province.

According to Morgan, Franklin, while protesting against the Townshend duties as agent for Pennsylvania, was deviously pursuing a "quest for a post in the British government" (p. 123). The evidence, according to the biographies of Van Doren and Esmond Wright, indicates that "hopes" is a more accurate term; Franklin was not drawing a salary from Pennsylvania while lobbying for a ministerial position.

Morgan pays considerable attention to Franklin's most constant deviousness throughout his agencies: writing to his wife that he would soon return while assuming more agency tasks that prolonged his stay. Morgan rightly emphasizes Franklin's callous behavior, but his analysis of Franklin's relations with his wife does not in my judgment equal the more complete, balanced, and engrossing depiction offered by Claude-Anne Lopez and Eugenia W. Herbert in *The Private Franklin* (1975). Nor is it clear that private relations automatically reveal how leaders manage their public duties.

Morgan's book has many useful aspects, but it falls short in providing a convincing analysis of Franklin's political motivation and conduct.

BENJAMIN H. NEWCOMB
Texas Tech University

HERBERT E. SLOAN. *Principle and Interest: Thomas Jefferson and the Problem of Debt*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 377. \$45.00.

I doubt if Herbert E. Sloan's book will set many tongues wagging. There is nothing here about Thomas Jefferson as a misogynist, a salacious seducer, or the progenitor of right-wing militia groups. Instead, Sloan presents a masterful account of a key theme—debt—that runs through Jefferson's private life and public career. That Jefferson was preoccupied by the problem of debt is not news, but Sloan's expansive exploration of this theme, particularly the connection between his private distress and public views, stands out from all previous accounts.

As the patriarch of Monticello, Jefferson possessed considerable assets, including thousands of acres of land and perhaps 200 slaves, which placed him near the top of the Virginia elite. Yet he died a bankrupt, most of his lands (including Monticello) and slaves eventually sold to pay his considerable debts. In part, Jefferson's plight simply paralleled the decline of the Virginia gentry, which Sloan characterizes as "crippled by debt, troubled in spirit . . . a picture of moral and financial exhaustion" (p. 27). But he also recounts the details of Jefferson's own situation, beginning in the early 1770s with encumbrances associated with his wife's inheritance. The account of his personal finances is hardly flattering. Jefferson invariably overestimated his prospects, refused to confront the true measure of reform necessary to free himself from debt, and was not above blaming others instead of acknowl-

edging his own responsibility. Yet Sloan's characterization is not slash-and-attack revisionism. His Jefferson is recognizably human in his flaws. Add a portion of bad luck and a long life (with interest compiling), and you have a recipe for financial disaster.

For Jefferson as for the rest of the Virginia gentry, debt was an unwelcome guest and often a permanent boarder. It undermined the independence and autonomy that had been the foundation of personal liberty and republican government. Private fears therefore readily extended into public policy. Indeed, Jefferson and his contemporaries rarely distinguished between public and private debts; both were "dangerous and better avoided" (p. 49). In analyzing the political economy of debt, Sloan ranges over Jefferson's lifetime (he died in 1826), but especially concentrates on two years beginning in early 1789. This period is framed on one side by Jefferson's famous letter to James Madison in which he asserts the claims of the living generation: "*that the earth belongs in usufruct to the living; that the dead have neither powers nor rights over it.*" At the other end lies the "Dinner Table Bargain" over assumption and Jefferson's dissent from Alexander Hamilton's program. These years marked a critical juncture in his thinking about the evils of public debt.

Although most scholars interpret Jefferson's letter primarily as a radical statement about constitution-making and law, Sloan persuasively argues that the document is first and foremost about debt. Specifically, it expresses Jefferson's dread of debt and his desire for an America uncontaminated by European fiscal practices. As such, it is "decidedly conservative" in its intention to avert violent change (p. 61). Each generation must pass along what it receives intact to the next; sovereigns should not incur massive debts, which breed corruption and provoke revolution. Sloan shows that Jefferson's concerns were widespread. A host of eighteenth-century Anglo-American writers, such as William Blackstone, David Hume, and Adam Smith, associated the demise of liberty with war, taxes, and debts. Their alarm, Sloan argues, was reasonable, for they glimpsed the economic hardships as well as the extension of political authority that accompanied the rise of the modern state.

Jefferson's differences with the Federalists, consequently, resulted not merely from clashing sectional, state, and local interests, but from "significant ideological differences" over debt (p. 128). The pragmatic Dinner Table Bargain, of which Sloan gives a full and fascinating account, represented no abandonment of Jefferson's principles. When Hamilton submitted his national bank project, Jefferson (and Madison) promptly denounced his program of debt and bank paper as subverting republican government and advancing the cause of monarchy.

With nuance and subtlety, Sloan presents a convincing picture of Jefferson that skillfully blends divergent elements in recent historiography. His "decidedly conservative" Jefferson is rooted in country-party think-

ing. But there is room as well for the liberal and optimistic Jefferson emphasized by historians such as Joyce Appleby (*Capitalism and a New Social Order* [1984]). This liberal world of aspiration, education, and improvement was contingent, however, on deliverance from debt.

Despite its many virtues, there are some problems with Sloan's work. Jefferson's presidency is covered only cursorily, so that little attention is paid to his willingness to incur debt during war. Indeed, the essential paradox of Jefferson and many of his generation in condemning what they practiced and practicing what they condemned remains unresolved. Sloan helpfully suggests the idea of "multiple Jeffersons" (p. 5), but the interaction of the various components of his thinking needs refinement. And objection should be made to Sloan's excessive and often distracting end notes which constitute fully one-third of the book. The lack of a bibliography, therefore, cannot be defended by the need to save space or money. Still, this study is first-rate scholarship and merits wide circulation. I am tempted to say we are truly indebted to Sloan, but I will resist.

RICHARD B. LATNER
Tulane University

I. BERNARD COHEN. *Science and the Founding Fathers: Science in the Political Thought of Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, and Madison*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1995. Pp. 368. \$25.00.

For over fifty years, I. Bernard Cohen has been a major contributor to the literature of the history of science. Best known for his work on Isaac Newton and on Benjamin Franklin, Cohen has written more widely on American science, the history of technology, and science and warfare. His most recent book aims at illuminating the place of science in the political culture of the founders of the United States, including Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and James Madison. Cohen leads the reader to an appreciation of their understanding of scientific terms and concepts, their reliance on scientific sources for analogies and metaphors, and in general their "credentials as citizens of the Age of Reason" (p. 60).

The book contains five chapters and twelve "supplements." After an introduction to "Science and American History," Cohen devotes chapters to Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, and finally to "Science and the Constitution." When Jefferson employed the term "laws of nature," Cohen argues, "these words had necessarily the sense of laws or principles of science" (p. 132). After a brief review of Franklin's scientific credentials and his work in electricity, Cohen concentrates on his use of scientific analogies and metaphors, mainly because Franklin drew little or not at all on scientific principles or concepts in his political writings. Cohen further discusses the political implications of Franklin's lightning rod and shows how his reputation as a scientist aided his career in diplomacy. Chapter

four is a masterly evocation of the scientific context of a nonscientist, John Adams. Cohen deftly depicts Adams as a man who was able to draw on the scientific culture of his day to enrich his political life. The section on Adams's scientific education is an excellent introduction to Harvard's offerings in natural philosophy in the eighteenth century. "I must study politics and war," Adams wrote, "so that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy" (p. 236).

In chapter five, "Science and the Constitution," Cohen rejects the once-popular notion that the U.S. Constitution is a Newtonian document. "A close reading of Madison's minutes of the Constitutional Convention does not disclose a single example in which the physical and biological sciences provided an important concept" (p. 258). He concludes that an examination of the use of scientific metaphors by the founders "provides an important key to value systems, to inner convictions, and to most deeply held beliefs" (p. 280). The book closes with a series of twelve short "supplements," totalling about thirty pages, in which Cohen lays out for the reader short *aperçus* on topics related to the main body of text. Brief, entertaining, and enlightening, these short essays appear to be pieces of the text excised for reasons of flow and concision and restored because they are too interesting to discard.

If the book does not completely fulfill the promise of its subtitle, it nevertheless accomplishes some important goals. By exploring in meticulous detail the use of phrases linked to the scientific world of the late eighteenth century, Cohen reestablishes the common cultural debt owed by America's founders as citizens of the republic of reason. At the same time, he cautions historians and others to use terms like "Newtonian" and "scientific" more carefully and with more precision. Finally, Cohen offers the general reader an interesting and useful introduction to a fascinating and important world of ideas.

ROBERT KARGON
Johns Hopkins University

JOHN G. WEST, JR. *The Politics of Revelation and Reason: Religion and Civic Life in the New Nation*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1996. Pp. xi, 307. \$35.00.

Whether one views the Constitution as a godless wonder or the stuff of miracles at Philadelphia, this fault line ultimately points to a much larger and more interesting question: when the framers eschewed divine particulars and added the first amendment, did they also intend to declare republican government's independence from religious principles? In a study that masterfully links the founders' religious understanding with the emergence of evangelical activism in the early republic, John G. West, Jr., argues that the opposite is true. Most of the founders anticipated and even welcomed an infusion of religious moral principles into the nation's political life.

West's opening chapter uses several vignettes to

establish the founders' collective moral vision: Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, James Wilson, John Adams, John Witherspoon, John Jay, and George Washington. He acknowledges that religious heterodoxy and classical political theory shaped the civic morality of this elite corps, but only to underscore their decidedly less sanguine hopes that such intellectual resources could adequately nourish political morality among ordinary folks. This dilemma produced what West calls the "theological-political" problem in the early republic (p. 3). How could the new nation separate church and state, protect freedom of conscience, and still tap the politically salutary moral resources of religion?

The solution derived from a cultural consensus that reason and revelation yielded enough common moral interests to sustain a principled civic life. Moreover, it required that sacred and secular communities exercise restraint and moderation. Religious groups were welcomed as legitimate political players, provided that they embraced public causes and arguments comprehensible to natural reason and morality. In return, political leaders steered clear of matters doctrinal and spiritual.

Subsequent chapters test evangelicals' practical allegiance to this framework. West includes Presbyterians and Episcopalians, as well as Methodists and Baptists, arguing that adherence to historic Protestant theology rather than worship style guided contemporary use of the term. At least until 1835, he contends, evangelicals generally respected the founders' limits while publicly declaiming against dueling, Sabbath-breaking, Sunday mails, and Cherokee removal.

West finds the Cherokee case most illustrative of evangelicals' capacity for limited but principled political activism. With raw economic interests and political expedience spurring removal advocates, only the moral intransigence of ministers and missionaries generated collective resistance on a national scale. Evangelical luminary Jeremiah Evarts gave the struggle particular respectability in the secular community with his widely published "William Penn" essays, a closely reasoned indictment of government duplicity. Evangelicals ultimately yielded to Andrew Jackson and covetous Georgians but not out of deference to ethnocultural loyalties as William G. McLoughlin contended in *Cherokee Renaissance in the New Republic* (1986). Instead, religious protestors retreated to avoid an unreasonable and impossible confrontation with public opinion overwhelmingly committed to removal. Nevertheless, West concludes that "religious idealism alone had shown itself firm enough to defend the Cherokees' rights, which suggested that the founders had been correct in claiming that religion would be the guarantor of morality in America" (p. 205).

West's treatment is balanced. He acknowledges that antimasonry and especially anti-Catholicism marred the evangelical record. The slavery issue produced bitter internecine conflict, not unity. Likewise, evangelical campaigns often attracted zealots, easy targets

for political leaders seeking to discredit religious activism. West embarks on a salvage mission here. For example, Lyman Beecher, chief architect of early reform efforts, ranted about Catholic hordes on the frontier in *Plea for the West*, but he also prescribed education and missionary outreach, not political restrictions or social intimidation. That qualifier hardly excuses his lurid portrait of Catholic schemes, but West mounts convincing evidence that Beecher and other leaders regularly counseled moderation and that they distinguished between the mandates of Christian piety and republican morality.

West's use of the founders' solution to explain evangelical advocacy and restraint, however, occasionally detracts from the spiritual and theological sources of their limited earthly expectations. Evangelicals' focus on the "new birth" was a more serious impediment to their confidence in moral suasion than West allows. Political activism coexisted uneasily with their conviction that natural moral understanding could not yield consistent moral practice. Reason and self-interest, in their view, were poor substitutes for the incentives that revealed truth afforded only to believers. If the founders' solution prescribed moderation, this theologically based skepticism provided a rationale to use force. Most evangelicals rejected this extreme, but, as West admits, nativism, struggles to sustain Protestant theology in the schools, and even efforts to force constitutional recognition of Christ's authority demonstrated future crusaders' willingness to ignore earlier restraints.

Over three decades of scholarship has emphasized that millennialism and a desire for Christian America combined to make extremism and a penchant for confusing religion and republicanism the hallmarks of evangelical motivation. West's study, part of a growing body of revisionist scholarship, argues convincingly that many first-generation evangelicals separated piety and politics in the service of limited earthly expectations.

MARK Y. HANLEY

Truman State University

CAROL SHERIFF. *The Artificial River: The Erie Canal and the Paradox of Progress, 1817-1862*. New York: Hill and Wang. 1996. Pp. xvii, 251. \$21.00.

The Erie Canal is renowned as the first major transportation route connecting the Atlantic seaboard with the trans-Appalachian West. Following a topographically blessed route (the highest point was less than 600 feet above sea level), the original Erie Canal incorporated eighty-three locks between Albany and Buffalo to create a continuous "artificial river" 360 miles long. Construction began in 1817, the complete canal opened in 1825, and in 1835 the State of New York authorized a major enlargement; by the early 1840s, the waterway supported 3,400 boats and depended on the labor of 30,000 men, women, and children to remain operational.

Carol Sheriff does not attempt a comprehensive treatment of the canal's construction and operation. Rather, she sets more modest goals by focusing on the social and economic culture that both spawned the system and was transformed by its success. For example, using evocative primary sources, she illustrates how the canal encouraged long-distance travel not merely for commercial trade but for tourism that was unanticipated by early proponents of the system. "The Canal made distances seem short not so much with speed as with efficiency . . . Canal boats could move day and night, and they ran at much more frequent intervals than stages" (p. 54). In particular, the opening of the canal sparked intense interest among easterners in visiting Niagara Falls (an event sardonically celebrated in an 1828 play entitled "A Trip to Niagara").

In Sheriff's view, "the Canal's proponents believed that the social decay associated with rapid market growth (unemployment, poverty, crime, anonymity) could be avoided altogether in America's interior" (p. 26) but, in truth, the canal created a very different social reality. The "paradox of progress" highlighted in the book's title aptly reflects a central theme of her analysis: the "republican" vision of an expanding America which the canal was to promote quickly faded in the face of class and social divisions reflective of American industrial society as a whole. This first surfaced in the disdain shown toward the (often immigrant) laborers who actually dug the canal; it later became manifest in the American Bethel Society's evangelical concern for the "spiritual welfare" of the boatmen (and the many boys drawn into the canal's labor pool) who worked in a rootless environment isolated from the surrounding culture.

Sheriff's analysis depends on extensive use of petitions submitted to the Canal Board (the state agency established to administer the waterway) by New Yorkers seeking financial compensation or commercial advantage. Filed by the thousands, these petitions requested such things as monetary awards for property damage sustained during construction or funding for bridges to connect land holdings divided by the canal. Municipal business interests also "expended a great deal of energy attempting to persuade state officials that the Canal [including regional feeder canals] should run through *their* town, [or] that the toll collector's office should be located in the building next to *their* tavern" (p. 110). In analyzing the efforts of the citizenry to demonstrate why their personal financial interests coincided with a larger public good, Sheriff convincingly illustrates how the interrelationship of "public works" with "private interests" represents a longstanding (if not necessarily honorable) tradition within the political economy of the United States.

Sheriff's success in bringing her perspective on the canal to life reflects a remarkable ability to filter out financial, political, and technological aspects of the waterway's history that are covered in other sources and seemingly are not germane to her concerns. Of

course, readers with specific interest in the canal may not always be impressed with how their favorite subjects are covered. For example, the coming of the railroad in the 1840s and 1850s as a competitor to the canal and the myriad changes this wrought receive little attention. Although the book's title implies coverage from 1817 through 1862, its analysis is heavily weighted toward the period prior to 1845.

Sheriff avoids obscure academic jargon and her work will prove accessible to a broad range of historians (including students and non-professionals). This well-crafted book, which includes ten graphically compelling illustrations taken from nineteenth-century sources, offers important and original insight into the culture of antebellum America. It deserves a wide audience.

DONALD C. JACKSON
Lafayette College

HARVEY H. JACKSON III. *Rivers of History: Life on the Coosa, Tallapoosa, Cahaba, and Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 300. \$29.95.

In his introduction to this study, Harvey H. Jackson III notes that he has written "an older book," one in which the style "is mostly narrative, analysis is treated as part of the story, and the focus is on the people rather than on the institutions" (p. xii). The result is the first comprehensive history of the Alabama River system, beginning with descriptions of the natural environment and ending with an assessment of the role of the Coosa, Tallapoosa, Cahaba, and Alabama rivers in modern day Alabama. In between, Jackson explores the culture of indigenous people; early European exploration; American settlement and the Creek War; cotton agriculture and African-American slavery; the steamboat age; Civil War; the rise of the railroad and a modern industrial economy; hydroelectric dams (especially the Alabama Power Company); the Great Depression; the Army Corps of Engineers; civil rights; and the lives and work of modern black and white Alabamians inhabiting these storied river valleys.

Jackson has combed a variety of secondary works and primary material to paint his canvas. He has examined all of the primary accounts published in books or scholarly journals, including explorers' and travelers' reports, military records, pioneer and slave narratives (some from the Works Progress Administration transcriptions), county and community histories, and the published work of amateur historians and local storytellers. Oral histories figure importantly, as Jackson supplements newspaper interviews with locals with his own interviews. By focusing on informants from the Alabama River community of Gee's Bend, he draws a lively social history. His archival research ranges from the Alabama Power Company corporate archives to the Selma Public Library and Birmingham Museum of Art. All of this work is based on a thorough review of contemporary scholarly secondary literature,

including transportation histories in published and manuscript form.

Jackson remains partial to the classic works of southern narrative historians H. C. Nixon (*Lower Piedmont Country* [1946]), W. J. Cash (*The Mind of the South* [1941]), Clarence Cason (*90° in the Shade* [1946]), and Carl Carmer (*Stars Fell on Alabama* [1934]). Jackson has learned well from these authors, and he tells his story of the Coosa, Tallapoosa, Cahaba, and Alabama river valleys in engaging, well-documented narrative prose. Although his forte is in telling the history of the Jacksonian era, his account of contemporary Alabama River culture shows considerable knowledge of, and affinity for, southern folk idiom. His corporate and institutional stories prove less compelling. My only real complaint is that the book's subtitle should be substituted for its title. The text is enhanced with maps and illustrations.

Most important, Jackson delineates his thesis—a juxtaposition of nature and progress—with thoughtful and even-handed analysis. Although Alabama River Valley folk admittedly paid an environmental and cultural price for the progress brought by hydroelectric dams, river improvements, and related lumber, paper, and textile industries (p. 190). Jackson notes that these changes simultaneously “created jobs where none had been before, helped expand local economies, and gave governments more resources with which to work” (p. 229). Moreover, in this economic milieu there emerged an occupational folk culture of factory-worker “commuters” who “would not be, could not be industrialized” (p. 229). Thus, the rural Alabama world they “sped home to [after work] survived because of the mills, not in spite of them” (p. 229). With notable exceptions, “the urbanization usually associated with industrialization did not occur along the rivers, and folks there liked it that way” (p. 229).

In the 1930s and 1940s, the multi-volume *Rivers of America* series, edited by Carmer, documented the history and culture of America's river valleys through the work of gifted narrative historians like Jackson's hero Carl Carmer. In comparison to the jargon and polemic that characterizes much contemporary historical scholarship, these older works today appear extremely refreshing and edifying. In this new study, Jackson states that he aspires to the scholarly standards and readability of that earlier series: “Too often, historians (myself included) write with other historians in mind . . . I wanted to write a book for folks who simply liked history . . . And if my fellow historians found something of value in the effort, so much the better” (p. xi). So much the better, indeed.

MICHAEL ALLEN
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Tacoma

CRAIG HANYAN and MARY L. HANYAN. *De Witt Clinton and the Rise of the People's Men*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 419. \$55.00.

Although this book focuses on just three years (1822–1824) in a single state, Craig Hanyan and Mary L. Hanyan make sweeping claims on our attention, asserting that the People's Movement both “launched the earliest broad-based reform movement of the new republic” (p. 4) and laid the basis for the second party system in New York. As the first claim is not supported by comparison with other states, it is at best moot. The second assertion has greater substance, but it overlooks the polarity that had clearly emerged prior to 1822 between the Bucktail (soon called the Regency) and Clintonian factions of the state's Republican Party and overstates their translation into Democrats and Whigs.

Making sense out of early nineteenth-century New York politics has always presented a challenge, given the multitude of factions that switched allegiances with kaleidoscopic frequency. The Hanyans endorse the prevailing historiography of the period, finding meaning in the reaction of these disparate groups to the changes wrought by the rise of capitalism, currently referred to as the market revolution. The People's Party, which nominated De Witt Clinton for governor in 1823, furnishes, they argue, a case study of how “men, circumstances, and ideology” fostered “liberal capitalism, greater political democracy, and reservations about legislative power” (p. 17). It grew out of myriad dissatisfactions with the Bucktail-controlled legislature, notably its refusal to provide for popular choice of presidential electors in 1824, a proposal to tax bank stock, and the removal of Clinton from the Erie Canal Board. It was the last that enabled Clinton to exploit the movement, capturing its nomination for governor and winning election the next year.

Clinton's victory represented, according to the Hanyans, the triumph of those electoral elements, strongest in New York City, that embraced the ethos of the new economic order, including support for tariffs and canals while opposing taxation of personalty. Their conclusion is based not only on Clinton's rhetoric and an analysis of the election returns but also on a collective biography of the people's men who served in the legislature or participated in various party committees and conventions. On the same evidence, they conclude that the Bucktails represented the agrarian interest resentful of the economic—and hence political—inequality the market revolution introduced. By 1824, both factions “clearly foreshadow” (p. 20) the later Whig and Democratic parties.

There is validity to this by no means novel generalization, but the exceptions are significant enough to warrant more space than they are given in this study. Many Bucktail leaders were as involved with banks as Clintonians; Clinton, as is also noted, received considerable support from towns that resisted the outside control associated with market forces. What needs greater emphasis is the improvisational nature of politics, driven less by economic changes or ideology than a desire to prevail at the next election. Clinton's triumph was due mostly to ephemeral events that had

little or nothing to do with the *longue durée*: the refusal of the legislature to alter the election law, jockeying among the supporters of the various presidential candidates, and Clinton's dismissal from the canal board. The clearest difference between the Bucktails and the Clintonians was not over issues of political economy but their attitude toward parties. Ironically, the People's Movement was compelled to create a party in the name of antipartyism in order to succeed.

The evolution of Clintonians into Whigs and Bucktails into Democrats was more complex than the Hanyans suggest. Clinton supported Andrew Jackson for president in 1824 and 1828. Many Bucktails supported either John Quincy Adams or Henry Clay in 1824. Unlike the People's Movement, the Whigs would stand for legislative supremacy. Only passing reference is made to antimasonry, which erupted in 1827, introducing new issues and replacing the Clintonians as the Regency's main opposition. As a highly visible Mason, Clinton would certainly have been at odds with these erstwhile backers had he not died in 1828. The continuity between the state parties of the mid-1820s and the national parties of the 1830s did not follow a straight and narrow path.

There are real virtues in this study. It is prodigiously researched and skillfully crafted. The narrative is the fullest in print treating these years, which were not only critical for New York but also bear importantly on national politics. The Hanyans include an immense amount of biographical information; no fewer than 2,016 political leaders have been identified in significant ways, including their numerous and complex family relationships. A close analysis of select counties provides insight into the impact of economic changes and political events on specific communities. Future historians of the Empire State will be mining these for years.

JAMES S. CHASE
University of Arkansas

DANIEL FELLER. *The Jacksonian Promise: America, 1815-1840*. (The American Moment.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 227. Cloth \$38.95, paper \$13.95.

Since World War II, the Jacksonian era has attracted the attention of dozens of scholars and has often been the subject of heated historiographical debate. Daniel Feller offers an ambitious new synthesis of the Jacksonian era contesting, as he sees it, a consensus among historians that describes "Jacksonian Americans as steeped in foreboding over their future" and preoccupied with "uncertainty and insecurity" (p. xii). Hinting that historians who hold such views are revealing more about themselves and contemporary times than their subject matter, Feller eschews the dark and gloomy view that "calamity looms everywhere: in the ejection of the Indians, the subordination of women, the harnessing of proud farmers and tradespeople to a distant and faceless market" (p. xiii). He "aims for a different

approach" that is "less interested in judging the consequences of Jacksonian events than in comprehending their causes." Indeed, as Feller tells it, the men and women of that era "perhaps more than at any other time in our history . . . believed in their ability to mold and direct their own destiny and that of the world" (p. xiii).

Beginning with a discussion of the "Year of the Jubilee" or the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence and the accompanying outpouring of optimistic statements about the future, Feller organizes the rest of the book topically, but within that scheme some chapters follow a rough chronology. He offers a broad survey of the economic, social, and political landscape of Jacksonian America including improvements in transportation and manufacturing, the law, politics of the 1820s, the colonization movement, utopianism, science, religion, abolitionism, reform, labor, education, families, women, and the Jackson administrations (including the bank war, Indian removal, "Jacksonian Jurisprudence," and "Jackson and the Evangelicals").

Conceptually, these many diverse facets of Jacksonian society are linked together by Feller's emphasis on an American consensus on faith and optimism about the future. However, the result oftentimes is a highly fragmented account of what in many ways is an insightful and admirable synthesis. I wish that he had done more with less, for there are any number of places in the text that cry out for further elaboration and development.

Few scholars would challenge Feller's assertion that to "understand Jacksonian Americans, we must put aside our knowledge of how their story turned out" and understand that what "they perceived . . . was not an inexorable process grinding toward a fixed result, but an onrush of concrete, novel, exciting (and sometimes perturbing) events" (p. xiv). Few would quarrel with the proposition that Americans of that era were generally optimistic about their ability to shape their own destiny.

Many, however, might challenge Feller's tenacious insistence on rounding the corners and blunting the edges of conflict in the Jacksonian era. On the one hand, Feller admits that the "fracturing of society was highly visible, marked in the noisy activity of competing groups and even in public ceremony." Yet despite the "newly mobilized and newly differentiated" and more highly diverse and fragmented citizenry, he assures us, "Americans of all backgrounds embraced Benjamin Franklin's idea of self-improvement as the way to happiness and usefulness, key to personal uplift and collective well-being" (p. 149). Even contemporary radical critics of the status quo as well as apologists "agreed on education as the key to progress, the essential instrument of uplift" and mainly disagreed "over means and systems" rather than "over ends and principles." For all, according to Feller, "avowed a faith in the limitless capacity of the American economy for growth and of individual Americans for elevation"

(p. 137). The growing gulf between rich and poor as well as the racism and xenophobia of Jacksonian America get scant attention here.

The Panic of 1819 and the banking issue, according to Feller, reveal more about the never-say-die optimism of America's expectant capitalists than as economic and political problems that deeply divided Americans for almost a generation. "Acute distress in the West lent the crisis (the Panic of 1819) a regional coloring," he contends, "but relief measures there reflected no rejection of commercial aspirations" (pp. 44-45). The Jacksonians' war on the Bank of the United States and later the state banks, aside from the most radical ideologies, was grounded, Feller asserts, on a faith in "a liberty of enterprise that in their minds was the counterpart of liberty of opinion and belief" (p. 175).

The book, while in many ways a concise and useful synthesis of the Jacksonian era, suffers from an overweening emphasis on American consensus at the expense of better understanding the fears and apprehensions as well as the pride and optimism that Americans felt about their future.

JAMES ROGER SHARP
Syracuse University

MICHAEL GROSSBERG. *A Judgment for Solomon: The d'Hauteville Case and Legal Experience in Antebellum America*. (Cambridge Historical Studies in American Law and Society.) New York: Cambridge. 1996. Pp. xvii, 270. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$16.95.

In 1836, Ellen Sears, daughter of a wealthy Boston entrepreneur, wintered with her parents in Europe. After a whirlwind romance, she married a young Swiss count, Paul Daniel Gonzalve Grand d'Hauteville. From the outset it was a disaster. For six years, her family appealed to court and legislature to end the marriage (at a time when the grounds for divorce were severely limited) and to secure for Ellen the custody of her son Frederick (when prevailing law automatically favored the father). Although the Sears family sought remedies from several state legislatures and in the Philadelphia Court of General Sessions (where the records of the case are most full), a definitive settlement came only when Gonzalve obtained a Swiss divorce and the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, recognizing that divorce, accordingly awarded uncontested custody to Ellen.

A case of little intrinsic significance beyond the family's immediate concern, the embroglio caught the popular imagination, stimulated exploitation in the emerging penny press, and transfixed multitudes, who avidly followed it as folks today follow similar dramas. Were scandal the end of it, we could hop, skip, and jump through Michael Grossberg's story of the d'Hauteville case, vastly enjoying a good tale of love, folly, and hate played out in the adversarial culture of American law. His book is, however, a masterful, minutely detailed, and engrossing analysis of the role

of law in American culture. "Looking at the case as a series of legal experiences," Grossberg contends, "is the best way to understand what the d'Hautevilles' fight for Frederick can tell us about the place of law in American society" (p. xii).

The saga, to be sure, established no legal precedents and addressed no unusual social issues. Grossberg, however, leads the reader step by step through the maze of every allegation, fact, nuance, and argument presented by the lawyers for each party, personalized by the principals (and their spokespersons), assessed and presented by the three judges in their rulings from the bench and ultimately in their verdict, and pondered by a vast public perplexed by the relationship between formal law and widely held cultural values. Thus, through all the venues in which the contest evolved, Grossberg unfolds what he calls the ontological narrative of those principals, the public narrative of the legal process, and the conceptual narrative, in which he not only makes his own sense out of those narratives but compels the reader to render a verdict as well.

Just what is it about this case that intrigued Grossberg? Other scholars have treated it briefly, for example, as part of the evolution of women's property rights (Elizabeth Warbasse, *The Changing Legal Rights of Married Women* [1960]), as part of gender and culture studies (Jane Pease and William Pease, *Ladies, Women, and Wenches* [1990]), or as part of the cultural sociology of elites (Betty Farrell, *Elite Families* [1993]). Grossberg goes much deeper to extract from it an interpretation of how law and society interact in America. "Such inherently particular and subjective stories from the past," he writes, "can begin to give us a legal history that recognizes the importance of the lived experiences of individual men, women, and children along with those of lawyers, judges, legislators, and legal writers" (p. xv). Because it seized the popular imagination of its day and became what Grossberg calls a precedent of legal experience, the d'Hauteville case also shaped public attitudes and values about a particular set of legal issues so that they in turn shaped the cultural future just as judicial precedent shapes the future of formal law.

In any legal contest, as Grossberg so luminously shows us in this particular battle over divorce and custody, there is not one story, one set of facts, one possible conclusion. There are many. Each principal describes what happened and defines what it means, but no two stories or meanings are alike. Similarly, lawyers translate their clients' understandings and wishes into legal language and place them within the dictates of the law by manipulating that law and its language to win a favorable verdict from the ultimate court authority, the judge. And the public, whether as auditors in court, as readers of the press, or even as reporters for the press, frame multiple versions of the events, the law, and its desired outcome.

Finally, Grossberg argues that the d'Hauteville case addressed two fundamental issues then agitating

American society generally and American jurisprudence specifically: patriarchy and maternalism on the one hand and the proper role of quasi-autonomous courts and the law in a democracy on the other. Played out in the heyday of Jacksonian politics and Romantic aesthetics, the case illuminates a struggle between Ellen Sears and Gonzalve d'Hauteville, neither of whom understood the cultural world of the other or those fundamental and agitating issues. The "residue [of such a case]," Grossberg concludes, "remains as it does after every popular trial . . . and such cases enter the collective memory as precedents of legal experience. Their influence comes from their control over the memory and consciousness of audiences. They encourage and empower some; they threaten and weaken others. But as such cases enter popular and professional memory, they become part of the process of legal change itself" (p. 239). Such is the legacy of Ellen and Gonzalve.

WILLIAM H. PEASE
College of Charleston

CAROL WILSON. *Freedom at Risk: The Kidnapping of Free Blacks in America, 1780–1865*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1994. Pp. 177. \$22.00.

Carol Wilson's book explores a relatively little-known topic: the kidnapping of free blacks in the antebellum United States. To the list of political proscription, job discrimination, social ostracism, educational limitations, and residential segregation that faced the northern black population emerging from slavery after the Revolution, she adds the omnipresent threat of being spirited away from home, family, and freedom to enforced labor in those regions where slavery still existed. The corrosive atmosphere of northern racism so well documented by Leon Litwack, George M. Fredrickson, and others facilitated the crime, and in no way more strikingly than that its prosecution was hampered by the fact that black people could not normally testify against white people in a court of law. The crime has not often been written about, at least since the perennial complaints of nineteenth-century black and white abolitionists, because, in the nature of things, its full extent is difficult to document. Suspicions of its pervasiveness are strong, however, and no black man or woman, no matter how well-known or connected, was entirely exempt from the threat. The prominent black religious leader Richard Allen had to face it in Philadelphia, for example, as did New York physician and activist David Ruggles.

As one might expect, states like Pennsylvania, a free state in close proximity to slave states, and Maryland and Delaware, slave states with a large and increasing free black population and offering easy access to more southerly regions, were sites of frequent kidnapping. But port cities in New England and New York were also scenes of abduction. Nor were only white people involved. Unprincipled blacks sometimes, perhaps even frequently, cooperated with despicable white

confederates in the nasty business; sometimes they even acted alone. Gender also was no bar; Patty Cannon, a white woman, was leader of perhaps the most nefarious and successful kidnapping gang in the antebellum era.

Wilson sensitively considers various permutations of the practice, ranging from professional organizations and opportunistic individuals who deliberately broke the law to agents or claimants authorized by fugitive slave laws who sought to recapture property. Whether from honest cases of mistaken identity to incidents of intentional misrepresentation, it was frighteningly easy for blacks to lose their freedom permanently. Any jailing, for whatever reason, could be the first step toward lasting captivity, for jail fees had to be paid even if the prisoner was exonerated, and often blacks had not the means. Whatever their motivation, these activities contributed to black insecurity and encouraged black militance, solidarity, and armed resistance.

In five short chapters focusing on abduction and society, the legal structure, governmental reactions and limitations, abolitionist protests, and black opposition, Wilson sketches a brief story. One could wish for more information. For example, she gives little attention to the Old Northwest, where the postrevolutionary period saw considerable strife over slavery and shady dealings in the use of black labor. In addition, there are redundant phraseology and assertion. The book's organization perhaps requires some repetition, but in so short a production it is especially noticeable and suggests that the work might have been even shorter had it been better written. While on one page Wilson states that kidnapping was "illegal in nearly all states" (p. 39), on the very next page she says it was "illegal in all states." Well, it was either one or the other, and the proximity of the two statements—the first is the penultimate sentence ending one chapter and the second is the first sentence of the next—is almost jarring in contrast. This might seem like a small matter but is magnified in so short a book.

There is useful information here, and some heartrending stories, made more so by the silence that envelopes them. One fervently hopes that this is not the last word on the subject.

DANIEL C. LITTLEFIELD
University of Illinois,
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DIANA HOCHSTEDT BUTLER. *Standing Against the Whirlwind: Evangelical Episcopalians in Nineteenth-Century America*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 270. \$45.00.

Would you be disappointed if you purchased a book entitled *Atlas of the United States* and found that it only contained a map of Ohio? Diana Hochstedt Butler's book might produce a similar reaction. Although the book's subtitle suggests that it is a study of American Evangelical Episcopalians in the nineteenth century, it is in fact an intellectual biography of Charles P.

McIlvaine, a leader of that church's evangelical wing and bishop of Ohio whose career provides a window on the broader topic.

As the mighty tide of evangelicalism swept across the American religious landscape in the early decades of the nineteenth century, it affected almost every aspect of religious life, including that of the Episcopal Church, which had been adrift since its disestablishment after the American Revolution. A growing evangelical wing attempted to revive the church and bring it into the religious mainstream. Although the most successful evangelicals, especially the Baptists and the Methodists, ministered to alienated groups including the poor, the enslaved, and women, Evangelical Episcopalians "offered a religion of the heart to the rich and influential" (p. 12). By the 1830s, the evangelicals had grown large enough to have their own periodicals, seminary, and well-known leaders who occupied influential pulpits, none more important than McIlvaine.

Almost from the very beginning, the Episcopal evangelical wing embodied two contradictory tendencies. The first Butler calls the democratic branch; its members cooperated closely with evangelicals in other denominations and bristled at their church's hierarchical structure and the power of its bishops, even evangelical men like McIlvaine. Other evangelicals, such as McIlvaine, fell into the second group, the authoritarian camp; they were comfortable with the church's structure, defended church liturgy and order, and focused on denominational missions rather than cooperative missionary societies. Despite their differences, the two groups of Evangelical Episcopalians worked with one another and with their co-religionists to uphold Episcopal unity in the face of evangelical revivalism and schism outside their fold.

The somewhat uneasy alliance between Evangelical and High Church Episcopalians was shaken in the 1840s by the rise of the Oxford Movement. Evangelicals regarded the movement as little more than a Catholic plot to undermine the church's Protestant mission, while many High Churchmen were attracted by its ritualism, formality, and sophisticated theology. The two parties further divided over slavery: many High Churchmen hesitated to condemn it, and northern Evangelicals moved into the antislavery camp, thereby alienating supporters in the South, where their movement had enjoyed its greatest success.

Following the Civil War, the Evangelicals faced two new threats, first from rationalism or theological liberalism, and second from Ritualism or Anglo-Catholicism, which went even further than the Oxford Movement in its celebration of ceremony. The largely unsuccessful efforts to combat these new threats convinced many Evangelicals that their beliefs were basically incompatible with the Episcopal Church, and a number of them withdrew in 1873 to create the Reformed Episcopal Church. McIlvaine died in 1872, a year before the schism he had labored so long to prevent.

A brief review cannot do justice to Butler's skillful

exploration of these complex theological issues; this is intellectual and institutional history of the finest sort. In one sense, however, its greatest strength is also its greatest weakness. This is most emphatically history at the top, not even from the top down. Butler admits that her focus on McIlvaine creates "biases" (p. xii): it leads her to concentrate on northern and western Episcopal Evangelicals when the evangelical majority resided in the South; she emphasizes the role of clerics and bishops over lay people; and this study overlooks the role of women, the majority of church members. As Richard Rankin demonstrated in his study of southern Episcopal women and evangelicalism (*Ambivalent Churchmen and Evangelical Churchwomen* [1993]), a work not cited here, this is a rich topic deserving further study and an essential part of Episcopal Evangelical history. In addition, Butler accepts these Episcopalians as evangelicals on theological grounds, although many contemporaries argued that "Evangelicalism and Episcopalianism were fundamentally incompatible" (p. 127), a view many scholars might share. Despite its many strengths and its title, Butler's book is not the full story of Evangelical Episcopalians in nineteenth-century America.

RANDY J. SPARKS

College of Charleston

PAUL BOURKE and DONALD DEBATS. *Washington County: Politics and Community in Antebellum America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 407. \$45.00.

Few historians have been more diligent than Paul Bourke and Donald DeBats in reconstructing an American community by linking together a mass of data on its citizens, mapping its neighborhoods, and analyzing political life. The site for this case study of antebellum American politics is Washington County, Oregon, which may strike some as being remote from the compelling national issues of the day. But Bourke and DeBats ask us to look at Oregon as "America's laboratory," a place to examine the social processes at work in the larger society within a fresh recreation of that society at its western edge. Oregon was also among the few states where voters recorded their choices by voice, leaving a record of individual voting that any modern pollster would envy.

The authors open with a dramatic story of a killing that occurred in 1856, when two neighbors, both prominent citizens, met on the road that divided their land. One, John McMillan, was a Yankee from upstate New York and representative of the "improving religious" ethos that came West through the northern stream of migration. The other, Andrew Jackson Masters, was a southerner from Kentucky by way of Missouri, a vengeful and violent man. A mean feud had been brewing between them, stemming from their disagreement over an Indian boy whom Masters had virtually enslaved and forced to wear a chain and padlock around his neck. McMillan and others were

outraged and challenged this "kind of slavery" in court. Masters promised revenge, and when the two men met on the road, he flew at McMillan's throat and then flailed at him with an axe before McMillan blasted him with his shotgun. Masters died swearing vengeance.

The Masters killing is presented as a metaphor for the cultural conflict that Bourke and DeBats say divided the entire county and, by implication, the nation. But when they explore the social and cultural context of this event, the picture becomes much less melodramatic. Instead of demonstrating serious social divisions and the politicalization of cultural conflict, diligent analysis of the social characteristics of voters proves the "lack of connections between social profile and voting choice" (p. 217). The authors find, among other things, that the regional origin of voters had little influence on party loyalty. Nor did economic standing determine who voted Republican or Democrat, though it had much to do with whether residents voted at all. In the end, there seems to be little empirical support for the idea that two social types, two cultures, two visions of the future were in real conflict in Washington County.

When Bourke and DeBats turn to another variable, neighborhood, new claims are advanced. The property line between the feuding Masters and McMillan farms, they assert, was like a "geological fault" line running across the county. To the east was a land of abolition, improvement, and northern culture; to the west was southern in character. But again, the close analysis that takes us through each voting precinct does not lend consistent support to the generalization of a miniature sectional crisis at play. The maps displayed show what we might expect: pockets of Democratic strength within a county dominated by the emerging Republican Party. It is also hard to see how this highly particularistic analysis of the local context of politics could ever be applied to a larger social canvas. If all the world were Washington County, it appears that partisan politics was less an expression of deep social and cultural division within the voting population than it was a means of containing and ameliorating such conflicts. The hostility political parties seemed to give vent to most vociferously was most often aimed at minorities and outsiders—Indians, blacks, Catholics, and alleged heretics—none a genuine threat to the rule of the white Protestant majority that prevailed in both parties.

Back east, meanwhile, the political system tried and failed to contain conflict that divided the nation and plunged it into a long and bloody war. Washington County, Oregon, may have included some of the same antagonistic elements at play on the national stage, but it does not serve well as a microcosm of the coming sectional conflict. Southerners coming to Oregon were mostly from the Upper South, and they came west, in part, to escape a slave society. Whatever the views of northern and southern migrants on slavery, they shared an antipathy toward blacks, and both voted to

exclude blacks, slave and free, from Oregon. In Washington County, there was certainly enough diversity and strife among personalities and social groups to provide fuel for a number of blood feuds, along with less deadly conflicts, but the McMillan-Masters affray seems to have been an anomaly rather than a metaphor for the local game of American politics. Although Bourke and DeBats fail to prove their claims, they have nonetheless provided us with a richly detailed and valuable portrait of an American community in the making.

DON H. DOYLE

Vanderbilt University

GUNJA SENGUPTA. *For God and Mammon: Evangelicals and Entrepreneurs, Masters and Slaves in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1860*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 219. \$35.00.

Sectional confrontation in Bleeding Kansas during the mid-1850s was a crucial milestone on the way to the Civil War. In this intelligent and carefully crafted book, Gunja SenGupta makes an important contribution to understanding what happened in Kansas along with its critical national repercussions. She brings a fresh perspective to a well-known story in several respects. Her documentation includes the territorial census of 1855, which allows the reconstruction of demographic data that are arrayed in thirteen tables. Two full-page maps also allow the ready location of events described in the tables and narrative.

Influenced by the work of C. Vann Woodward (*Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* [1951]), SenGupta argues that, by the eve of statehood in 1861, mutual concerns bridged the ideological chasm that had separated northern evangelicals and proslavery advocates in Kansas during 1854-1860. She deftly places her study in the context of the voluminous secondary literature and thus provides an informative historiographic overview. SenGupta's overall thesis introduces a level of complexity to the apparent cleavage between free state and proslavery advocates in Kansas: "I simply argue that the Kansas conflict was more multidimensional than a dichotomous portrayal of irreconcilable contending camps would imply" (p. 5).

With the revision of the Missouri Compromise, Stephen A. Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 had left the question of slavery in the former Louisiana Purchase Territory north of 36° 30' to the process of popular sovereignty. The rush to populate the territory with partisans led free state and proslavery factions to advocate antagonistic agendas and even open warfare in the battle over the extension of slavery in the West. Broad ideological affinities characterized both sides.

In the North, outrage over the repeal of the ban on extending slavery led to the creation of the Republican Party. Its slogan of "free soil, free labor, and free men" fused Protestant morality and republican liberty with a doctrine of economic progress that garnered popular

support and muted class differences. The idealized benefits of liberal capitalism, shared by industrialist Amos Lawrence, the preacher Henry Ward Beecher, and radical abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, were contrasted with the sloth, immorality, and backwardness supposedly rife in the Old South. Yet a survey of 195 heads of emigrant households from the North shows almost fifty-five percent were mechanics and artisans; farmers were a distant second at twenty-nine percent. SenGupta ironically comments: "The very economic forces that prompted an optimistic faith in the possibility and desirability of spreading northern-style progress to distant lands also threatened to strip craftspeople of their traditional skills and undermine their economic independence, long thought to be essential for republican virtue" (p. 46). Furthermore, the town of Lawrence was less a free-labor Eden than a dusty settlement of crude dwellings whose pioneers endured disease, extreme weather, and proslavery ruffians.

Contradictions also beset the proslavery faction. The opportunity to extend slavery into Kansas proved quixotic. The census of 1855, taken when southerners were numerically in a majority, showed that, out of a total territorial population of 8,525, only 186 people or 2.2 percent were slaves. Most masters held only one or two slaves; few cultivated the lush tobacco and hemp fields that proslavery apologists had erroneously predicted would flourish there. Some 300 Missouri slaves also fled their masters via Kansas's underground railroad; abolitionists, such as the legendary John Brown and supporters of the American Missionary Association, provided remarkable assistance. Southern emigration schemes largely failed. Most emigrants were young men from neighboring Missouri who were looking for a homestead. They were by no means uniform supporters of David Atchison, whose staunch pro-southern sympathies pitted him against the formidable Thomas Hart Benton. Southern emigrants were staunchly for white supremacy, but that did not translate into a blanket endorsement for the policies of the planter oligarchy. The promise that a slave society meant opportunity for young white men rang somewhat hollow for Missouri emigrants struggling in the unforgiving Great Plains.

Whatever the contradictions, the sectional antagonism in Kansas was real, as the North and South sought to imprint their social vision on the West. Violence and fraud unhinged Kansas politics and national comity. The sack of Lawrence and Osawatimie by proslavery forces was met in kind by Brown's retaliation in the Pottawatomie massacre. The bogus proslavery Lecompton constitution, Preston Brooks's caning of abolitionist Charles Sumner in the Senate, the portentous schism in the Democratic Party, and Brown's guerrilla raid at Harpers Ferry all had a direct Kansas connection.

Yet Bleeding Kansas also provided a model for national reconciliation following Reconstruction. White supremacy, town boosterism, railroad develop-

ment, and banking promotion often brought former opponents together in a common cause as Kansas prepared for entry into the Union as a free state. In SenGupta's excellent book, the case is well made that Kansas was a symbol for sectional discord and national reunion.

LAWRENCE B. GOODHEART
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JOHN ASHWORTH. *Slavery, Capitalism, and Politics in the Antebellum Republic*. Volume 1, *Commerce and Compromise, 1820-1850*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 520. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$19.95.

This first volume of a projected two-volume work on the American political system and its relationship to slavery and to capitalism is a provocative effort that needs to be read on more than one level. It is, first, an effort to construct a more suggestive Marxist analytical framework than that used by such scholars as E. P. Thompson, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, and Eugene Genovese. Using his newly minted explanatory model, John Ashworth also attempts to provide a Marxist analysis of the coming of the Civil War. His overall interpretive claims are that the war can be seen best as the result of a bourgeois revolution and that this is a novel view. The latter claim will surprise people who thought that earlier students of the war—Charles Beard and Mary Beard and Barrington Moore come to mind—had seen it in similar terms. This, however, is not the import of Ashworth's effort. His claims to have created a more sophisticated mode of Marxist analysis and to have explained the historical experiences of people of the North and of the South that ended in some of the worst carnage of the nineteenth century are the points of moment.

Ashworth's attempt to create a strong materialist explanation rests, to a large extent, on his rejection of the notion that class consciousness is a necessary component of the existence of classes and class conflict. Thompson's view was that classes exist when people with common experiences recognize their commonality and express that recognition in relation to others who do not share the experiences. Ashworth's thesis is that consciousness of shared experience is not essential for the existence of class conflict. A crucial analytical concept that remains is exploitation: G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, the historian of ancient slavery, developed a similar view. Class, for Ashworth, is defined in terms of the relationships "between two groups at the point of production, where one group is seeking to appropriate to itself some or all of the labor of the other" (p. 13).

His rejection of the notion that consciousness is imperative to an understanding of class and class conflict also involves rejecting a Gramscian perception of hegemony, a perception a scholar like Genovese relies on. Among the conclusions Ashworth rejects is that the quest for domination by slaveowners required the conscious acceptance of the worthiness of a slave-

based society by non-slaveowning whites. The real focus for Ashworth is the class relationship between slaves and slaveowners on one side and the relationship between an emerging capitalist elite and a wage-earning class in the North on the other. Those two relationships were so different that different forms of control were necessary, and these in turn led to a conflict between the sections that ended with secession and war.

The conflict came as the result of alienation among sectional elites. Slaveowners had to rely on violence to control and exploit the labor of a class, the slaves, that always yearned for freedom. In the end, the resistance of the slaves compelled the pre-capitalist southern elite to use forms of control that were increasingly repugnant to the northern elite. The growth of capitalism in the North in the last few decades before war rested on the spread of wage labor, which was an "inevitable effect of the market revolution" in the North. This in turn led to "significant ideological shifts." Ashworth thus attempts to avoid a reductionist trap with an explanation that accords real significance to ideology, even though he grounds that ideology in a materialist explanation. The "growth of capitalism in the North generated the economic critique of southern slavery" and that was the "principal source of antislavery sentiment. It was thus a principal cause of the American Civil War" (p. 115). We are entitled to ask, however, how Ashworth would explain the emerging antislavery beliefs of people—North and South—in the late eighteenth century before the spread of market capitalism.

His leading interpretive claim, in any event, was that southern slavery and "pre-capitalist" free labor could coexist, but that in the end capitalism and slavery could not. Some of our finest scholarship (such as the early work of Eric Williams and the more recent work of James Oakes) has been concerned with the latter relationship. We will have to wait until volume two to assess Ashworth's complete contribution to the debate. There he will attempt to explain the precise historical experiences of the last decade before war and precisely why the war came as it did, when it did.

One element in that story is the collapse of the second American party system. The members of the Democratic Party, Ashworth asserts, were far less committed to capitalism than the Whigs. All Whigs had a "deep appreciation of commerce," while all Democrats were more committed to the old order, to a "pre-capitalist commodity production," and any commitment to capitalism that one can discern among Democrats was "fragile at best" (pp. 307, 315–16). The Democrats tended to be proslavery, and even when this was not always clear the fact remained, in Ashworth's view, that Democrats (as well as allegedly antislavery southerners like Thomas Jefferson) were "functionally" proslavery. This is surely one of the more arguable explanatory claims Ashworth makes. By rejecting "consciousness" as a necessary element in class conflict, he is able to suggest that the position a

group takes is "functionally" one thing or another. Cut free from intentions and conscious motivations, it is possible to explain what a group says or does however one wishes. For a thoughtful Marxist like Ashworth, a materialism grounded in actual relations that arose out of relationships to production provides the explanatory model. For him, the end result looked like this: the second American party system (at least down to 1850) "pitted the defenders of a merchant-capital-based elitism against the advocates of a racially flawed, functionally proslavery egalitarianism" (p. 365).

There are times when Ashworth, for all his suggestiveness, seems too determined to compress complex developments into a relatively simple, elegant explanation. His treatment of abolitionists, I suspect, will be read that way by many. Religious conviction does not appear in his explanatory model as being of any particular force, whereas many scholars have found such convictions vital. Ashworth argues that the abolitionists "redefined the role of conscience and family in accordance with the needs of a society in which wage labor was increasingly prominent" (p. 493). Moreover, he overlooks some of the divisions among the abolitionists. During the 1840s, abolitionists were deeply split over a variety of issues, as Aileen Kraditor, among others, has shown us. One of the splits concerned the way abolitionists perceived the relationship between slavery and the Constitution. How does this fracture in abolitionism relate to the spread of market capitalism? How can we grasp the differences between opponents of slavery such as Lysander Spooner, who believed that the Constitution was an antislavery document if properly understood, and Wendell Phillips, who forcefully argued that the Constitution was a proslavery document through and through? Hopefully, Ashworth's next volume will be as sensitive to the complexity and untidiness of the actual experiences of prewar Americans as his first volume is to the theoretical problems facing someone seeking to construct a Marxist explanatory model.

THOMAS D. MORRIS
Portland State University

KENNETH S. GREENBERG. *Honor and Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, the Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, and Gambling in the Old South*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 176. \$24.95.

Kenneth S. Greenberg describes this book as "a reconstruction and interpretation of a 'dead' language—the language of the 'honorable gentlemen' who ruled the Old South" (p. xi), and the description is apt. Portraying a world in which apparently familiar words took on a significance and meaning of their own, Greenberg shows how, for such men (and Greenberg's book focuses pretty much entirely on men), the language of honor ordered responses to a range of complex situations, making it central to their efforts to define their

own lives even as they differentiated themselves from the other orders of society, including non-elite whites and slaves, by their awareness of and ability to live according to its dictates. In the process, he also shows how attention to honor made the world of southern gentlemen a quarrelsome place, marked by nearly constant accusations that someone, somehow, had failed to meet honor's demands.

In his account of the role of honor in the Old South, Greenberg takes a broad perspective, including in his purview, as the book's unwieldy subtitle suggests, everything from the serious matters of violence and slavery to such forms of recreation as gambling and hunting, from questions involving hospitality and political office to ideals represented in an honorable, final conflict with death. All are tied together, Greenberg suggests, by underlying themes of honor, and, time and again, he returns to the territory of that ultimate southern "affair of honor" to describe a world in which gentlemen tended to approach life as a perpetual duel, whether marked by violence or not.

As Greenberg sorts through key themes of honor—including assertions of integrity, social standing, and mastery of oneself and others—he shows how the patterns of behavior and expression so boldly displayed in the duel underlay much else southern gentlemen did as well. As he emphasizes, hospitality and recreation were never removed from concerns about status and reputation in social exchange, as well as sometimes courageous displays of self-control, and he skillfully employs theories of gift-exchange to illuminate these concerns in imaginative but persuasive ways. The same may be said of his interpretations of elite white southerners' self-serving fictions about political office and political duty as these were similarly shaped by concerns for reciprocity and reputation.

One of the more striking features of Greenberg's book is his ability to create a fuller understanding of southern ideals of honor by looking at apparently trivial episodes that, more closely examined, prove to be peculiarly revealing of what the concept entailed. The book begins with a lively account of an 1843 Charleston debate over the authenticity of P. T. Barnum's touring half-monkey/half-fish fabrication, the "Feejee Mermaid," a debate in which the question of authenticity as such was quickly overwhelmed by a more heated dispute over the credibility and, thus, the honor of the principals. The book is highlighted, toward the end, by an ex-slave's remembrances of the unsuccessful attempt of a slaveowner, one Bill Kitchen, to play baseball. Kitchen appears to have had some potential at the plate, but, for what Greenberg shows to have been good cultural reasons, no head for the game.

Some of Greenberg's most provocative discussions focus on the intimate relationships between honor and slavery. Although others have looked at these connections, his analyses of specific mechanisms of subordination and the ways in which he embeds these analyses in the larger contexts his book creates are striking and

original, especially as he shows how honor-governed relationships of reciprocity and status, integrity and mastery, visible in so many other areas, patterned slaveowners' approaches to their slaves, and slavery, as well. Giving a regional and cultural specificity to ideas advanced more theoretically by Orlando Patterson in *Slavery and Social Death* (1982), these discussions will be of use to anyone interested in the dynamics of race relations in antebellum America. Equally provocative are Greenberg's discussions of the meaning of planter honor for the possibilities of African-American culture, as he shows how an honor-defined distance between master and slave provided the kind of social space in which distinctive, even autonomous cultural forms could evolve.

This is a valuable book. Although Greenberg eschews any effort to explain why honor should have had such power in the South, even as it was increasingly rejected as a standard in other parts of the country, his delineation of its role in southern life is vivid and persuasive. As Greenberg acknowledges, readers of such works as Bertram Wyatt-Brown's *Southern Honor* (1982) or Steven M. Stowe's *Intimacy and Power in the Old South* (1987) will find little to change their basic conceptions of the pre-Civil War southern elite (p. xiv), but they will find much to give those conceptions a still richer form. Given the engaging quality of Greenberg's writing, coupled with his notable ability to tell a story, the book should receive a wide audience among historians and an appreciative one among students of the nineteenth-century American South.

DICKSON D. BRUCE, JR.
University of California,
Irvine

EDWIN C. FISHEL. *The Secret War for the Union: The Untold Story of Military Intelligence in the Civil War*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1996. Pp. xiv, 734. \$35.00.

This book has its origin in 1959, when Edwin C. Fishel discovered an extensive collection of operational records of the Bureau of Military Information of the Army of the Potomac. In addition to these records, he has included material from the "secret service" accounts of John Potts, chief clerk of the War Department; the scouts, guides, spies, and detectives file collected by the Adjutant General's Office in the 1890s; the papers of the special judge advocate of the War Department Levi C. Turner, the special provost marshal of the War Department Lafayette C. Baker, and generals Joseph Hooker and George B. McClellan; together with more traditional sources such as *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (1880–1901). Fishel has crafted the definitive study of military intelligence operations in the eastern theater. Several interesting appendixes, including a chart listing the successes and failures of Union and Confederate intelligence operations, are included.

The dust jacket of this study claims: "Previous

histories of the Civil War have explained victory or defeat in terms of the skill of commanders, the fighting qualities of the troops, and resources in men and material Intelligence has been largely ignored." Fishel notes that "the main reason has been scarcity of documentary sources. The records of the intelligence bureau established by General Hooker, which continued in operation to the end of the war, serving generals George G. Meade and Ulysses S. Grant, were sequestered after the war" (p. 2).

Beginning with Allan Pinkerton's intelligence bureau, the first one in any American army, Fishel follows the development of intelligence from the campaigns of First Bull Run through Gettysburg. He sees the progression in the development of intelligence capability from an almost total lack of intelligence to a high degree of effective and accurate intelligence about the Army of Northern Virginia. Pinkerton was charged by McClellan with performing two types of intelligence: espionage and the interrogation of prisoners, deserters, and refugees. Other forms of information went directly to McClellan, who was too busy to assimilate so much material. (As an aside, Fishel attempts to determine how McClellan and Pinkerton arrived at such large, inaccurate estimates of the enemy.) General John Pope, using his cavalry aggressively, concentrated on penetrating the enemy army in the field rather than at Richmond, as Pinkerton had done. When Hooker established the Bureau of Military Information early in 1863, the various forms of intelligence collection were brought together for assimilation: espionage, interrogation records, signal intelligence, aerial observation, and cavalry reconnaissance. Fishel covers developments after Gettysburg in short order, noting that Grant elevated Colonel Henry G. Sharpe, commander of the bureau, to a staff position with his headquarters in July 1864, although Sharpe continued to be based at Meade's headquarters.

Fishel's overall purpose is to determine the effect of intelligence on the decisions of commanding generals. He draws three general conclusions: first, it takes all types of intelligence-collection systems to produce accurate intelligence; second, in the contest for information, the southerners held the advantage, as they were operating on their home ground most of the time, and Union commanders always conceded this advantage to the enemy; and, third, three rather sharp classifications of skill emerge from the performances of Hooker, Meade, and General Robert E. Lee as getters and users of intelligence.

Hooker, an excellent administrator, saw the value of intelligence and, knowing how to organize such activity to get the job done right, created the Bureau of Military Information, the first all-source intelligence agency. Meade narrowed the scope of the bureau and, as Fishel observes, probably would not have created such an agency had one not already existed. This was partly because Meade had a great skill for assimilation and interpretation of intelligence material as he re-

ceived it, thus lowering his need for a staff to do it for him. Lee had nothing comparable to the bureau, nor did he do anything to create such an agency. Fishel, much to the chagrin of those who hold Lee in high esteem, notes that Lee "lacked Meade's flair for interpretation . . . but Lee excelled in putting intelligence to use" (p. 571). In conclusion, Fishel observes that each of these commanders excelled in just one of the three basic skills: getting information, interpreting it, and applying it. Such "stratification . . . is something the abundant legacy of Civil War history has not previously been made to demonstrate" (p. 571).

ROBERT G. MANGRUM

Howard Payne University

JAMES E. VANCE, JR. *The North American Railroad: Its Origin, Evolution, and Geography*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 348. \$39.95.

This is a good and beautiful book. Geographer James E. Vance, Jr., has exhaustively mapped the history of rail development in North America, sans Mexico, and the Johns Hopkins University Press has produced an attractive volume out of the work. In his preface, Vance proposes to present "a fairly detailed survey of where and why rail lines were placed on the ground in various regions and at different times" (p. xiv). He does that, and more. Such a straightforward and concise statement about the book's objectives belies the tremendous amount of work involved in covering as much time and landscape as is treated here. Through text, maps, drawings, and photographs, Vance demonstrates the ever-expanding web of rail networks through the latter half of the nineteenth century.

This is a work of synthesis, especially in geography. Vance's primary aim is to tell the big story of where rail lines went and how the obstacles to construction, especially those posed by landscape, were surmounted. Still, he does not ignore political or social realities surrounding the mania for railroads in the nineteenth century. Vance notes labor conflict between white and Chinese trackworkers in the Far West. He also points out that the first transcontinental rail project owed its existence to political and symbolic necessities rising out of the Civil War as much as to the entrepreneurial vision of any one railroad builder.

Proceeding chronologically, Vance examines the origins of the North American railroad on the eastern seaboard, noting that much of the technological innovation in early railroading had been imported from Britain. Such technological borrowing aside, North American railroad expansion soon deviated from established British patterns. Whereas rail development in the Old World generally utilized connections between established communities to sponsor each additional mile of track, New World rail growth operated far more as an engine of town formation. British railroads went to towns; North American railroads

built towns. And the river-based economies of older cities began to lose ground to their upstart railroad-based rivals.

The book's cover illustration itself tells part of the tale: the famed Currier & Ives lithograph of Fanny Frances Palmer's "Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way" (1868) separates one world from another in perfectly positioned sequences, adhering to the logic of Manifest Destiny. A train chugs through a proud new settlement that it no doubt spawned. Telegraph poles are up and ready to be wired, a new schoolhouse beckons, and men diligently fell trees to make the town grow. Meanwhile, on the other side of the tracks, Native Americans in their river-centered world fight off smokestack soot and the inevitable changes the railroad will bring.

Historians of American economic growth and the American West, not to mention railroad scholars, have long known about the unmistakable connections between geography and rail development in North America. What makes Vance's study especially valuable is that it is so expansive and comprehensive and that the book is aptly illustrated with the appropriate images and maps. What is more, Vance examines Canadian rail development, as he must given his contrast between British and North American systems. The inclusion of Canada gives the study all the more scope, helping Vance drive home his point that there existed "a fully genetic separation" (p. 323) between railroads on one side of the Atlantic and the other. The end result is a book as helpful as it is handsome.

WILLIAM DEVERELL
California Institute of Technology

KAREN SAWISLAK. *Smoldering City: Chicagoans and the Great Fire, 1871-1874*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 396. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$15.95.

Karen Sawislak's book is a well-organized, clearly written account of a perennially fascinating chapter in Chicago's history. It offers a fresh narrative complementing recent, more specialized studies by Ross Miller (*American Apocalypse* [1990]), Christine Meisner Rosen (*The Limits of Power* [1986]), and Carl Smith (*Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief* [1995]). All told, it is the best introduction to the subject available to the general reader.

Counterpointing realities with images, chapter one emphasizes the potent role of predisposing class and ethnic prejudices in shaping reactions to the disaster. The near contemporaneous Paris Commune colored fears that the conflagration would trigger a rising by "the dangerous classes," and Mrs. O'Leary was pilloried as a sort of nineteenth-century Irish-American "welfare queen."

Sawislak is at her best in chapter two, which skewers the Relief Aid Society for administering a two-tier welfare system that gave cash grants to well-connected, upper-middle-class women but spurned the non-

WASP poor. Chapter three explores the Great Fire's limited impact on politics and planning. Publisher Joseph Medill's "Fire Proof Party" was swept into office, but the German-American North Side viewed his proposed ban on new wooden construction as a mortal threat to their dream of home ownership, and the Board of Aldermen blocked the mayor. Chapter four chronicles "The Great Rebuilding," a more successful precursor of our own century's "Rebuild LA," and explains why the organized labor movement—weakened by the failure of the 1867 eight-hour agitation—did not make greater gains. Chapter five dissects how resurgent ethnocultural politics ultimately forced the resignation of Mayor Medill, caught between the Sunday Closing Law demands of the evangelical Protestant "Committee of Seventy" and libertarian counterpressure from the predominately German-Irish People's Party.

The epilogue, on the Panic of 1873, suggests that by sharpening class divisions and midwiving the emergence of the militantly socialist Workingman's Committee, it may have had a more transformative impact on Chicago politics than the Great Fire.

Despite its virtues, Sawislak's book is not without limitations. Methodologically, its sources are primarily manuscript collections and newspapers. Scant use is made of city directories or census data. Among the surprising lacunae in the bibliography is the omission of the work of Richard Sennett, and she seems only superficially familiar with the literature on the evolution of nineteenth-century "civic republicanism." Louise C. Wade's book on the Chicago stockyards was a more innovative and exhaustive contribution to the "new" urban and social history.

Theoretically Sawislak's book misses an opportunity to contribute significantly to the cross-fertilization of history and the social sciences. She makes only passing reference to studies of "disasterology" and does not explicitly test the sociological hypothesis that "natural" disasters like fires tend to be unifying while "artificial" disasters like riots tend to be polarizing.

Yet despite these limitations, Sawislak has written an engaging narrative history worthy of the energetic city whose most famous brush with disaster it chronicles.

STEVEN P. ERIE
University of California,
San Diego

PATRICIA RILEY DUNLAP. *Riding Astride: The Frontier in Women's History*. Denver, Colo.: Arden. 1995. Pp. xiii, 193. Cloth \$26.50, paper \$18.95.

Patricia Riley Dunlap may be the last of the unequivocal cheerleaders for Frederick Jackson Turner's famous frontier thesis, which ascribed American democracy and yeoman opportunity to a great land-grab known as the western movement. While Turner's ideas remain an important part of the historical discourse, they now illicit diverse interpretations from western

historians. The result has been good for western history, making it more sophisticated and strengthening its intellectual moorings. Now comes Dunlap, who wishes to insert females into an unshaded, non-nuanced Turner thesis. With that tilt toward the earliest, most Anglo-centered, and least critical scholarly ideas about the West, this book represents a "bridge to the past" in an unfortunate way.

Dunlap argues that Turner's frontier worked as well for women as it did for men; that alone launches the work on a questionable premise. After all, for which men, where, when, and how well did Turner's frontier "work?" Sidestepping this fundamental problem, Dunlap asserts that western women, especially the least traditional, carved out a new kind of American female, one who changed the definitions of womanhood for the nation. Ultimately, Dunlap contends that western women cast off the constraints of an outdated Victorian life style and emerged as "new" assertive females. Through their western lives, they dismantled the Cult of True Womanhood, which highlighted female compliance to a rigid code of behavior. To buttress these sweeping points, Dunlap presents biographical accounts of an array of western women from pioneer wives to prostitutes to political activists to cross-dressers. She links these vignettes to broadly argued interpretive segments.

In spite of its emphasis on the experiences of white pioneers, Dunlap's book, unlike the Turner thesis, does embrace women of color. A long, highly generalized section considers Native American women and an often contradictory one treats African Americans. Mexican-American and Asian-American women do not figure appreciably in any section.

It would be incorrect to describe the twenty different subjects in the table of contents as chapters, for most segments are only five or six pages in length. Little substantive primary research undergirds this book. The evidence is largely impressionistic or anecdotal, drawn from secondary sources.

A current style of scholarly publication that eschews endnotes might have been used effectively to make this book attractive to a wide readership. I am reminded of John Mack Faragher's recent biography of Daniel Boone as well as the highly successful *Oxford History of the American West* (1994). Neither incorporated traditional endnotes, but each showed the force of thorough research and careful use of materials. Such is not case with this work's curious mix of documentation. Too often the reader is left to ask, "Where did that information, that assessment come from?" Dunlap's particular reliance on secondary sources has resulted in a western sampler that extracts interesting accounts from the historical framework in which other scholars used them. She cites lengthy quotes, as well as some ideas, but long descriptive passages often stand alone. As a result, the text includes such unsubstantiated remarks as: "only the most repugnant frontier men initiated long-term relationships with prostitutes" (p. 42) and "Outlaws had little interest in home, mother-

hood, morality, purity, or piousness" (p. 77). It is simply inaccurate to assert that "white Americans had never taken an interest in Native American culture" (p. 93).

In general, the language choices throughout reflect a popular impression of the West. Dunlap talks about the "Wild West" (p. 47), "lawless environment" (p. 44), "western harlots" (p. 42), "strumpet days" (p. 44), and "semi-civilized Missouri" (p. 147). It is unfortunate that her presentation of the West builds on such stereotypical vocabulary, for occasionally Dunlap demonstrates flashes of an engaging style in her writing. Had this talent been merged with an informed sense of the regional context of western history, the results might have been more satisfactory. Incorrect spellings of historians' names and mistitles for their works further mar this book.

Dunlap argues for the historical accuracy of the frontier thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner, a position that demands compelling fresh evidence and groundbreaking analysis. She does not convince the reader that Turner was correct or that she has identified and rectified his only weakness—the failure to apply his ideas to western women.

ANNE M. BUTLER
Utah State University

KATHIE FRIEDMAN-KASABA. *Memories of Migration: Gender, Ethnicity, and Work in the Lives of Jewish and Italian Women in New York, 1870–1924*. (SUNY Series on Women and Work.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 242. \$19.95.

Kathie Friedman-Kasaba covers familiar territory in this comparative study of the immigration of Italian and Jewish women to the United States. These two groups of women have attracted historians' attention because of their similarities—most significantly their gender, class position, and urban settlement over the course of fifty years—and their differences—largely cultural and religious but also their background and numbers relative to male migrants. As the book's subtitle indicates, Friedman-Kasaba is not interested in religion, despite renewed historical attention to Catholicism in the urban Northeast. Rather, she focuses on gender, ethnicity, and work, integrating these theoretical constructs into analyses of capitalist world systems. A historical sociologist, Friedman-Kasaba is as concerned with crafting a theoretical model of migration and world-systems economic change as she is with capturing the historical specificity of immigrant women's decision to leave their old world for a new one. A tension between the sociological urge to generalize and the historical need to specify, especially the desire to give voice to individual immigrant women, animates the book.

The opening chapters emphasize the inadequacies of previous studies of immigration and the need for a new paradigm that integrates international migration into world systems. This discussion includes much

theory and its accompanying sociological jargon that historians might find disconcerting. Historians who know Italian and Jewish immigration studies will recognize familiar materials recast into world-systems analyses, so that economic changes in the Russian empire and socio-economic developments in the emerging Italian nation-state appear as components of the nineteenth-century world capitalist economy. Friedman-Kasaba embeds her discussion of migration within this framework to highlight similarities of economic change together with political differences. Women, as workers, appear at the end of a long chain of socio-economic processes and political decisions. Mythic reasons for emigrating, such as America fever, lose their compelling force as an explanation for individual actions.

The middle chapters address Italian and Jewish women, their specific motivations for migrating, what they found when they arrived, and their responses. Here, again, the material is familiar, at times discouragingly so. Mary Antin and Anzia Yezierska, women who were accomplished writers with fictionalized autobiographies, express sentiments deemed by Friedman-Kasaba to be representative of Jewish immigrant women. The sophistication shown by Friedman-Kasaba in her sociological concern to integrate international migration into world systems disappears in these more historical chapters. Given recent studies of both Antin and Yezierska that reveal their complex self-construction, it is disappointing to find them quoted as uncomplicated, revealing immigrant voices. By contrast, the wonderful photographs of friends and their family members suggest rich and multi-layered possibilities.

The final chapters assess the costs and benefits of immigration to Italian and Jewish women. Surprisingly, Italian women apparently fare better, more often coming out on the plus side of the equation, and this despite the lack of a "coethnic" community to mediate their adjustment. Only young, unmarried Jewish women get a glimpse of the sense of self that might have come from migration, and more often than not, they seem to be disappointed in the shape of their lives. Friedman-Kasaba here employs some extraordinarily annoying terminology, calling the founder of the Henry Street Settlement on the Lower East Side and its visiting nurse service, Lillian Wald, a "nominal coethnic" (p. 142). Julia Richman, assistant district superintendent of public schools for the same heavily Jewish neighborhood and from a similar upper-middle-class German-Jewish background as Wald, does not rate such an epithet. What makes Wald only nominally coethnic and Richman not is far from clear. In fact, the term itself, "nominal coethnic," is confusing and suggests to me a vague pejorative. Similarly annoying is Friedman-Kasaba's decision repeatedly to use the term "so-called new world" (p. 173), suggesting her disapproval of an evocative phrase describing the United States.

Given the theory-driven elements of the book,

Friedman-Kasaba's conclusions are relatively modest. Although she argues that "situating women's multiple, intersecting, and shifting identities at the center of analysis exposed the polarized and dichotomous thinking embedded in the principal competing paradigms," she concludes that "no single path or purpose led women out of eastern and southern Europe . . . nor did their experiences necessarily converge and homogenize into a singular pattern of adaptation in the United States" (p. 178). Her study seeks to emphasize women as agents of their own lives, but by placing them firmly within a capitalist world-systems analysis, it makes them often unwitting agents—a rather somber conclusion to a familiar story.

DEBORAH DASH MOORE
Vassar College

LUCY E. SALYER. *Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xix, 338. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.

This is an important book. It is a kind of sequel to Christian Fritz's *Federal Justice in California: The Court of Ogden Hoffman, 1851–1891* (1991). Just as Fritz placed Chinese-American legal history within the context of the federal court system, Lucy E. Salyer considers the legal history of the Chinese within the evolution of American immigration law and policy.

Salyer's book is divided into eight chapters and two sections. Chronologically it covers from 1891, the year Congress passed the Immigration Act authorizing the creation of the Bureau of Immigration, whereby the federal government took control over immigration policy, to 1924, the year Congress passed the Quota Act placing stringent legal restraints over all immigration.

Part one traces the implementation of the Immigration Act to 1905 and the watershed Supreme Court case of *U.S. v. Ju Toy*. Salyer identifies several trends. First, the Immigration Act of 1891 explicitly omitted the Chinese and, also for the first time, included a deportation provision. This allowed a dual immigration system to evolve: one for the Chinese, one for everyone else. Officials had a very difficult time enforcing the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, and a contest developed between the Chinese and the Bureau of Immigration. The Chinese sought ways to lessen the impact of restrictive laws, and the Bureau tried to be responsive to anti-Chinese hysteria. Until *Ju Toy*, the Chinese seemed to have done well in the federal courts.

Second, the Bureau decided to remake immigration policy into a singular rather than dual system. In that process, they sought greater discretionary powers by denying courts jurisdiction to review Bureau decisions. This struggle culminated in *U.S. v. Ju Toy*, where customs officials denied Ju Toy, an American citizen, re-entrance into the United States from China. The

Supreme Court upheld the Bureau and bestowed upon it plenary powers.

Part two shows how the Bureau, armed with administrative powers greater than most any other federal agency, tightened restrictions on admissions and increased deportations. With the Bureau not subject to substantive review by courts, the only recourse for Chinese and other immigrants was to challenge the due process of Bureau decisions. The Chinese government was so enraged with the *Ju Toy* decision that it authorized a boycott of American trade. This helped obtain some due process reforms, but Salzer concludes that these were not significant. The most important changes allowed those asserting citizenship greater due process guarantees, but still the Bureau retained ultimate power. Salzer argues that immigration law remains beyond normal due process requirements of other American legal institutions because of the way it developed historically.

This book includes significant new findings. Salzer explains how Chinese exclusion laws made immigration law distinctive, even after 1905. The American West, often treated as peripheral by other scholars of the immigration experience, in fact influenced national immigration policy. Salzer also focuses on structures and forums and their influence on policy implementation. This is very important, for few other scholars have researched and explained this complex system. Salzer observes that the Bureau of Immigration, although periodically accepting procedural reforms, has never really embraced a fair system of due process. In addition, hers is the first historical work to discuss thoroughly the significance of the *Ju Toy* decision. More can be made of this important legal development, but Salzer has established its importance.

Salzer concludes with some of her strongest words about American immigration law. She states that the doctrines providing the foundation for immigration policy arose from the struggles of Chinese, federal judges, and immigration officials in the American West over the Chinese Exclusion acts. In the process of this struggle, governmental bureaucrats prevailed. The way in which they succeeded "undermined the very principles they accused the Chinese of subverting," such principles as rights to counsel, judicial review, habeas corpus, due process of law, and evidence rules in a legal proceeding—"the heart of Anglo-American jurisprudence" (pp. 247-48).

This excellent book, carefully and thoroughly researched and engagingly written, represents some of the finest recent scholarship in the history of American law.

JOHN R. WUNDER
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JUDY YUNG. *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 395. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$15.95.

Although scholarship in Chinese-American history has undoubtedly made significant strides in the last thirty years, much of the attention has sidestepped the legacy of Chinese women. Long treated by scholars as either passive prostitutes or subservient wives, Chinese-American women and their lives remained unclaimed for decades. In the last ten years, however, historians of Chinese descent have taken the first steps toward recovering those once silenced voices. Judy Yung is among these new historians.

Yung's study testifies to the human agency and diverse roles of Chinese-American women during the first half of the twentieth century in San Francisco. This narrow geographic focus, however, raises some questions regarding the applicability of the conclusions to the rest of the country, particularly to New York, the city where the other major Chinese-American community lives. Through the metaphor of footbinding—which in reality afflicted few ethnically Chinese women in turn-of-the-century San Francisco—Yung argues that, within the lifetime of the first two generations, women had shorn their subordinate status in the community and mainstream society, gradually becoming independent, liberated individuals. Whether as Protestant mission-home inmates, flappers in the 1920s, labor activists of the New Deal era, or fighter pilots during World War II, Chinese-American women overcame the barriers of sexism and racism and left their marks in history.

Yung contends that Chinese nationalism, Christianity, and acculturation into American life largely remolded women's attitudes toward gender roles and relations. For American-born women, Christianity and acculturation in particular transformed bound lives into unbound ones. Through their association with church, school, and the popular media, Chinese-American women culled values from the mainstream culture with which they could challenge traditional gender expectations. Women also took advantage of opportunities as they arose, such as new jobs in the entertainment and tourist industries during the Great Depression. During those hard times, working-class women toiling in the textile industry were protected from unemployment because of the sex-segregated nature of their labor.

Chinese-American women also threw themselves into the maelstrom of the Chinese republican movement and later into the fight against the Japanese invasion of mainland China. Many Chinese women, not unlike those in other ethnic groups, became involved in highly organized activities in the areas of fundraising, propaganda, civil defense, and medical work. The wartime period, Yung claims, was a turning point for many Chinese-American women. They gained confidence and experienced a heightened political consciousness, which they parlayed into social mobility and activism.

Yung, however, offers little analysis of the impact of such political involvement on the women's own sense of feminism and womanhood. She also delves little

into the conflict between Chinese patriotism and Americanism, a dilemma faced by both Chinese men and women of the interwar years. Another weakness of this monograph is the absence of any working-class women's perspective. The vast majority of the women treated in this book hailed from educated, middle-class backgrounds. Such an incomplete picture means that poverty and class barriers remain buried in a narrative where the actors' status moves almost entirely in a linear direction.

Despite these flaws, Yung's study is an invaluable addition to a growing body of literature on the contributions of Chinese-American women. Drawing on government documents, census data, records of Chinese-American organizations, missionary writings, local newspapers, and selected oral interviews, this book is the result of prodigious research and fairly thoughtful analysis.

BENSON TONG
Oberlin College

★ CHARLOTTE G. BORST. *Catching Babies: The Professionalization of Childbirth, 1870–1920*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 254. \$39.95.

Appearing on the front cover of Charlotte G. Borst's book are photographs of three middle-aged midwives attired in starched aprons, looking tidy, clean, and professional. This book is a carefully crafted exploration of such women and the transition from female birth attendants to male physicians over a fifty-year period. The overall tale may sound familiar, but this is an important study, for Borst provides solid evidence for accepted assumptions and pays special attention to gender and culture. Although the title fails to capture the specific nature of this community study of four Wisconsin counties, the particular here speaks to the general.

Borst offers new arguments and additional support for long-held perceptions of midwives, their patients, and the growing involvement of male doctors in obstetrics. Wisconsin's midwives found themselves increasingly marginalized by the late nineteenth century. Most of them were first-generation immigrant women, usually middle-aged mothers serving a limited number of patients in their own ethnic communities. Geographical location proved an important determinant in a woman's choice of attendant and in the patients whom a practitioner ultimately served. Although many midwives benefited from formal training by the late nineteenth century, their schools failed to legitimize midwifery as a true profession, and women were never able to gain enough control of these schools to enhance their credentials. By the turn of the century, more Americans began to admire the modern and scientific, and female midwives found they could not compete with professional male doctors; their more limited traditional skills became discredited.

The path that led Wisconsin physicians to adopt obstetrics as a medical specialty was a crooked one

and, as Borst demonstrates, cannot be explained by allegedly misogynistic doctors pushing female midwives out of the field. Until the turn of the century, medical schools showed little interest in offering obstetrical training; before 1900, most medical school graduates had never delivered a baby. By the early twentieth century, with the upgrading of medical education and stricter standards, doctors' ability and knowledge in the field increased. Physicians, however, found success by following different tracks. Some practiced obstetrics in urban hospitals; others built a practice in their own community among rural, parturient women who valued a familiar attendant. Yet even after they began to practice obstetrics, doctors' involvement varied, depending in part on whether they became specialists in the field or worked as general practitioners who also delivered babies. Not surprisingly, doctors with access to hospital facilities gradually acquired power and reputation.

This book is solidly researched, detailed, and carefully written. Borst depends on extensive primary materials, physicians' and hospital records, and numerous statistics and charts to prove her arguments. To clarify a point, she often employs comparative examples from Europe and other regions of this country. She carefully examines both sides of a question, never letting her conclusions leap ahead of her evidence or overlooking contradictions that might not fit. In this fine book, medicine, gender, and culture take center stage as determinants in the movement from female midwives to male professionals.

SALLY G. McMILLEN
Davidson College

KATHRYN KISH SKLAR. *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work: The Rise of Women's Political Culture, 1830–1900*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 436. \$35.00.

Kathryn Kish Sklar's biography of Florence Kelley constitutes the first in-depth study of this important reformer, whose career on behalf of women and children extended from the 1880s through the 1930s. In this first volume of a projected two, Sklar takes the story of Kelley's life through her involvement with Jane Addams and Hull House to her move to New York City in 1898 to live in Lillian Wald's Henry Street Settlement and serve as secretary to the new National Consumers' League.

Sklar details Kelley's childhood as the daughter of a reform-minded Pennsylvania congressman, William "pig-iron" Kelley, and her years at Cornell University and the University of Zurich. She covers Kelley's conversion to socialism, her troubled relationship with Friedrich Engels (who allowed her to translate his *Condition of the Working Class in England* into English), and her unhappy marriage to Russian expatriate and socialist Lazare Wischnewetzky. His abuse led Kelley to seek a divorce and asylum at Hull House, where, according to Sklar, she pressured Addams away

from "neighborly aid" toward changing "public policy" (p. 194).

In this volume, as in her previous articles on the subject of women and Progressive reform, Sklar continues her attempt to shore up the reputations of reformers like Kelley and Addams, often critiqued in recent analyses for promoting a "maternal feminism" that presumably attempted to enforce a middle-class, Anglo-American concept of domesticated womanhood on women of other classes and races and prevented the emergence of a progressive, European-style social welfare system that defined welfare as a right and not as dependence. On the contrary, Sklar views Kelley as consistently focused on forging cross-class alliances directed toward improving the conditions of work and life for working-class people. Avoiding any use of the term "maternal feminism," Sklar contends that these cross-class alliances of women were more successful in achieving their goals than the contemporary separate organizations of working-class and middle-class women and of those that men of these classes formed. (I assume she refers primarily to labor unions).

Even though Kelley's reform agenda in these years, with its emphasis on piecemeal legislation, has usually been viewed as a retreat from her Marxist past, Sklar argues that Marxist ideas like "surplus value" remained crucial to Kelley's thought and that her determination to turn the state into a positive instrument in the lives of working people was pathbreaking. The point is interesting, if debatable, although Sklar goes too far when she terms Kelley's office when she was Illinois Factory Inspector a "revolutionary stronghold" (p. 240).

Has Sklar overturned critical interpretations of Progressive women's cross-class organizations and their reform involvements advanced by scholars like Nancy Hewitt and Wendy Mink? Historians like me who have long admired Addams and Kelley for their innovative work will welcome Sklar's positive stance, but any final decision must await her second volume, when she deals with Kelley's mature career and her activities during the conservative 1920s and the reformist New Deal.

Sklar is passionate in defense of Kelley's reform stance, so passionate that one begins to suspect she has become too involved with her subject. Still, as a study of the interaction of an individual with the social trends of her time, the work is exemplary, if overly long and detailed. As biography, however, it is flawed: the passion and pathos of Kelley's life, her difficulties in dealing with a depressed mother, a driven father, an alcoholic brother, and the deaths of many siblings—in addition to an abusive husband—are slighted.

Yet combining the analytic perspective of social history with the introspective perspective of biography is extremely difficult, for the social matrix that surrounds the life of any major figure is complex; the individual can easily be lost in a sea of historical facts and interpretations. Still, Sklar is to be congratulated

for her interesting revisionist interpretation of women and Progressive reform.

LOIS W. BANNER

University of Southern California

HAROLD E. MAHAN. *Benson J. Lossing and Historical Writing in the United States, 1830–1890*. (Studies in Historiography, number 4.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1996. Pp. 142. \$52.95.

Is there a place for a good book on a rather minor historian? Yes, especially if, as with Harold E. Mahan's study, the work places the historian in the broader context of American historical writing and the social and cultural history of the time.

Mahan himself insists that his study "makes no pretension that Lossing was a great scholar" (p. 7). Noting that Lossing's reputation, considerable for a few years during his life, declined quickly, he writes: "But this study has wider goals than reviving Lossing's reputation or even tracing that reputation's history. Its aim is to assemble an intellectual biography of Lossing and to use his career to study how middle-class Americans of his time read, wrote, and thought about their nation's past" (p. 3). Elsewhere, more broadly, Mahan suggests: "A biography of Lossing can . . . serve as a prolegomenon to a richer but more elusive theme: the history of historical thought in American culture" (p. 8). In general, he accomplishes all this rather well.

Lossing's "greatest contribution to historical literature" (p. 95), according to Mahan, was his *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812* (1868). Other major works included what Mahan calls his most famous, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* (2 vols., 1850–1852); his first book, a failure according to Mahan, *Outline History of the Fine Arts* (1840); and such other books as *Seventeen Hundred and Seventy-six* (1847), *Our Countrymen; or, Brief Memoirs of Eminent Americans* (1855), *Our Country* (3 vols., 1875–1878), and *Pictorial History of the Civil War in the United States of America* (3 vols., 1866–1868). Mahan notes that Lossing wrote or edited over fifty books. Perhaps unfortunately, he chooses not to deal with the school histories, adult survey histories, and some biographical works. A full list of Lossing's works would also have been valuable.

Some of Lossing's early magazine writings revealed themes that concerned him throughout his career, including "reform (especially in education, women's rights and, to a lesser extent, temperance), biography, and history" (p. 18).

Mahan's final chapter, "More (or Less) Than an Historian? Lossing's Legacies," is valuable. He seeks to explain the rapid decline of Lossing's reputation after his death, especially among academic historians. Three factors predominate: Lossing often presented his information in ways that scholars found questionable; he "displayed such a fixation on patriotic themes that the past served mainly as an excuse for his Whiggish moralism" (p. 128); and he seemed increas-

ingly out of touch with new ideas such as historicism (p. 129). Lossing seemed to believe that "a truly successful work was one that buttressed love of country, recorded events accurately, and turned a profit" (p. 131). Increasingly, this became unacceptable not only among academics but to the general reading public as well.

Several small mistakes made their way into the book. Sometimes they are more than mere typographical errors. It is somewhat disconcerting, for example, to read that "Lossing sat few limits on the praise he gave to patriotic individuals" (p. 106). It is even more problematic when Mahan, on the very first page, discussing "scribblers and scholars," asks the question whether "the categories represent contested ground for all groups active in creating and dissimulating historical literature?" (p. 1) Surely, Mahan means disseminating.

Still, Mahan's study of Lossing is generally a good little book (little because, without white space and notes, the text would cover little more than eighty pages). It is a part of the Greenwood Press series *Studies in Historiography*.

DAVIS D. JOYCE
East Central University

GAIL BEDERMAN. *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. (Women in Culture and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 307. \$27.50.

Gail Bederman makes a signal contribution to our understanding of both racism and sexism at the turn of the twentieth century by examining their linkage in the then pervasive discourse of civilization, especially its understanding of the primitive. Less impressive is her final chapter on some recurrent groundings of masculinity in primitivism, where she concludes that race and gender have been too deeply interwoven to be disentangled.

Most of this book addresses the writings and activities of four very different historical figures: Ida B. Wells, journalist and anti-lynching activist; G. Stanley Hall, psychologist and educator; Charlotte Perkins Gilman, feminist theorist; and Theodore Roosevelt, reforming and imperialist president. Bederman makes no claim for their representativeness, rightly believing that their very diversity shows how central the discourse of civilization was at the turn of the century and how regularly it was applied to political causes.

Through precise and persuasive analysis of her four subjects' arguments and rhetoric, Bederman shows that this discourse could be manipulated in a variety of contradictory ways to construct what it meant to be a man and, in so doing, to establish or challenge male dominance and white supremacy. For example, Gilman appealed to Victorian ideas both of manly self-restraint and of the racial superiority of Anglo-Saxons; she argued that women of this most civilized "race" must be released from the morally degrading special-

ization in "sex activity" imposed by their economic dependence on men. Then they could fulfil their potential by joining as equals in "race activity" to progress toward a more perfect civilization. Gilman characterized Anglo-Saxon women's imposed dependence as "moral miscegenation," which perversely treated Anglo-Saxon women like the uncivilized Negro.

Wells, in her very different campaign to shame white men who accepted the lynching of black men, claimed that actual miscegenation by southern white men had made unchastity endemic in the region; such men begot depraved white daughters who seduced black men, and then watched them be murdered. Wells compounded the insult to southern whites by appealing to British reformers to help "civilize" their still brutal Anglo-Saxon counterparts in America. Roosevelt, apostle of "moral manliness—strength, altruism, self-restraint, and chastity," campaigned against white Anglo-Saxon "race suicide" through declining reproduction, but, as Bederman rightly suggests, he "may well have been ambivalent about unleashing so much new public affirmation of male sexuality" (p. 205).

Reinforcing her emphasis on the constant remaking of gender, Bederman notes major shifts in her four writers' perspectives and influence within her chosen period of time, 1880-1917. Hall's dream of "moving white American boys toward the super-man" (p. 106) by prolonging their adolescence collapsed when his Lamarckian recapitulation theory was discredited by Weismann's chromosomal theory of inheritance during the first decade of the new century. Wells's general strategy of appealing to the Victorian ideal of manliness as self-restraint became less effective as arguments for a more passionate masculinity—especially man as "naturally" violent—became more respectable, as did Gilman's interpretation of the advance of civilization as depending on the overcoming of "excessive masculinity."

Bederman's previous sensitivity to historical complexity and change makes her last chapter surprising. Here she considers a scattering of illustrations of celebration of primitive masculinity, from Edgar Rice Burroughs's *Tarzan of the Apes* (1912) to Robert Bly's *Iron John* (1990). Her purpose, apparently, is to show how Americans have continued to draw "upon the discourses of civilization and the primitive to remake and represent powerful manhood" (p. 232). Claiming that the Victorian white man's civilized self-mastery has increasingly been overshadowed by the "natural man's" primitive masculinity, Bederman seems to be suggesting that the remaking of male gender through most of the twentieth century has occurred largely through recurrent turns to "natural man" primitivism, as if there were no other major alternatives within the argumentative discourse. Except for Bly's book, her post-1920 illustrations are two movies, *The Sheik* (1921) and *On the Town* (1949).

Since Bederman emphasizes the constant remaking of gender and its relation to race in discourses of

civilization and the primitive, she should at least note the new and fundamentally different anthropological perspective on gender in Margaret Mead's bestsellers of the late 1920s and 1930s. In *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935), for example, Mead argued that "any idea that temperamental traits of the order of dominance, bravery, aggressiveness, objectivity, malleability, are inalienably associated with one sex (as opposed to the other) is entirely lacking" (p. xxii). More generally, I wonder why an epilogue that runs in time to Robert Bly avoids speaking, however briefly and tentatively, to the question of the relative importance or marginality of the turn-of-the-century discourse of civilization to post-1920s discussions of gender and race. Disappointment with the historical oversimplification of Bederman's concluding chapter should not detract from the achievement of the heart of her book, however.

CLYDE GRIFFEN
Vassar College

RICHARD T. HUGHES. *Reviving the Ancient Faith: The Story of Churches of Christ in America*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 1996. Pp. xiii, 448. \$30.00.

This is an excellent denominational history of Churches of Christ, one outgrowth of Alexander Campbell's and Barton Stone's nineteenth-century primitivist hopes for the restoration of first-century Christianity. Richard T. Hughes, who admirably balances an empathy born of his lifelong membership in the denomination with the standards of a professional historian, labored on this book for a decade and a half, and the result is a study both thoroughly researched and clearly written.

Churches of Christ was not recognized as a discrete entity until 1906, when the United States Census listed it separately from the Disciples of Christ, and therein begins an interpretive puzzle. Some earlier studies understood Churches of Christ as merely a "sectarian spin-off" (p. 17) from the Disciples over such issues as missionary societies and instrumental music, both of which Churches of Christ opposed. Hughes argues convincingly that the story is more complex and older than this. During the nineteenth century there "had seemed to be only one" movement (p. 17), but tensions existed within the Campbell-Stone family from the very start. The early twentieth-century division merely recognized or brought into fullness differences that been latent for fifty years.

For instance, both Stone and Campbell expected the restoration of first-century Christianity to be a basis for ecumenical unity. But differences in emphasis led to either sectarian or denominational outlooks. On the one hand, those convinced that they had already achieved a full restoration of primitive Christianity (and were therefore the only true church) drew apart from and condemned Protestants as well as Roman Catholics. On the other hand, however, those who

understood restoration as a long-term goal rather than a present reality thought of themselves as one denomination among many and eagerly engaged other Protestant groups in cooperative activity.

A second tension was between Stone's apocalyptic vision and Campbell's increasing faith in progress and American civilization. The apocalyptic world view, which here means "an outlook on life whereby the believer gives his or her allegiance to the kingdom of God, not to the kingdoms of this world, and lives as if the final rule of the kingdom of God were present in the here and now," contributed inexorably to a "countercultural lifestyle" (p. xii). Thus, nineteenth-century forebears of Churches of Christ, such as Tolbert Fanning and David Lipscomb, rejected the world; they disdained political participation, supported pacifism, attacked the power of wealth, and sympathized with the poor and downtrodden. The viewpoint was often, although not necessarily, coupled with premillennialism. Above all, it was inevitably sectarian, and Hughes finds it no surprise that this part of the movement gradually found that it had less and less in common with future Disciples of Christ who pursued the optimistic, postmillennial, acculturationist direction set out by Campbell in his later years.

Ironically, the moment Churches of Christ emerged as a separate body during the first decade of the twentieth century, it began a slow, divisive journey from sect to denomination. It ousted the premillennialist faction, abandoned pacifism and political aloofness, and lost its bias toward the poor. Its members became enthusiastic American patriots and consumers. They built impressive church edifices, organized a denominational bureaucracy, adopted modern business and fund-raising techniques, and expanded college enrollments (Abilene Christian and Pepperdine universities). Located primarily in the middle South and Southwest, they also left behind a nineteenth-century heritage of opposition to slavery and segregation and fell into line with sectional practices regarding race. The story is a powerful reminder of the pervasive influence of twentieth-century American nationalism, corporatism, and consumer culture. While conservative elements remained vocal, the book's final chapters also describe the work of a "progressive" faction that heralded the emergence, or perhaps reemergence, during the 1960s of a countercultural perspective seeking social justice, racial equality, gender equity, and an end to American militarism.

This volume should be extraordinarily valuable to members of the denomination; it can contribute to self-understanding and perhaps also—if Hughes's hopes are realized—to renewal. But this is not a narrowly conceived story, and professional historians with a wide variety of interests should find it equally engaging. Those motivated by the call for a redirection of nineteenth-century religious studies that Nathan Hatch issued in *The Democratization of American Christianity* (1989) will welcome this rich rendering of the Stone-Campbell movement. Other historians will

be more interested in the exchanges between white and African-American members of the denomination during the civil rights movement, the prominent role that class plays in the story, or the impact World War I had on a pacifist sect. Hughes links his story to a wide array of events and movements stretching from nineteenth-century utopianism and Scottish common-sense realism to the cultural upheavals of the 1960s and the electronic church of the 1990s. This is what will make the volume so fascinating and useful to a wide range of researchers.

CHARLES D. CASHDOLLAR
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

CHERYL J. SANDERS. *Saints in Exile: The Holiness-Pentecostal Experience in African American Religion and Culture*. (Religion in America.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 177. \$24.95.

It is a truism among historians of African-American religion that "sanctified" churches—the diverse assemblage of pentecostal, apostolic, and "storefront" churches that first emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—have yet to receive their scholarly due. The reasons are not far to seek. These churches have generated fewer written records than their "mainstream" Methodist and Baptist counterparts; they have played a less explicit political role; and the beliefs and hierarchies they enshrine have typically seemed more exotic, less comfortably familiar, to academic historians, few of whom have sanctified backgrounds. If such reasoning sounds familiar, it should: it is precisely the logic used a generation or two ago to rationalize the paucity of research on African Americans generally. To rectify this state of affairs, to accord sanctified churches their proper historical and sociological significance, constitutes the central challenge for the next generation of scholars of African-American Christianity.

Cheryl J. Sanders's book represents one in a small but growing number of studies that attempt to recover what she calls "the Holiness-Pentecostal experience" in African-American life. Sanders is uniquely positioned for the task. An associate professor at the Howard University School of Divinity, she is also an associate pastor of the Third Street Church of God in Washington, D.C. Combining her academic training with her insider's perspective, she has produced a provocative and wide-ranging, if sometimes problematic, introduction to the world of black saints.

Like C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya in their influential *The Black Church in the African American Experience* (1990), Sanders advocates a "dialectical" approach to African-American Christianity, structured in this case around the theme of exile. The sanctified experience, she argues, is defined by the saints' determination to be "in the world but not of it" (p. 3), to transcend not only the vices but the values and operating assumptions of the surrounding society. Each chapter is devoted to a specific "exilic dialectic."

The chapter on worship, for example, examines the counterpoint between "static" and "ecstatic" forms of experience in sanctified services (pp. 59–60). A chapter on institutional initiatives in the church explores the "dialectical tradition of protest and cooperation" (p. 91); a chapter on music traces the "dialectics of the sacred and the secular" (p. 124); and so forth.

At its best, this approach enables Sanders to engage with tensions and paradoxes in the sanctified experience while steering clear of the stereotypes and simplifications that plague so much popular and scholarly writing on African-American Christianity (including, preeminently, the tendency to collapse all black religious experience into political protest). At other times, however, "the dialectics of exile" operates more as a homiletical device than an analytical one, providing Sanders with a convenient rubric under which to discuss loosely related themes or issues. Thus chapter six, which ostensibly explores the dialectic of American and African identity, scarcely mentions Africa at all. It instead offers a fairly conventional review of the writings of "a select group of black intellectuals of the black consciousness era"—E. Franklin Frazier, James Baldwin, James H. Cone, and Howard Thurman, primarily—"whose works referenced in some way the black folk religion of the slave ancestors and/or the urban storefronts" (pp. 106, 118).

The end result is a book that is always thoughtful, sometimes illuminating, and often frustrating. All of the problems that preoccupy scholars of African-American Christianity—the social composition of different churches; the religious legacy of Africa; the sometimes bitter debates over appropriate forms of worship; problems of authority and hierarchy, including struggles over the role of women; the complex relationship between black and white evangelical churches—surface in the text, but none receives the kind of sustained attention that one would expect in a more conventionally historical or sociological work. In fairness to Sanders, this appears to be a deliberate decision on her part.

Repeatedly in the book, Sanders suggests that her concern is not with the conventional questions and categories of the dominant society, which are as apt to obscure the sanctified experience as to illuminate it, but rather with the meanings the historical actors themselves found in sainthood. Meanings, however, do not exist in a historical or sociological vacuum. They are constructed, contested, and inextricably bound up with the experience and circumstances of the historical subjects themselves. Questions about class and gender, the provenance of particular rituals, hierarchy, and struggles over doctrine may indeed be conventional, but they must be confronted if we ever hope to grasp the grail of meaning.

Sanders ends on a distinctly insider note, suggesting that sanctified Christianity can promote the kind of "totalistic life change" needed to alleviate "the nihilism of the black urban underclass and the identity crisis of the black middle class" (p. 148). Her own

Third Street Church, with its gospel choirs, prayer breakfasts, and assorted community-outreach programs, provides her model. Such a prescription is consistent with Sanders's portrayal of her subjects as agents in their own right, constructing their own autonomous worlds of meaning and action. It is also in keeping with the sanctified tradition itself, with its call to live as exiles, in but not of the world. Yet, paradoxically, it is a prescription that, in its valorization of the bourgeois verities and its embrace of contemporary underclass theory, suggests just how deeply implicated in this world the sanctified church remains.

JAMES T. CAMPBELL

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JAMES M. LINDGREN. *Preserving Historic New England: Preservation, Progressivism, and the Remaking of Memory*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 244. \$35.00.

This book by James M. Lindgren charts the history of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA). Founded in 1910 by Boston blueblood William Sumner Appleton, Jr., SPNEA (*spin-ee-uh* to those in the know) acquired more than twenty properties before 1930. Most of them were seventeenth and eighteenth-century buildings threatened by time, neglect, or the immigrant hordes pouring into old Yankee cities along the Eastern seaboard—as the Yankees themselves were moving to sleepy villages that seemed more in keeping with the authentic early American flavor of New England. A companion to Lindgren's history of the preservation movement in Virginia—*Preserving the Old Dominion: Historic Preservation and Virginia Traditionalism* (1993)—this volume concentrates on the northern version of a colonial revival that amounted to a national obsession between the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876 and the bicentennial of George Washington's birth in 1932.

In the North, ingrained habits of mercantile expediency led SPNEA to buy historic sites and, in many cases, to lease them back to business interests as tea rooms and offices. In the South, preservation was more genteel in character; historical and patriotic groups seemed content to designate the homes of heroes as sacred spots, regardless of whether they were suitable for commercial reuse. Lindgren argues that SPNEA represents a newer model of preservation. In contrast to earlier groups of gentlewomen whose interest in colonial houses and taverns was domestic and highly personal, Appleton and his followers introduced a male version of doing history professionally that was scientific (or pseudo-scientific), careerist, and business-oriented.

I am not at all sure Lindgren proves his point. He cites little evidence of precisely how a female-operated site differed from one of Appleton's in terms of the decor, the rituals enacted, and the response elicited from the guests. He omits discussion of important female popularizers of preservation in New England,

such as Mary Northend and Alice Morse Earle, and he does not consider the possibility that the kinds of enterprising women who undertook such tasks before the turn of the century had found more satisfying outlets for their professional abilities by 1910, whereas Appleton, a business failure, did not. But it is clear that something new was afoot in New England.

The politics of preservation are particularly interesting in Boston, where the Irish moved in as the Brahmins fled and a succession of shrewd Irish-American mayors looked on lovers of old buildings with the same affection they lavished on the British. In their eyes, the Appletons of the world were enemies of the people, bloated plutocrats, and impediments to progress. At the same time, however, preservationists less well connected than Appleton—Henry Ford, for one—believed that structures built by the founders of the republic were the best means of educating immigrants in citizenship, and many urban settlement houses opened in colonial or colonial-style buildings for that reason. As Lindgren's account of the restoration of the Paul Revere House shows, Appleton and other male preservationists also thought that the marks of craftsmanship visible on the oak framework of the American Tudor house bespoke a directness and a masculine vigor that served as a rebuke to modern times. SPNEA and organizations like it managed to be progressive and hopelessly old-fashioned all at once.

Lindgren takes great pains to connect SPNEA and Appleton to every "ism" and "ation" known to contemporary history: progressivism, industrialization, urbanization, modernization, consumerism, and antimodernism are all on the list. But the leap from the particular—a given historic house—to grand abstractions like these is made on wings of pure faith. The evidence, visual and artifactual, is often neglected in Lindgren's laudable drive to speak to historians rather than museum professionals, art historians, and antiquarians; he barely analyzes the houses he carefully illustrates. I was also annoyed by his habit of making off-hand references to persons properly introduced and discussed much later in the text and by his polite horror of objects manufactured for un-great homes of the period. These things and the "isms" create a text that caters to received academic wisdom about the history of the period. Nonetheless, the subject—the construction of history by material means to meet the needs of a particular constituency—is an important one, and it is clear that the buildings conserved by SPNEA deserve a careful second look.

KARAL ANN MARLING

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JAMES L. LELOUDIS. *Schooling the New South: Pedagogy, Self, and Society in North Carolina, 1880–1920*. (Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 338. \$39.95.

James L. Leloudis examines an important but familiar story: how schools were remade from community-managed into bureaucratically controlled institutions and how social efficiency and top-down management triumphed during and after the Progressive Era. What is more novel in Leloudis's study is his emphasis on the ideological changes accompanying the organizational ones: these placed children and individuals at the center of the school experience. A "pedagogy of self," Leloudis persuasively argues, underlay structural changes, and the educational experience was altered in the "crucial but largely unexplored transition from common school to graded school pedagogy" (p. xii).

Leloudis examines how this transformation occurred in North Carolina, where schools and social policy changed in the twentieth century as nowhere else in the South. Common schools—which were supported by a state system beginning in the 1830s—dotted the largely rural landscape of the state. There, schooling served a different role: children attended common schools to "learn their way around a densely personal world, not to make preparations for striking out of their own." Leloudis constructs an ethnography of common-school education that is both complex and sympathetic; his analysis seeks to understand how schools blended into what he calls "the rhythms of collective life" (p. 17). The emancipation of slaves, the expansion of a railroad network, the market revolution and commercialism, and the growth of towns and cities as magnets for economic and cultural life were all indicators of an emerging New South. By the 1880s, the "new education"—advocated by a younger generation of enthusiasts and including a structured, hierarchical, urban-oriented "graded" school—had arrived. Working in town schools in the state during the 1880s, graded school reformers, many of whom had attended the University of North Carolina in 1870s, aggressively advanced new methods of pedagogy and school organization.

Leloudis is careful to point out that not all North Carolinians embraced this program. Although many resented outside interference, most had reservations about what Leloudis calls "the New South vision of a society governed less by the authority of persons than by that of the marketplace" (p. 107). Leloudis describes how a Populist-Republican fusion coalition in the 1890s resisted graded school reform and attempted to reduce state involvement in education, especially higher education. Although one could question how much of this debate was rooted in the new education and how much in denominational support for private colleges, it is undeniable that the Fusion coalition provided an expression for anti-reform sentiment. After the Fusionists were thrown out of power in the wake of the notorious White Supremacy Campaign of 1898, reformers successfully pursued their agenda. With the help of grass-roots women's groups such as the Woman's Association for the Betterment of Public School Houses (WABPSH) and regional organizations such as the Southern Education Board (SEB), reform-

ers cajoled many communities across the state to raise local taxes, consolidate local school districts, and effect improvements in the physical structure and appearance of white schools. Women played a central part in these developments as teachers and organizers; despite the many obstacles of gender hierarchy, women realized an "unprecedented opportunity to take part in public life" (p. 145).

White reformers articulated an agenda that did nothing for black schools—not surprisingly, as the best African Americans could expect anywhere was a policy of benign neglect. After 1909, northern philanthropic organizations such as the General Education Board and the Julius Rosenwald Fund began a program of improvement for black education. By the 1920s, North Carolina boasted a Division of Negro Education that was a part of the state school bureaucracy, and it promoted an ambitious program of black school modernization in the South. But North Carolina's program functioned within a structure of obvious inequities undergirded by white racism. Northern philanthropy and its southern white allies improved black schools only under conditions of white control. Leloudis concludes that black people adopted a "strategy of survival" that accepted "the reality of white rule but at the same time searched the crevices of white supremacy for every opportunity for black power and self determination" (p. 180).

Although this is a skillfully written and conceived work, it leaves some questions unanswered. Leloudis is careful to account for the voices of parents in the 1880s and 1890s, but those voices fall silent in the twentieth century. Did parents respond to consolidated schools in the same way that they had earlier to graded schools? The complicated structural changes of the twentieth century receive reduced coverage and less subtlety than Leloudis provides in his description of the nineteenth-century common school system. Much more should be said about how the actual process of modernization transpired, though this began in earnest during and after the 1920s and is beyond the purview of this study. Nonetheless, Leloudis's book is essential reading for students of the historical role of schools in American society, of the dynamics between reformers and the reformed, and of the emergence of the New South.

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STEVEN NOLL. *Feeble-Minded in Our Midst: Institution for the Mentally Retarded in the South: 1900–1940*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 254. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

The institutionalization of the mentally retarded in the South during the first four decades of the twentieth century, as Steven Noll so well describes it for the first time, is a story essentially of failure. As he demonstrates in this study of public policy and its outcomes,

the impetus for the introduction of institutions for the "feeble-minded" in the South came from northern philanthropic foundations, most notably the Rockefeller and Russell Sage Foundations, which helped finance programs to enable the backward South to deal with all sorts of social and medical problems. But such an expectation was unrealistic, and not only because of the region's widespread poverty. In the case of the mentally retarded, the message the reformers presented to southern leaders was unclear and even contradictory. Many reformers considered the more capable mentally defective as deviants, the source of much of the violence and social dependency in American society. Such a view justified southern politicians and public officials in adopting as their primary goal the protection of society by isolating the mentally deficient within institutions. This goal, however, conflicted with another of the reformers' objectives, that of designing the institutions as training grounds to enable the mentally retarded to work in the community and thus be economically independent. The institutions would also care humanely for persons so feeble-minded that they could not function in society in any capacity.

As things worked out, a bare custodialism won the day: the new institutions were dreary, underfinanced warehouses for the poor. This disappointing result, Noll shows, was almost inevitable, considering that leaders of southern society were traditionally unsympathetic to social programs and northern foundation officials were not inclined to combat southern racism and class prejudice.

The one active policy acceptable to southern politicians was sterilization. In this they had support from the prevailing "best," that is, northern, science of the time, which saw all "deviants," including mentally ill and mentally retarded "criminals," as having an inherited, genetic defect. Since this presumably innate trait was irremediable, the only solution was to ensure that the carriers would not reproduce. The new eugenics movement proposed compulsory sterilization, which was eagerly adopted in the South. Resistance would be minimal to non-existent, especially when the targets were mainly lower-class people, although some liberals did protest. Ironically, mentally deficient black persons, though subject to sterilization in other venues, escaped it in institutions for the feeble-minded, from which they were, by consensus in the segregated South, excluded. Apparently fear of the mentally defective could not override racial bias.

As good and revealing as Noll's book is, it would have benefited from a more comparative approach. Conditions for the mentally retarded were bad all over; the South was a more egregious and more racist and class-ridden case. Except to some extent during cyclical periods of reform and humanitarianism, lower-class Americans with enduring mental and physical disabilities have had a hard time in our market driven, competitive, success-oriented society. That has been true all over the country, albeit to varying degrees,

which Noll's pioneering study of the South points up so poignantly.

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WILLIAM D. ROWLEY. *Reclaiming the Arid West: The Career of Francis G. Newlands*. (American West in the Twentieth Century.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 199. \$27.50.

Senator Francis G. Newlands of Nevada has always seemed an interesting anomaly in Progressive Era politics. A nationalist Democrat who believed in a vigorous and activist federal government, his support for irrigation for the arid West produced the landmark Newlands Reclamation Act of 1902. His work on the Inland Waterways Commission of 1907-1908 and his advocacy of national planning for river development during the Wilson years enhanced his historical reputation as a creative and neglected political figure. Despite the large body of his personal papers at Yale University, Newlands has eluded biographers until William D. Rowley produced this short, incisive account of his life.

Although sympathetic to Newlands and very well researched, the book suggests that Newlands's historical obscurity has been deserved. He was a virulent racist who wanted to take the vote away from blacks who were, he said, "a race of children" (p. 142). He joined southern Democrats in advocating the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1912 because it was "poison in the Constitution" (p. 154). Rowley brings out the reprehensible aspects of Newlands's thought with commendable clarity and force.

Aiming to improve Nevada and make the state a model of progressive democracy, Newlands found himself drawn into the squalid corruption of local politics. Rowley shows how often a rhetorically reluctant Newlands conquered his scruples and laid out the hard cash that Nevada's acquisitive editors and politicians demanded for their opinions and votes. With his fine homes and opulent lifestyle, Newlands may have told himself that he was above the muck of the real Nevada, but Rowley's careful account shows otherwise. Newlands's impact on the state, wrote a Nevadan in 1913, was "more constructive than real" (p. 168).

Newlands was not much of a United States senator either. Addicted to long and tedious orations that he distributed as pamphlets, he emptied the chamber when he rose to speak. Remaining senators caught up on their correspondence while Newlands droned on. From the evidence that Rowley presents, Newlands did little to build legislative coalitions with his fellow Democrats. In 1912, Newlands harbored improbable dreams of being a compromise presidential candidate if Champ Clark and Woodrow Wilson deadlocked at the Democratic National Convention. During the debates over the Underwood Tariff in 1913, the cosmopolitan and sophisticated Newlands dutifully voted to

protect the woolgrowers and sugar beet farmers of Nevada from the rigors of free trade.

The most rewarding parts of the book trace Newlands's rise in California and his connections with the wealthy and lecherous William Sharon and his family. In the court cases that dogged Sharon, Newlands learned the arts of bribery and double-dealing that prepared him for the tawdry political environment of Nevada. Rowley only makes passing allusions to Newlands's even less-principled successors such as Senator Patrick McCarran. Yet reading about Newlands's unsavory methods and his grandiloquent dreams for his adopted state evokes another notorious name in Nevada's inglorious past. With his Gatsby-like qualities and nefarious political techniques, Newlands helped to make Nevada a congenial home for Bugsy Siegel and his Mafia colleagues three decades later when they also sought to transform the deserts of Nevada into a polity where their personal dreams of power and wealth could come true.

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CHRISTOPHER SHANNON. *Conspicuous Criticism: Tradition, the Individual, and Culture in American Social Thought, from Veblen to Mills*. (New Studies in American Intellectual and Cultural History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 211. \$38.00.

In this densely written volume, Christopher Shannon, a communitarian Catholic with a strong animus against the Enlightenment, offers us a relentless critique of the liberal tradition in American social science. Resembling John P. Diggins's recent assault on American pragmatism, Shannon's polemic shares Diggins's distaste for the liberal faith that social science can uncover historical truth and shape humane and reasonable social policies.

Unlike Diggins, Shannon has little use for "the master trope of irony" (p. 133) or the neo-orthodoxy of Reinhold Niebuhr. Making no pretense to scholarly or historical detachment, Shannon declares his allegiance to theistic absolutism from the start. This position affords him a refreshingly honest vantage point from which to conduct a serial deconstruction of selected texts by Thorstein Veblen, John Dewey, Ruth Benedict, Helen Lynd and Robert Lynd, and C. Wright Mills. The book is saved from being a screed against modernism by a thoughtful exploration of the unavoidable ethical and conceptual dilemmas thrown up in the works of these writers by the explosive growth of capitalism.

Shannon contends that the efforts of social scientists to understand and contain the centrifugal forces of the market and to compensate for its destruction of traditional, pre-capitalist communities have failed. Even the cultural organicism of Dewey and Benedict succumbed to the individualistic ethos of the marketplace.

They and other like-minded progressives continued to "figure" the Enlightenment problem of the individual's relation to society in terms that implicitly justified market relations and reinforced the Protestant work ethic.

According to Shannon, the notion of culture shared by all these writers as "a mode of critical self-consciousness" (the "conspicuous criticism" of Shannon's title) helped to extend commodification into "the most intimate aspects of people's lives" (p. xi). With this bourgeois tradition of cultural criticism, "as with capitalism, all that is solid melts into air" (p. 25), quips Shannon, whose main concerns are those presumably solid traditions customarily received in houses of worship and the family.

Thus, Veblen's study of craftsmanship in *The Instinct of Workmanship* (1914) and the Lynds's explorations of work and leisure in *Middletown* (1929) adopted an abstract concept of work that simply "reproduce[d] the dominant conception of labor under industrial capitalism" (p. 38). Meanwhile, cultural critics like Benedict and Mills quite explicitly presumed to rise above history and tradition to understand and manage the material determinants of social life. In doing so, they took on the guise of the autonomous subject promoted in classical political economy. If rational economic man was the "old" individual of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), the reasonable, yet relativist anthropologist sorting through "all the particular cultures deprived of authority" (p. 104) was the "new" individual of Benedict's *Patterns of Culture* (1934).

Shannon's chapters on the Lynds are the most effective, perhaps because their application of sociological method was so transparent. His attempts to find an equally simplistic version of the social scientific ethos in Benedict's work or Dewey's *Individualism Old and New* (1930) are less convincing. Like Diggins, Shannon attacks texts with explicitly stated disregard for their historical context or genealogy. And although he does not select authors or writings arbitrarily, the lack of context allows him to offer distorted interpretations that serve his overall argument. So, for example, it is only Shannon's indifference to Dewey's psychological works that allows him to read Dewey's organicism as "ow[ing] more to a 'mechanical' conception of history rooted in economics than an 'organic' conception of evolution rooted in biology" (p. 85).

In that particular case, Dewey's polemic served Shannon's own, and perhaps that is justice. In the end, however, many readers will find that Shannon's theism stands in the way of an unprejudiced view of history. This book is not simply anti-individualist; it is anti-Protestant. For Shannon, an apostate social scientist's only recourse is one of the "great surviving traditions of the premodern West: orthodox Judaism, Roman Catholicism, the Orthodox churches, and Islam" (p. 188). And although he styles his critique "distinctively" Roman Catholic, one wonders that he might not simply have picked some other absolutist vantage point from which to make his case. That problem of choice is

not all that different from Benedict's sorting out of cultures. For those of us not born into a "great" tradition, we may very well have to fall back on our sociological imaginations.

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ROGER A. FISCHER. *Them Damned Pictures: Explorations in American Political Cartoon Art*. North Haven, Conn.: Archon. 1996. Pp. xiv, 253. \$37.50.

Few academic historians have analyzed American political cartoon art. An exception is Roger A. Fischer, whose book focuses on several major aspects of the art from the golden age of the late nineteenth century to the 1990s. Fischer first analyzes the major work of Thomas Nast of *Harper's Weekly* and the cartoonists of *Puck* and *Judge* magazines, who set the standard for Gilded Age political cartooning. Their work was biting, powerful, and imaginative. It bordered on the unethical in viciously attacking political corruption, Roman Catholicism, and rural radicalism, which gave credence to the assertion that "cartoonists would be hired assassins if they couldn't draw" (p. xiii). The influential Nast manufactured villainous images of Boss William Tweed of Tammany Hall, who soon personified political urban corruption in the late nineteenth century. Nast in turn probably became the only political cartoonist savaged by peers, who caricaturized him as an organ grinder's monkey seeking artistic expression from spittoons.

Fischer believes that Gilded Age political cartooning contributed to the demise of the so-called Tweed Ring; the defeat of 1884 Republican presidential candidate James G. Blaine, portrayed as a tattooed man marked from head to toe with scandals and impropriety; and the undermining of Populism, with Senator William Peffer symbolically featured as a demented "rustic Rasputin" or "droll dimwit," sporting a beard that reached to his clodhoppers (p. 64). Fischer also devotes essays to cartoons published in *Judge* and *Puck* by "filler" cartoonists paid to fill the empty white spaces. This Gilded Age work made light of the stereotypical shortcomings of ethnic and racial minorities by portraying blacks as "artful idlers," Jews as shylocks, and the Irish as dimwitted drunkards (p. 82). Cartoonists more menacingly caricaturized Native Americans as either bloodthirsty barbarians or filthy reservation degenerates.

Studying political cartoon art tells us much about the culture of the time, Fischer contends. That the best of Gilded Age cartooning relied so much on references to the Bible, classical mythology, Shakespeare, and other literary sources, moreover, speaks well of the cultural literacy of the period. By contrast, political cartooning in our own time has to depend much more on popular culture to convey its messages to readers who are often cultural illiterates. Yet Fischer contends that a renaissance in political cartoon art has occurred since the 1960s. Fueled by Vietnam, Watergate, and campus

culture, gifted cartoonists such as Mike Peters, Doug Marlette, and Pat Oliphant have surpassed the creative brilliance of their Gilded Age peers. A major difference is the lack of respect they have received because of the lessening impact of the print media.

To show the differences in approach and style, Fischer focuses on themes that span the two epochs. In "The Lucifer Legacy," he concentrates on Boss Tweed and Richard Nixon as coming the closest to epitomizing sleaze in editorial cartoon art. He utilizes cartoons portraying Nixon's double V and "I am not a crook" trademarks on such contemporary topics as Whitewater or liberalism. Unlike Nast's work on Tweed, modern cartoonists rarely have to resort to wholesale invention. In "Liberty," Fischer depicts how the Statue of Liberty has evolved in cartoon art from oddity to patriotic icon, and, more recently, to "a vehicle for irreverent iconoclasm" and a symbolic challenge to Americans to live up to the nation's ideals (p. 164). In "The 'monumental' Lincoln," Fischer traces how the Lincoln monument had first symbolized political integrity before becoming a more irreverent symbol in our own time. Missing from Fischer's book, perhaps because of copyright restrictions, are Herblock illustrations, including those portraying Nixon as a sewer-dwelling demagogue.

Fischer, the author of books on Gilded Age politics and the material culture of American presidential campaigns, has produced a superb work. His more than one hundred illustrations add much to the study. So, too, does a felicitous style that makes it not only informative but entertaining. The book's strength lies in its nineteenth-century coverage, where the author's mastery stands out. Then and now, political cartoons have played a significant part in reinforcing and building on our prior beliefs, values, and prejudices.

JAMES N. GIGLIO
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DAVID ROBINSON. *From Peep Show to Palace: The Birth of American Film*. Foreword by MARTIN SCORSESE. New York: Columbia University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 213. \$29.50.

A microcosm of academe, cinema studies consists of specialists invested in defining fields narrowly: film historians who study film language and/or institutions but ignore social context; theoreticians who privilege continental theory but eschew archival research; Americanists who construct narratives affirming agency but oversimplify issues of representation. David Robinson's work is being marketed as an effort to address multiple readers: the crossover university press book partially funded by the Library of Congress and issued with a jacket and color plates.

Advertised with incongruous feminist works as part of Columbia's Film and Culture Series, Robinson's book features an introduction by James H. Billington and a foreword by Martin Scorsese to attract crossover readers. Granted, it provides a clearly written sum-

mary of early film history up to 1913, with many fascinating, well-placed, and well-captioned illustrations. But it lacks a conceptual framework, is too abbreviated, and has minimal citations.

Robinson begins by giving a useful account of the invention of motion picture cameras and projectors. Although Thomas Edison looms large in this narrative, controversy about his work as an inventor, showman, and businessman is unmentioned. But since Robinson concentrates on technological evolution, he illustrates in a most informative chapter the extent to which early cinema was indebted to the magic lantern slide in technology, content, and visual style.

Further attention to the intertextuality of cultural forms would have provided a more accurate assessment of early cinema as a novelty. The halftone revolution, Jacob Riis's social photography, and American fascination with travel to exotic places, for example, did anticipate news films. Similarly, the popularity of novels and stage productions about the frontier, not to mention Wild West shows, render the success of *The Great Train Robbery* (1903) less unique than is claimed. Also, the demand for increasing realism in early cinema was part of a cultural practice involving representations in several related media, not just the theater.

The rest of Robinson's book provides brief summaries of the rise of the nickelodeon, rivalry between the Motion Picture Patents Company and the Independents, the career of D. W. Griffith—whose place in film history has been secured by access to Biograph films at the Library of Congress, Museum of Modern Art, and New York University as well as by his achievements—and the production of multireel features showcased in movie palaces. Robinson mentions many film titles but declines to engage in either textual analyses or discussion of their social import. Certainly there were more social problem films that dealt with class issues than he acknowledges. A final chapter provides an overview of famous names in production and early exhibition practices. In short, there is much interesting data but not much interpretation.

Robinson does not acknowledge, for example, most of the work of recent film historians, with the exception of the uneven first three volumes of *The History of American Cinema* (1994), so that his conclusion regarding the nickelodeon audience is questionable. A subject still hotly debated, early cinema audiences in different venues may or may not have been middle-class, depending on how the middle class is defined during the transformative decades of the early twentieth century. Also oversimplified is the response of Progressive Era reformers to motion pictures. But in all fairness to Robinson, most film historians are not interested in social history, although the field demands an interdisciplinary approach.

In sum, this is a crossover book addressed to an educated but not scholarly audience and is thus informative about the economics of university presses. As

such, it has been published just in time for an event like the Pordenone Film Fair.

SUMIKO HIGASHI

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Brockport

JANET STAIGER. *Bad Women: Regulating Sexuality in Early American Cinema*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 226. \$18.95.

If Sigmund Freud was understandably baffled by the question of what it is that women want, Janet Staiger has undertaken a far more daunting inquiry: deciphering the complex interplay between female desire and the culture in which that desire was expressed through an examination of the discourse employed by early American cinema to regulate female sexuality. Her thoroughly and imaginatively researched study makes a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the period, seeking to explicate how, in circumscribing female sexuality, the early cinema became a site at which women discussed their own sexuality in terms that revealed not merely the dimensions of the new womanhood but also tensions with respect to female sexuality that pervaded the culture at large.

Staiger's work differs from that of such predecessors as Lea Jacobs (*The Wage of Sin: Censorship and the Fallen Woman Film, 1928–1942* [1991]) and Annette Kuhn (*Cinema, Censorship, and Sexuality, 1909–1925* [1988]), who focused on film censorship, and Miriam Hansen, who considered gendered spectatorship, (*Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* [1991]), in that Staiger undertakes a far more ambitious exploration, examining the “repeal of reticence” (p. 3) that permitted freer public discourse on sexuality, the evolution of a new womanhood, the emergence of consumer culture, and the white-slavery panic that gripped the nation in the 1910s. Staiger is able to demonstrate how the cinematic debates over the representation of female sexuality reflected American society's profound ambivalence about women's shift from the private sphere, hallowed by the cult of true womanhood, into the public sphere, marked by the inception of consumer culture.

Although Staiger's work is theoretically sophisticated, unfortunately its prose is needlessly turgid, with the text littered by sentences like: “In summary, the function of this book is to contribute toward a historical understanding of discursive constructions of woman as a cultural sign” (p. xvii) littering the text. She becomes so mired in her own critical jargon that she fails to note an irony imbedded in her own work: that many of the films that she claims have “bad women” as their subjects pay little attention to them or refuse to view them as truly evil, instead using portraits of such females as a vehicle for discussing other cultural issues.

All three of the feature-length films Staiger selects as case studies “because they are well known by scholars [and] . . . feature *Bad Women* as protagon-

nists" (p. xvi) have agendas far more significant than their concern with fallen womanhood. *Traffic in Souls* (1913), directed by George Loane Tucker, pays scant attention to the errant sister, who exists solely in her status as foolish victim and white slave; the film is far more concerned with the new womanhood of her sister Mary and the evils of business corruption that permit the existence of white slavery. *A Fool There Was* (1915), directed by Frank Powell, concentrates on the moral decline of the foolish male victim, tracing his demise, but the vamp is an unreconstructed social climber who remains unchanged despite the alterations of the plot. Cecil B. DeMille's *The Cheat* (1915), purportedly about a foolish wife who must pay for her financial indiscretions with her virtue, alters the conventions of melodrama, as Marshall Deutelbaum has noted in *The Rivals of D. W. Griffith* (1976), by making the villain rather than his victim the moral center of the film: "Though evil himself in his insistence that the wife must abide by her word to become his mistress, the very inflexibility of his perverted moral position ultimately causes the moral regeneration of the other characters" (*Rivals*, p. 46).

Staiger is convincing in her argument that the cinematic regulation of female sexuality, originally intended to promote conventional behavior among women, actually promoted conflict and debate over that sexuality and the emergence of a new womanhood. She neglects, however, the fact that the "bad women" often were not the dramatic or moral center of the films she alleges were made about them; instead, their images were used to explore a wide variety of cultural tensions resulting from urbanization, modernization, cultural pluralism, and the emergence of consumer culture. "Bad women," then, were not simply good subjects but also served to spark much wider cultural debates.

LESLIE FISHBEIN
Rutgers University

RAMONA CURRY. *Too Much of a Good Thing: Mae West as Cultural Icon*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1996. Pp. xxii, 217.

"Why don't you come up and see me sometime?" The line, uttered by countless numbers of Americans, almost always brings a smile, a chuckle, and immediate association with Mae West. Born in 1892, West hit the vaudeville stage as the "Baby Vamp" at the tender age of fourteen. In the 1920s, Broadway reviews such as *Sex*, *Drag*, and *Diamond Lil* established her reputation as a liberated, sexually aggressive female who publicly celebrated sex for fun and pleasure. In 1933, her first two starring vehicles, both written by West, *She Done Him Wrong* (dir. Lowell Sherman) and *I'm No Angel* (dir. Westley Ruggles), were filled with the sexual innuendo and witty double entendre that became her signature. Both films delighted and infuriated millions of Americans. West soon became the target of industry

and religious censors, who put an end to her Hollywood career by 1943.

The censors did not end West's career, they only forced a change in venue. For more than four decades, she continued to entertain Americans with her humorous, often campy, vampy, and trashy view of sex, playing herself on radio, television, and on the stage in a continuous self-parody of her earlier career. When her appearance as Eve on Edgar Bergen's radio program in 1937 caused a national uproar, West found herself banned from the radio as well as the screen. Undaunted by priggish censors, she continued to tour with her own troupe and perform on stage in the city that worshipped camp, Las Vegas. By the 1960s, West was no longer threatening to mainstream culture. She was able to make cameo appearances on television shows such as *The Perry Como Show* and even playfully seduced a horse on *Mister Ed*. Finally, after a twenty-seven year absence, she returned to the screen in the 1970s in *Myra Breckinridge* (dir. Michael Sarne, 1970) and *Sextette* (dir. Ken Hughes, 1978).

Ramona Curry's book is an attempt to explain the phenomenon of West as an icon of American popular culture. Curry has not written a traditional biography but instead uses a variety of critical theories of media, including star studies, textual analysis, and feminist-inflected psychoanalytic theory to dissect West's appeal at various times in her career to heterosexual men and women and her status as a sexual icon for the gay community.

Curry argues, not surprisingly, that West's early Hollywood career as a happy sexually liberated woman was simply too powerful for the males who controlled Hollywood and that she was sacrificed to the "institutions that had helped create her as a sign" (p. 77). It was that very image, however, of a person who enjoyed sex, who welcomed and incorporated a wide variety of sexual lifestyles into her act, that made West so appealing to a widely diverse audience. Although her image as a person with transgressive desire made her a popular icon in the gay community, it also resulted in periodic banishment from more mainstream media forums such as radio and film.

West's reappearance on the screen in 1970 generated little controversy among the public consumers of media, but it resulted in a raging debate in academic and critical-theory circles. West as an eighty-year-old sex symbol was greeted as a travesty on female dignity by many feminist critics. Curry argues that their reactions reveal more about the critics' own biases about age and sexual appeal than about West. That may be so. A major point of the book, however, is that only by combining critical methodologies can one understand the appeal of West as icon to diverse groups over an extended period of time. Who you are determines how you see an icon like West.

The book will be useful for social historians with a

background in media theory. It will not appeal to other historians.

GREGORY D. BLACK
University of Missouri,
Kansas City

ALBERT ABRAMSON. *Zworykin, Pioneer of Television*. Foreword by ERIK BARNOUW. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 319. \$36.95.

This can be a useful book for someone researching the development of the central electronic hardware involved in the creation of the television industry in the United States, and it will be an essential book for anyone seeking to understand the role of Vladimir Zworykin in that development. It is based on, and displays, Albert Abramson's very extensive and intensive research, including careful examination of materials not readily available and interviews with a large number of those involved in the work. The writing is generally clear, with one important qualification—which is also the reason why the book's value is primarily limited to a particular kind of reader. Abramson discusses the design, trial, redesign, and retrial of specific items of technology, particularly television cameras and receivers, in great detail; however, the nature of the items, and most of the details, are only cursorily presented. There are many illustrations of objects as well as people, but few of them illustrate anything about how something worked. To understand much of what is presented, one has to already know most of the relevant electronic and materials science and engineering.

After reviewing Zworykin's background, Abramson concentrates on specifying as exactly as possible what Zworykin did regarding television technologies, when, and with whom. It is important to realize that far more than Zworykin's own work is actually presented, because even labeling his various efforts and successes requires this broader review. It demands identifying exactly what ideas and devices were available from others, and when, as well as precise comparisons and contrasts with work by others that has been seen as equivalent. This automatically brings up a variety of priority disputes. It also means that organizational and business contexts are constantly apparent, but these are addressed almost exclusively in terms of their effects on the direction, support, or limitation of Zworykin's work.

Abramson also demonstrates some larger points that historians often miss in dealing with technology. Most major technologies were not invented by someone; rather, a considerable number of people had significant parts in an overall process. Zworykin was crucial to this story, yet he is well described here as a pioneer, not the inventor, of television; both the article and the noun matter. Furthermore, manufacturing and materials figure greatly in invention, not just innovation. The reader can see clearly that what may be a fine design in principle or prototype is not much of an

invention if it can not be produced reliably, routinely, and affordably. Abramson's presentation also makes clear that accounts of technical development that rely on patents and the press can be defective as well as deficient.

KEITH A. NIER
Thomas A. Edison Papers

RICK SZOSTAK. *Technological Innovation and the Great Depression*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1995. Pp. xii, 367. \$65.00.

Historians have long borrowed theories and methodologies from the social sciences. In recent years these disciplines have begun their own turn to history. In this study, Rick Szostak sets out to convince other economists that the dynamics of capitalist development can only be understood through the detailed analysis made possible by historical research. He does this by seeking to demonstrate that a detailed, industry-by-industry analysis can produce a more adequate explanation for the severity of the Great Depression than the macro-economic theories heretofore applied to the problem. In the process, he has produced a book whose general approach and arguments will be of some interest to historians.

Szostak structures his book into two parts. In the first, "Theoretical Considerations," he briefly outlines his theoretical approach, analyzes the shortcomings in those used by other economists, and then provides a more detailed explication of his theory and its explanation for the severity of the Depression. Because he is writing for other economists, Szostak assumes a familiarity with elements of these theories that may make this difficult slogging for those not trained in economic theory. Nonetheless, he does produce a useful overview. In the second half of the book, Szostak summarizes the historical research that provides the empirical data for his theory. In doing so, he once again provides a useful summary of a large literature, chiefly drawn from economic history and the history of technology and business, on the industrial sectors that made up the American economy between the turn of the century and the period immediately following World War II.

Szostak argues that the neoclassical tradition, by focusing on aggregate trends, fails to comprehend dynamics of capitalist development that are "less amenable to the precise tools of mathematics" (p. 315). As a result, they ignore what he considers the most important dynamic, technology, because it is so unpredictable. In making this argument, Szostak offers a telling critique of the one economic theorist who has paid the most attention to technological forces. Although Joseph Schumpeter focused on the role of entrepreneurial innovation in the emergence of new products and industries, he failed to account for the inventive activity that gave rise to new products and did not distinguish product innovation from process innovation (*Business Cycles* [1939]). These two factors,

the rate of technological innovation and the different effects of new products and processes, are for Szostak the crucial determinants for the course of the Great Depression.

According to Szostak, the key industrial sectors of the 1920s—automobiles, electrical supply, and radio—had not only saturated their markets but had encouraged labor-saving process innovations in “electrification, assembly lines and continuous processing [that] induced the largest decadal increase in labor productivity the country had ever seen” (p. 6). This extensive, technology-induced underemployment was exacerbated by the dearth of new product innovation that could have produced growth in new industries to absorb excess labor from the declining industries. He argues that the failure of new products to emerge in the late 1920s and 1930s was not the consequence of entrepreneurial failure but rather the result of a technological lag. The innovations that helped spark the postwar boom—airplanes, television, plastics, and pharmaceuticals—were not ready to be exploited earlier.

Citing recent work in the history of technology, Szostak attributes this delay at least in part to the rise of industrial research laboratories that initially focused on process and minor product innovations and that may well have attracted scarce human resources and capital that might otherwise have gone to independent inventors developing new technologies. Furthermore, the necessary base of scientific and technological knowledge was not capable until the 1930s of producing the kinds of breakthroughs that would generate the postwar boom. It was for this reason that the severe underemployment in declining sectors of the economy in the 1920s was not offset by growth in new industries. Although Szostak is careful to note that his theory of technological innovation does not address all of the reasons for the economic downturn, he does believe that it provides the explanation for the severity and extent of the downturn as well as for the slowness of recovery.

Throughout the book, Szostak is primarily concerned with convincing economic historians of the usefulness of his approach. He is careful to note how it fits into the “general equilibrium framework” (p. 3) of macroeconomics and the need for further sector-by-sector research to refine his estimates. This task, he believes, is a job for economic historians, and he urges them to provide the same kind of detailed analysis for the post-World War I economy that they have for the period extending back to the Industrial Revolution. In his conclusion, Szostak argues that economic historians rather than mainstream economists are best suited to develop new theoretical approaches for the study of economic growth. He also contends that they should make this subject the focus of their work and pursue it through interdisciplinary research in order to provide essential knowledge for economics and other disciplines. Szostak’s conclusion, like the rest of his book, is largely an argument about the role of economic history

within the economics profession. Whether economic historians locate themselves as squarely as Szostak does in that discipline is debatable, but they will probably be the ones most interested in the details of his approach. Other historians will find his general conclusions most stimulating.

PAUL ISRAEL

Rutgers University

KENNETH FINEGOLD and THEDA SKOCPOL. *State and Party in America's New Deal*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 342. Cloth \$54.00, paper \$19.95.

In a dense monograph, Kenneth Finegold and Theda Skocpol, two prominent practitioners of historical social science, take us back to the origins of the New Deal. Relying on the available secondary literature, they explore the development of the National Recovery Administration (NRA) and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA). They employ what they describe as a “historical, institutionalist, state and party centered approach” (p. iv) toward explaining these two agencies. The chief things that need to be explained are the success of the AAA and the failure of the NRA. In essence, Finegold and Skocpol argue that “both farmers and agricultural experts were, so to speak, ‘state broken’ well before the New Deal launched its planning efforts” (p. 61). They point out that similar forms of administrative capacity did not exist in the industrial sector. For these reasons, along with many others that the authors carefully detail, the AAA “addressed longstanding problems of American agriculture; the NRA created new problems for American industry” (p. 112). Farmers got higher prices for their commodities and an enduring relationship with the federal government; industrialists got the Wagner Act and a relationship with the federal government that forever thereafter made almost any form of industrial policy suspect.

Having explained the early New Deal on their own terms, Finegold and Skocpol then engage in an extended evaluation of other approaches for understanding the evolution of public policy. Not surprisingly, they find deficiencies in the pluralist, Marxist, elite, and public choice perspectives. What these approaches appear to lack is a proper appreciation of the historical context giving rise to particular governmental and political institutions. In a brief concluding section, the authors make an explicit appeal for the proper use of history as a means toward understanding modern policy choices. Indeed, the conclusion reads a bit like Ernest May’s and Richard Neustadt’s *Thinking in Time* (1986).

Historians will no doubt be grateful for Finegold’s and Skocpol’s insistence on historical particulars, yet historians may be put off by the way the book surveys the existing literature. The exposition of social science theory is inevitably heavy-handed and dull, and the recitation of historical narrative sometimes belabors

the obvious. Most of us know, for example, that Al Smith had a hard time of it in 1928 in part because he was Catholic.

Sometimes, too, one wishes that the authors would release themselves from the confines of formal theory and simply speculate on what happened. For example, they might note that the NRA was regarded as a confusing piece of legislation even at the time of its enactment and that its business benefits, such as the relaxation of antitrust provisions, were intangible and vague. The AAA promised monetary benefits to commercial farmers. Those facts alone might explain the relative outcomes of the two measures.

Skocpol and Finegold wish to go farther and bridge the worlds of history and formal social science methodology. The results of this effort are mixed: one feels the heavy hand of the authors' efforts to instruct the reader in the elements of political and sociological analysis. Still, the effort is an important one that shows the interpretive skills of Finegold and Skocpol to best advantage. This pioneering volume deserves company in a continuing interdisciplinary contemplation of public policy.

EDWARD D. BERKOWITZ
George Washington University

JEANNE NIENABER CLARKE. *Roosevelt's Warrior: Harold L. Ickes and the New Deal*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 414. \$39.95.

Much like Jacob wrestling with the angel, any scholar who attempts to grapple with the wily Harold L. Ickes deserves our indulgence, our gratitude, and inevitably our sympathy. Franklin Roosevelt's faithful and talented Secretary of Interior contributed mightily to the shape of twentieth-century liberalism. His talents were recognized by the historians of the New Deal whose works have defined those exciting times. Frank Freidel, James McGregor Burns, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and William E. Leuchtenburg all underscored the role Ickes played in the course of domestic reform, remarking upon his talents as administrator and his value as one of FDR's most resilient political fighters. Ickes received only peripheral attention from scholars until the mid-1970s, when his private papers in the Library of Congress were opened. Since then, there has been keen interest in his administrative and political activities.

Jeanne Nienaber Clarke, a political scientist who has previously studied federal resource management, offers up prosaic fare in this book, redeemed only by an energetic style and some good anecdotes. Her central argument—that Ickes served as FDR's political lightning rod and advanced the cause of liberalism—provides no new insights.

Clarke organizes her book around Ickes's most important administrative roles to 1939: oil, public works, and reforming the vast inland empire. For a scholar who is familiar with the behavior of federal bureaucracies, Clarke's analysis of Ickes's manage-

ment of the hot oil crisis of 1933 and the complex problems that confronted the Oil Administration to 1936 is puzzlingly simplistic. The same is true of her handling of the activities of the Bureau of Reclamation, the Bureau of Land Management, and the National Resources Planning Board, although her analysis of the Public Works Administration (PWA) is more satisfactory.

Clarke's footnotes indicate she examined the major collections of Ickes material in the Library of Congress, the National Archives, and the FDR Library, but her notes are cursory nods to the complexity and richness of that material. Although she has looked at the Secretary of Interior files, she has not mined the bureaucratic response to Ickes's directives in the agency files and thereby sees only the surface movement. Her bibliography reflects the same superficiality in failing to incorporate the rich secondary scholarship of the last fifteen years. There is no indication she took advantage of the Columbia University Oral History Collection.

Clarke is fascinated by the complex psychological portrait Ickes offers. Yet here again her analysis tells us only what we already know from Ickes himself in his published autobiography and secret diaries, from Graham White and John Maze (*Harold L. Ickes of the New Deal: His Private Life and Public Career* [1985]), and, most notably, from Tom Watkins (*Righteous Pilgrim: The Life and Times of Harold L. Ickes* [1990]). Puzzling, too, is Clarke's repetitious account of Ickes's early life, first given at the beginning of her study then repeated in more detail in her précis of a part of Ickes's unpublished autobiography written about 1943. Clarke provides us plenty of sordid details of Ickes's insatiable need for sexual affirmation, but her explanation of his troubling professional and ethical breaches and risqué behavior during the first years of his tenure is unconvincing.

One must take exception to the portrait of Anna Wilmarth Thompson Ickes, whom Clarke accepts much as Ickes drew her: a physically unattractive, domineering woman who happened to be wealthy. Anna Ickes was a remarkable person with progressive credentials and contacts Harold could lust after and did. Her services to advance the cause of Native Americans was based on a great deal more understanding than his, and her influence on his attitudes accounts for some of the meager successes he did have reforming the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

We know all we need to know about Harold Ickes's poor psyche and about his relationship to Franklin Roosevelt. What we still need is a first-rate study of the greatest administrator of the Department of Interior in the nation's history.

LINDA LEAR
George Washington University

HARVEY M. TERES. *Renewing the Left: Politics, Imagination, and the New York Intellectuals*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 326. \$30.00.

Harvey M. Teres undertakes at least two projects in this study that are closely intertwined but nevertheless distinct. One offers a careful reading and targeted interpretation of selected reviews and essays written by intellectuals associated with *Partisan Review* in the 1930s and 1940s, emphasizing their place in contemporary and continuing debates over the functions of literature and criticism. The second project, rooted in this analysis but extending well beyond it, develops a critique of ingrained habits of mind and concomitant intellectual limitations in Left scholarship and commentary. In both cases, Teres seeks to embed a frank discussion of weaknesses and failures in an argument ultimately more concerned with potentials and possibilities.

Teres pays uncommon attention to the earliest critical efforts of Philip Rahv and William Phillips. Working in Communist circles before 1936, Teres argues, Rahv and Phillips sought to explore the difficult relationship between social and political content and aesthetic forms, categories, and standards. Although preliminary and incomplete, these probings signify for Teres "the most ambitious exploration of proletarian literary concepts" in the period, enunciating themes that would continue to challenge Marxist revisionists (p. 54). For the years after 1937, when *Partisan Review* emerged as the center of an anti-Stalinist intellectual grouping that would come to be known as the New York intellectuals, Teres concentrates not on political battles with Communist Party and Popular Front organizations but on the nature of this group's effort to develop and preserve a domain of cultural complexity that could bear a more flexible and richer politics. The magazine's primary project through 1945, he suggests, can best be understood as "a radical appropriation of modernism for the purpose of renewing the culture and politics of the American left" (p. 95). Teres does not neglect the imbalances and limitations of this attempt, but neither does he accept easy dismissals from the perspective of the present that ignore considerations of context or deny the shallow manipulateness of Popular Front cultural politics. He demonstrates instead a just appreciation for the bite the New York intellectuals found in modernist works and for the political hopes they continued to cherish.

Teres values the New York intellectuals' quest for renewal in part because he believes the Left of the 1990s is in desperate need of a renewal of its own. His analysis of the *Partisan Review* critics is interspersed with references to the persisting limitations of Left ideas and to the abiding problem of modern criticism in all camps: the "inability to combine political and aesthetic intelligence" (p. 248). If Communist and Popular Front critics embraced an instrumental view of politics, a simplified approach to ideas, a denial of literary values, and an insensitivity to the complexities of individual experience, the New York intellectuals, in reacting against such tendencies, asserted claims of intellectual autonomy too strongly, cut themselves off

from connections with wider social roots, drifted toward elitism, and paid too little heed to race, gender, and rebellion.

Yet, the literary and cultural criticism of the New York intellectuals may have much to teach the Left of the present, which, Teres argues, too often replays the inadequacies of the 1930s. In particular, Teres offers a penetrating critique of recent works on leftist culture in the interwar period, in particular Barbara Foley's *Radical Representations: Politics and Form in U.S. Proletarian Fiction, 1929-1941* (1993), Walter Kalarjian's *American Culture Between the Wars* (1993), and Cary Nelson's *Repression and Recovery: Modern American Poetry and the Politics of Cultural Memory, 1910-1945* (1989). He underscores the inadequacy of employing political and ideological functions as literary criteria, the inattention to qualitative assessments of either Left-wing writing or the experience it evokes, and the underestimation of the critical consciousness of ordinary people.

Teres is a literary scholar, not a historian, and his work is primarily concerned with the analytical framing of particular texts and ideas. The second half of the book incorporates essays and reviews originally written for other purposes; here, despite a consistency of viewpoint, elements of repetition and disjunction appear. Not everyone will agree with Teres's outlook or his analysis, and some will dispute his judgments or political convictions. What most deserves note, however, is Teres's commitment to an open and frank confrontation with the strengths and weaknesses of critical ideas and his fairness in the handling of competing interpretive claims. His work enriches discussion of the New York intellectuals and of current scholarly practice.

TERRY A. COONEY
University of Puget Sound

GLEN JEANSONNE. *Women of the Far Right: The Mothers' Movement and World War II*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. xix, 264. \$29.95.

This is a disappointing book about a repulsive group of people. Glen Jeansonne, biographer of Gerald L. K. Smith and several other southern male demagogues, seeks to illumine the part played by women in the antiwar, anti-Semitic current that swelled in the late 1930s and persevered, albeit with difficulty, throughout World War II. He focuses on the lives and views of a handful of organizers and propagandists for the self-named "Mothers' Movement": Elizabeth Dilling, Cathrine Curtis, Agnes Waters, and a few others. These women, most of whom admired Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini, led sporadic but vehement protests against sending their sons, or anyone else's, to fight European fascism.

Yet Jeansonne has more in mind than a collective biography of activists who accepted funds from the German government to expose what they were convinced was Jewish-Communist control of the Roose-

vult administration. Provocative statements about the reactionary uses of "gender consciousness" and "maternal values" frame the study. Jeansonne clearly wants to engage readers who would normally have no interest in a dense narrative about one of the more loathsome episodes in the history of the American Right.

Unfortunately, it is only the latter that he delivers, in repetitive chunks of lurid detail. One learns a great deal about the violent retribution that many of these women wanted to inflict on Jews but very little about how they mingled the personal and the political or connected with the larger world of woman-centered activism. Jeansonne notes their prideful identity as devout Protestant nurturers; were these prosperous women the cockeyed inheritors of Frances Willard and her sisters in the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)? From his description, the authoritarian and aggressive aspects of the movement overshadowed the stated desire to save innocent young men from slaughter. Perhaps their softer rhetoric merely served, in Kenneth Burke's phrase, as a "eulogistic covering"—a symbolic stretch toward a mainstream constituency that soundly rejected Dilling and her counterparts.

Jeansonne also fails to clarify the political weight of the "Mothers' Movement." He states, remarkably, "there may have been as many as five million to six million members"—while lamenting "the absence of membership lists or other decisive evidence" (p. 1). What did all these people do? Jeansonne describes a bevy of short-lived periodicals and tiny demonstrations, both in the streets and at the U.S. Capitol, against federal officials and other pro-interventionist figures. But only a few thousand women seem to have participated in such activities, and they changed no policies and, it is likely, precious few minds.

Jeansonne does offer a few glimpses of broader influence. The Hearst press trumpeted the first organization of antiwar mothers, formed in 1939. And a few senators and congressmen stood up for individual activists who were charged with aiding the enemy. But the author barely mentions the "Mothers'" influence in *America First*, the anti-interventionist umbrella group of its day and one led almost exclusively by men.

Near the end of his book, Jeansonne concludes the story of a long sedition trial of pro-fascist organizers (in which no one was convicted) with a judgment that could extend to the group as a whole: "Generally they were annoyances, not miniature Hitlers, and in his frustration, Roosevelt overreacted by insisting on their prosecution" (p. 164). The author, to his credit, has documented a neglected episode in the political history of a ferociously combative period. But he should not have made larger claims if he did not seriously intend to pursue them.

MICHAEL KAZIN
American University

CLAYTON D. LAURIE. *The Propaganda Warriors: America's Crusade Against Nazi Germany*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1996. Pp. xvi, 335. \$35.00.

This is a compelling account of the American effort to shape an effective propaganda message during World War II. Clayton D. Laurie provides the best assessment so far of the interagency struggles that complicated the task of coordinating propaganda in the European theater of war.

Laurie notes at the outset that this was a larger propaganda campaign than the United States had ever attempted before. He points out that three groups were intimately involved in the effort: the Overseas Branch of the Office of War Information (OWI); the Office of Strategic Services Morale Operations Branch (OSS MO); and the United States Army. He then goes on to describe the conflicts that kept propaganda in the public eye for the duration of the war.

Laurie is correct in his contention that the struggle over propaganda reflected a larger struggle over the meaning of the war. As he notes in his introduction, "To a large measure the conflicts centered on the question of whether Roosevelt's domestic and foreign policies were expressive of true and long-held American traditions, goals, and values that were worthy of being spread worldwide through wartime propaganda or whether his policies were expressive merely of the views of narrow, liberal extremists who supported Roosevelt and the New Deal" (p. 3). This was a struggle between liberals who gravitated toward the OWI and conservatives who were far more comfortable in the OSS. Meanwhile, Army officials looked askance at the civilians in both of these agencies and in the end brought propaganda effectively under military control.

Laurie begins with a perceptive chapter on American perceptions of Nazi propaganda. He shows that Americans were cognizant of Nazi statements about the value of propaganda and describes how they sought to find concrete ways to meet the threat. He then goes on to sketch the background of the struggle to shape a propaganda message. While the story of the origins of both the OWI and the OSS has been told before, this is the fullest and most detailed account to appear to date. Laurie relies on all the important primary sources and mines the secondary literature to tell the turbulent story of the battles that took place in Washington over a period of several years. In the course of his discussion, he provides good profiles of William Donovan, the flamboyant attorney responsible for establishing the OSS, and the prize-winning playwright Robert Sherwood and popular radio announcer Elmer Davis, who headed up the OWI.

The contrasts between these agencies become clear in Laurie's account. Laurie shows that Donovan admired Nazi propaganda successes and sought to use his resources to launch a similar kind of counterattack. He demonstrates the more liberal orientation of the OWI

leaders, who believed in a more truthful and open propaganda message and fought Donovan at every turn.

Laurie then turns to military efforts. The Army, he observes, entered the field of psychological warfare far later than civilians did. "Ultimately, however, the military came to oversee that aspect of the offensive against Germany," he notes, "and succeeded in fashioning a campaign that made propaganda a valued weapon" (p. 143).

After nine chapters outlining the bureaucratic and institutional struggles, Laurie provides two useful chapters about propaganda in action. His description of the activities of the OSS MO is a crisp but lively overview of the kinds of things that went on in the area of "black" propaganda in the field. MO, for example, produced German postage stamps with a likeness of Himmler rather than Hitler in an effort to suggest to Germans that the führer had been deposed in a secret coup d'état. In a comparable description of the "white" propaganda activities of the OWI, Laurie talks equally cogently about radio broadcasts, leaflet campaigns, and other efforts to help advance the Allied cause in the war.

Laurie concludes by arguing that "although the cumulative effects of conventional weapons provided the most obvious reason for the Allied victory, evidence does support the assertion that American psychological attacks also played a role in the final Axis defeat" (p. 233). The OSS, he suggests, fared better than the OWI in the bureaucratic wars, and, on balance, "its accomplishments appear to be even greater than the surviving documents convey" (p. 234). But in the final analysis, he observes perceptively, the military was the greatest winner of all. As it took charge, the Army helped bring about the recognition that psychological operations were an important part of modern war.

ALLAN M. WINKLER
Miami University

LEWIS A. ERENBURG and SUSAN E. HIRSCH, editors. *The War in American Culture: Society and Consciousness during World War II*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. x, 346. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$17.95.

The fiftieth anniversaries of World War II produced all manner of commemoration and celebration. In the United States, most public events focused on military matters and were popular versions of the "last good war" thesis as articulated by the generation that experienced the war. Less remembered was the home front experience, and much less noticed was the outpouring of scholarship that in the last decade has radically altered our understanding of the changes that the war brought to American life. There is now a very good case to be made that, in the broad sweep of the twentieth century, this war cast a larger shadow than the New Deal or any other major event.

Perhaps more than any other recently published

book, this volume edited by Lewis A. Erenberg and Susan E. Hirsch presents high-quality scholarship that insists most persuasively on the war home front as the central point of change in recent American history. The strength of the book is all the more impressive because it is one of those too often "mixed-at-best" collections of conference papers. Although some of the essays recapitulate work published elsewhere and some are a bit narrow in focus, this is a collection of wide interest. A moderately priced paperback edition allows for upper-level classroom use.

Erenberg and Hirsch assert in their introduction that "these essays establish that the war had a much larger impact on people's lives than historians have previously realized" (p. 5). By people they mean ordinary people in all their American diversity. The focus on large wartime changes in ordinary American culture is sustained through each essay. Every reader will have a favorite one or two. One of mine is Perry R. Duis's study of privacy in family life. Using Chicago as his stage, Duis takes familiar subjects such as industrial work and rationing to show how the war invaded the private lives of home front families. Chicagoans lived in a twenty-four-hour city with little escape from war's consequences, which ranged from disruptions of the "swing shift" in factories to mass-produced weddings sold by department stores.

In studying ordinary Americans, nearly all the essayists illuminate issues of race, ethnicity, class, and gender and the tensions between wartime necessities of inclusion and traditional American forms of separation. In each essay, the myth of the "good war" breaks apart: George H. Roeder, Jr., examines censored photographs of black and white Americans working and dancing together; Edward J. Escobar studies the Los Angeles zoot-suiters and their police antagonists; Lary May analyzes films in terms of wartime narratives of class unity; Gary Gerstle studies the tensions white ethnic workers faced as class consciousness mixed with wartime patriotism. Hirsch shows the challenges faced by female and black workers at Pullman; Shirley Ann Wilson Moore those of African Americans in Richmond, California; Carol Miller those of Native Americans; and Reed Ueda those of Chinese Americans. Elaine Tyler May examines the ways women's choices expanded in contexts of traditional gender roles. Erenberg's essay on Glenn Miller is an impressive connection of popular culture and patriotic duty mixed with issues of gender and race, so that the clean and sweet sounds of the Glenn Miller band become, like the war home front, far more complex than at first hearing.

Two essays are particularly suggestive in pointing the way toward even larger meaning of this major turning point in American history. In his analysis of racism in Japan and the United States, John W. Dower shows how the war "set whole new worlds of racial thinking in motion" (p. 180). Dower's essay demonstrates the large potential for more comparative studies of the many home fronts of this world war. As

Dower moves across space, Alan Brinkley moves across time by placing the war in contexts of post-1945 American history. For students of the last half of the twentieth century, Brinkley demonstrates the simple wisdom that what came before is the essential point of departure. This impressive collection of essays makes clear that what comes before the last five decades is World War II.

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ROBERT JAY LIFTON and GREG MITCHELL. *Hiroshima in America: Fifty Years of Denial*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1995. Pp. xviii, 425. \$25.95.

This is a riveting account of the impact of the first atomic bombs in the United States. Fifty years after nuclear weapons ended World War II, the destruction of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki remains an open wound. Robert Jay Lifton and Greg Mitchell seek to explain America's contorted effort to come to terms with the dawn of the atomic age. "You cannot understand the twentieth century without Hiroshima," they begin (p. xi). The bomb caused profound conflict at the time and is still controversial today. Even after fifty years, "Hiroshima remains a raw nerve" (p. xi).

Lifton and Mitchell chronicle the government's persistent effort to manage the news media and shape the response to the bomb. They tell a tale of distortion and fabrication, as Harry S. Truman and other leaders orchestrated the terms of debate. They describe how policymakers promoted an official version of the bomb's use and made sure that this account remained in full public view.

Next comes a fascinating portrait of Truman as "a tragic figure unable and unwilling to recognize, to touch emotionally, either his own tragedy or the human tragedy of the atomic bombings" (p. 118). Lifton and Mitchell do not seek to condemn Truman but to understand his dilemma. As they examine both his own background and the background of the Manhattan Project, they suggest that the new president found himself in the midst of what they call an "atrocity-producing situation," a political and psychological environment in which an average person may act in disturbing ways (p. 117). They note the powerful role that General Leslie Groves played in creating the framework within which Truman made decisions and explore the conflict they claim Truman experienced for the rest of his life. When Truman talked about the bomb, they argue, he was beset by "contradictions and confabulations" that colored his account (p. 181).

The third section of the book is a fascinating analysis of the bitter debate over the Smithsonian Institution's proposed exhibit about the atomic bomb that polarized the country and pitted veterans against scholars in a struggle to tell the story of the past. Lifton and Mitchell were involved in the conflict and remain

troubled by both the battle and its outcome—first diluting, then canceling the exhibit—but their real contribution is to show that this confrontation was essentially the same struggle that has been going on since 1945.

Lifton and Mitchell conclude with a section that they call "Hiroshima's Legacy—Moral, Psychological, Political" (p. 299). Here they examine the impact on those who developed and used the first nuclear weapons. They talk about the imprisonment of nuclear technology, creating a sense of both omnipotence and vulnerability. They note continuing problems, ranging from the insoluble issue of nuclear waste to the horrifying radiation experimentation on unwitting citizens over several decades. And they describe the psychic numbing that allows people to live but imprisons them at the same time, which Lifton first described in his National Book Award-winning *Death in Life* (1968) more than twenty-five years ago.

This is a passionate, powerfully argued assessment of one of the most important events of our time. Lifton and Mitchell rely on the most recent literature about the bomb. They draw on the expertise of historians Barton Bernstein and Martin Sherwin, who have helped us to understand the diplomatic and political framework within which decisions were made. They cite the work of Paul Boyer and other scholars who sketched the social and intellectual background that affected America's response to the bomb.

But this book takes the work of other scholars a step further. Though it is made up of disparate parts, it hangs together with its relentless focus on the continuing impact of Hiroshima, fifty years after 1945. The message is clear. It is important to keep Hiroshima before us, they declare, to come to terms with our past. "We offer this volume," they conclude, "as an appeal to our own better angels, for the renewal of what is most compassionate and open and honorable in the American spirit" (p. 358).

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T. CHRISTOPHER JESPERSEN. *American Images of China, 1931–1949*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 254. \$39.50.

Romantic hopes for a rebirth of Sino-American friendship have persisted in the United States since 1949, as compelling as the post-Reconstruction "lost cause" for southerners, in spite of the formidable durability and sometime hostility of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people and the Kuomintang Party's Nationalist government became idealized during the 1930s and 1940s as pro-American, friendly, democratic, progressive, and increasingly Christian. This comforting outlook, fostered by a broad array of opinion molders, originated less from China's historical or cultural resemblances to the United States than from wishful projections of domestic values and aspirations. Unfortunately, the expectations raised by such

off-the-mark images of the Nationalist government's capacity to improve the lives of the long-suffering Chinese people, or even to defend itself against Japan's invaders and Mao Zedong's Communists, failed dismally to prepare Americans for the debacles to come. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's United States-backed armies failed either to fight the Japanese effectively or check the Communist advance. Mao's triumph, coming as it did but four years after the Allied Powers had defeated Japan, sparked a savage political vendetta in the United States by outraged Americans against those they held responsible for "losing" China.

To depict Americans' fateful image-making about East Asia throughout the crucial decades spanning Japan's ill-fated attempt to conquer China, World War II in the Pacific, and China's own climactic civil war, T. Christopher Jespersen focuses appropriately on Henry R. Luce's publications, "March of Time" radio programs, and motion pictures. Luce's hugely popular *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune* magazines trumpeted his convictions that Nationalist China was growing more and more like the United States and the Chinese people themselves more and more like Americans. As Luce hailed Chiang Kai-shek, in Jespersen's words, as "China's political and spiritual savior" (p. 43), American conceptions of Chiang's China became transfigured likewise during the five years before Pearl Harbor.

Closely supportive of and supported by Time, Inc., United China Relief (UCR), a coalition comprised mostly of missionary-affiliated agencies, was formed in 1941 on a swelling tide of Japanophobia. UCR embodied Luce's political as well as his philanthropic goals. The organization's purposes were to educate Americans sympathetically about the Chinese people and to raise funds for humanitarian services for their disaster-stricken land. UCR proclaimed Luce's sentiments that China's progress toward Christianity, as figured most notably by American-educated Madame Chiang (Soong Mei-ling) and Chiang Kai-shek himself, exemplified Americans' own ideals, while China's struggles against the Japanese and the Communists constituted America's fight as well. Reinforcing Luce's and UCR's tenets, novelist Pearl S. Buck (*The Good Earth*, [1931]) spoke for activists upholding the Nationalist cause, many of them, like herself, missionary children or former missionaries. These pro-Nationalists came to include Wendell Willkie, John D. Rockefeller III, Thomas W. Lamont, William C. Bullitt, Paul Hoffman, and Eleanor Roosevelt. The Japanese attack against Pearl Harbor astronomically boosted China's image among Americans and Time, Inc.'s audience at the same time.

During the bitter war against Japan, which, of course, intensified the illusion of China as America's friend and ally, Madame Chiang Kai-shek powerfully strengthened this sentiment as much as Luce did through his publications. It was commonly repeated that Madame Chiang was worth ten divisions to the Generalissimo. Through her numerous public appear-

ances, widely read articles, lecture tours, and speeches before both houses of Congress, she epitomized Luce's messages that China's leadership was new, progressive, Christian, and dependable and that the Chinese people were trustworthy allies and friendly toward Americans. Under wartime pressures and the civil strife ensuing, this contrived image of China became wholly unrealistic, a deceptive concoction of hopes and fears, raising expectations for Americans that Nationalist China could never fulfill. Shocked and bewildered at the outcome, the long-suppressed Yellow Peril suddenly turned into the Red Menace. Mao's Communist victory in 1949 violated America's wishful images of China, launching decades of denial that such things could possibly happen and perpetuating suspicion and distrust into the present time.

Jespersen demonstrates admirably why we must recognize the images that once controlled the American way of thinking about China, why and how these were constructed, and why they have failed to disappear. For two decades before television, Time, Inc. published and broadcast Luce's paternalistic image of a friendly China eager for America's tutelage. Luce's China policy, which was rooted in Open Door internationalism and Christian evangelism, when combined with other like-minded convictions, appealed enormously to his countrymen, especially those against Japanese militarism. Luce and his fellow idealists shaped the viewpoints of countless Americans. At a critical historical moment, they articulated the ideas that many people wanted to believe about China regardless of their validity.

Jespersen's caveat accepting responsibility for any errors that his book might contain cheerily exempts the "really egregious," in which case he has reserved the right to reassess his acknowledgments. What is a poor reviewer to do?

ARTHUR POWER DUDDEN
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MARGARET W. ROSSITER. *Women Scientists in America: Before Affirmative Action, 1940-1972*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 584. \$35.95.

It is impossible to review the current volume without reference to Margaret W. Rossiter's earlier *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (1982). This most recent book, however, represents far more than a sequel and is, in fact, described by Rossiter as a "rather different volume" (p. xiii). The first book greatly expanded historians' knowledge of women scientists and their work, detailing their activities and describing their status within the scientific community. Rossiter now provides similar information on hundreds of women scientists active in the post-World War II period. Her focus, however, is on women scientists' continued low status and the major difficulties these women faced in their attempts to participate in the growing scientific activity of the period.

Women scientists were very active during World

War II, teaching at colleges and universities and performing various other tasks. This activity was generally seen as a temporary expedient brought about by the demands of war and failed to improve the status of women scientists. Rossiter thus characterizes the war as a lost opportunity that laid the foundation for the further status deterioration of women scientists over the next quarter century. Despite the significant expansion of higher education and the increasing focus on science, for example, women scientists were arguably worse off in 1970 than they had been in 1945. The GI Bill led to the masculinization of the student population, while the desire of educational institutions for greater status established another barrier for women scientists. To increase their prestige, such schools hired male scientists with doctorates and research agendas. Female faculty, many of whom had taught for decades, were increasingly marginalized and often forced into early retirement.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, the general "consciousness-raising" among women led to a growing awareness among women scientists of their second-class status. Women scientists were increasingly activist in outlook and responded forcefully to the various studies of the status of women in academia, government, and industry. Their many activities led to numerous changes, the most dramatic of which was the 1972 Educational Amendments Act and its famous Title IX. Ironically, the Ph.D. "glut" hit science at about the same time as these changes. With jobs difficult to find for women and men, the impact of the developments discussed by Rossiter remained somewhat ambiguous.

Rossiter's volume provides a detailed account of the status of women scientists during an important transitional period. It also lays the foundation for further studies of women scientists. Rossiter's description of women's low status as a result of ageism, sexism, misogyny, and homophobia is dramatic but hardly definitive. Her work thus encourages other scholars to unearth the specific evidence to support these claims. Scholars might also examine the status of those male scientists who were marginalized during the period of academic expansion. This, too, will provide an important perspective on the underlying causes of women scientists' second-class status. Offering valuable information on women scientists and suggesting additional research opportunities, Rossiter's second volume stands as a significant contribution to both women's history and the history of American science.

GEORGE E. WEBB

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NANCY E. ROSE. *Workfare or Fair Work: Women, Welfare, and Government Work Programs*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 263. Cloth \$52.00, paper \$19.95.

Nancy E. Rose's title captures the essential theme of this book, namely that in the twentieth century, the

federal government has deployed two different strategies for dealing with the needs of the poor and the unemployed. In the 1930s, the 1960s, and the 1970s, the federal government enacted progressive "fair work" programs when private markets did not provide adequate jobs for all who needed them. At other points, the federal government has legislated "punitive policies that blame the poor for their poverty and abdicate societal responsibility for protecting children" (p. 3). (Guess which period Rose thinks we're currently in?) Workfare programs require aid recipients to "work outside the home in exchange for welfare payments" (p. 2).

The book's structure follows this analytic framework. Each chapter covers roughly a decade of federal welfare policy from the 1930s to the 1990s. The thirty-five pages of material from the New Deal to the 1950s will be basically familiar to historians of the period. The 100 pages on federal welfare efforts since the 1960s indicate the vast uncharted territory in the history of social policy that has yet to be written. Rose sketches the bare outlines of literally dozens of initiatives from these years. In her list of abbreviations, I counted thirty-six acronyms for various programs and policies. She concludes with a set of prescriptions for a "progressive alternative" to current workfare policies that would "respect the dignity of the individual and give women and men choices about combining caretaking work in the home while maintaining an adequate standard of living" (p. 179). Rose recognizes that her proposals are out of fashion, but she presses them in the hopes of "expanding the boundaries of what is now considered feasible" (p. 185).

The book is useful for tracing the history of legislative initiatives on aid to the poor in the twentieth century, the ideological arguments buttressing various approaches, and the economic and social contexts within which a particular policy is embedded. The problem that Rose faces, and does not adequately solve, is why a particular policy emerged when it did. She suggests, for example, that the prosperity of the post-World War II era and "social and political reaction" (p. 58) led to the dismantling of fair work programs in the 1940s and 1950s. But in the next chapter, the prosperity of the 1960s led to the reinstatement of fair work programs, which were then continued into the 1970s despite the coming of "recession" and "economic hard times," which she dates from 1969 at one point and 1973 at another (pp. 98, 109). Nor does Rose adequately explain why the "conservative social and economic policies" (p. 126) reemerged in the 1980s. She credits the ideological challenge to "welfare" to the Reagan administration's "strategy" to "decrease wages" (p. 127). "The expansion of social welfare programs in the 1960s and 1970s," she argues, provided a "more adequate cushion" for low wage workers, "and so, from the capitalist perspective, it needed to be eroded" (p. 127).

But why political leaders and voters felt it acceptable and appropriate to abandon support for poor women

and children goes unexplored. Rose is certainly right to see the strain of racism in legislative efforts to put welfare mothers to work. But as she obliquely suggests, the deeper problem may turn on the radical revisioning of gender roles in the contemporary United States. Full-time mothering or "caretaking work in the home" is no longer considered worthy of state support. Only a husband or other breadwinner in the household can justify the withdrawal of an adult woman from the labor force to care for children. The analysis of changes in family structure that make such policies plausible requires another book.

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MARK J. WHITE. *The Cuban Missile Crisis*. Basingstoke: Macmillan; distributed by New York University Press, New York. 1996. Pp. xi, 291. \$45.00.

Unlike most studies of the Cuban Missile Crisis that have appeared over the past decade, clarifying what happened and why on the basis of new information from declassified U.S. and, more recently, Soviet records, Mark J. White's main focus is on a reevaluation of the role of American political dynamics and the interplay of some of the principal American actors in the drama (and less fully or successfully, of the principal Soviet actor, Nikita Khrushchev). In addition to President John F. Kennedy and his brother Robert, the others selected as "the central figures in this account" were not the central figures in the actual crisis. White focuses on those he sees as representing key political constituencies: Adlai Stevenson as the leading liberal Democrat, Senator Kenneth Keating as a vocal leader in the Republican assault on Kennedy over Cuba, and Dean Acheson as a forceful and articulate cold warrior. Robert Kennedy, Acheson, and Stevenson are also depicted as the leading advocates of the three alternative courses of action that were considered: a naval blockade, a military strike, and a negotiated diplomatic solution.

White is best in his treatment of the political world of the Kennedy brothers. I am not, however, convinced that "if it had not been for the restraining hand of his advisers" (p. 238), President Kennedy would probably have launched a military strike. Indications that White interprets to mean that Robert Kennedy restrained his brother are at least as likely to represent efforts by the president, through his brother, to restrain and channel the views of the advisers. Nor do I find convincing White's conclusions that the president "should have paid far greater heed to Stevenson" (p. 238) and that Stevenson was "the unsung hero" of the crisis (p. 184). White is correct that Stevenson was unfairly smeared after the crisis and showed courage in taking a stand for diplomatic negotiation, but Stevenson's proposals were excessively concessionary and, I believe, unwise—quite apart from any calculation by Kennedy that Stevenson was still a potential political rival, as

White suggests. White argues that had Kennedy adopted some of Stevenson's views, it might have been possible to resolve the crisis several days earlier, but a more full account of parallel Soviet decision making would, I believe, make clear that premature concessions would only have stretched out and made resolution of the crisis more difficult. Similarly, Acheson's strong advocacy of a prompt air strike may have been unwise (and certainly such an action proved unnecessary), but it is not evident that this advocacy—not accepted by the president—made the crisis more dangerous than it otherwise would have been.

White goes much too far in asserting that before the crisis "the Kennedy administration was seriously considering military action against Cuba regardless of whether the Soviets installed offensive missiles on the island" (pp. 112–13). While there was some increased alerting of military forces in view of the Soviet military buildup in Cuba in July–October, this was contingency preparation and nothing more. The real buildup occurred only after the missiles were discovered. Moreover, if the Kennedy administration had planned to attack Cuba or even wished to do so, the discovery of the missiles would have been the ideal justification, but it is clear that the administration preferred not to launch an attack even when that justification—and, indeed, an increased incentive—were present.

White's one new research finding, advanced in an earlier article, has unfortunately led him to misunderstand and misrepresent an important detail in understanding the course of resolution of the conflict. White discovered an October 25 report from the British ambassador showing that the United States was considering a fall-back use of former United Nations Deputy Secretary-General Andrew Cordier to ask Secretary-General U Thant to propose that United Nations commissions monitor the Soviet and U.S. missile bases in Cuba and Turkey. It is interesting that Kennedy was thinking so early in the crisis of a possible parallel treatment of missile sites in Cuba and Turkey, although the action was never taken. White, however, has jumped to the conclusion that this "Cordier ploy" must be the same one that the late Dean Rusk disclosed in 1987, when he revealed a similar consideration by Kennedy on October 27 that Cordier be used to prime U Thant into proposing withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Cuba and U.S. missiles from Turkey. That contingent action also was never taken, because on October 28, Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles from Cuba with only a secret U.S. statement of intention to withdraw its missiles soon from Turkey. White, however, assumes and asserts that Rusk must have had a faulty memory about the date, and the substance, of the Cordier ploy, rather than recognizing the much greater likelihood that two Cordier ploys were contemplated.

White's study is far from presenting the most full, complete, up-to-date, or authoritative account of the Cuban Missile Crisis, as the book jacket claims. Nonetheless, it has returned attention to the political arena

in Washington in 1962 in a useful way. White has researched this aspect of the crisis well and examined it thoughtfully. This is his study's contribution, and it is welcome in renewing consideration of the political context of the American handling of the crisis.

RAYMOND L. GARTHOFF
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GREGORY ALLEN OLSON. *Mansfield and Vietnam: A Study in Rhetorical Adaptation*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 349. \$39.95.

From 1953 to 1975, through five presidential administrations, Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana offered advice and dissent on U.S. policy in Southeast Asia. As Gregory Allen Olson notes, Mansfield's style was quiet but his analysis often boldly perceptive. Abandoning an academic career, Mansfield won campaigns for the House of Representatives in 1942 and the Senate ten years later, all the while establishing his credibility as an expert on Asia, a source of fascination to him since his military service in the Philippines in 1921.

Appointed to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mansfield urged containment of Ho Chi Minh's national communist movement in Vietnam. In the mid-1950s, following the Vietminh defeat of France, he strongly supported the U.S. campaign of nation-building under Ngo Dinh Diem. In one of the sharpest criticisms in an otherwise sympathetic account, Olson observes: "Had Mansfield and others not felt compelled to create an artificial nationalism, the second Indochina War could have been avoided" (p. 68). Although he remained an outspoken proponent of Diem, Mansfield called for restrictions on military aid, noting that many U.S. weapons ended up in the hands of the opposition. In 1960, he charged that the millions invested in Diem under Eisenhower had bought only "chaos, discontent, and armies on the loose" (p. 84).

After becoming Senate majority leader under John F. Kennedy, Mansfield intensified his critique of U.S. policy but never spoke of it in public. Although Diem's regime was virtually hopeless, he had opposed the U.S.-backed coup in 1963, correctly forecasting that the Saigon government would become more dependent than ever on Washington. Mansfield advocated a negotiated settlement and United Nations involvement as preferable to ongoing unilateral U.S. intervention.

Kennedy's successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, made a point of seeking Mansfield's advice before rejecting it. Unable to break openly with his party leader, Mansfield quietly supported the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. As Johnson Americanized the war through direct U.S. military involvement, Mansfield sharpened his criticism yet shied away from an open break with the administration, a course also embraced by J. William Fulbright, head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

It took Richard M. Nixon to undermine Mansfield's faith of executive management of foreign affairs. U.S.

escalation in Cambodia outraged the Montana senator, who had long been a staunch supporter and personal friend of Cambodian prince Norodom Sihanouk. Charging that the United States was receiving a disastrous return on its three million-dollar-per-hour investment in Indochina, Mansfield used his clout in the Senate to introduce legislation to force Nixon to remove all U.S. combat troops from the region. By this time, Mansfield had abandoned his faith in executive management of foreign affairs, thus completing the "rhetorical adaptation" to which Olson refers in his title.

Olson defends Mansfield for failing to go public at an earlier date with his prophetic doubts about the direction of U.S. policy in Southeast Asia. He argues that Mansfield's "civility" and the respect he enjoyed among presidents, Senate colleagues, and the press enhanced his influence. Had he emerged as a loud critic, Olson argues, Mansfield would have been in no position to influence policy. The problem with this argument is that Mansfield usually failed to influence policy no matter how civilly he expressed his dissent. One wonders whether Mansfield might have been more effective had he joined Fulbright in a direct and public confrontation over Washington's disastrous Indochina policy. Whatever conclusion one reaches about Mansfield's actions, Olson's book is the place to begin to understand the career of a key Senate leader.

WALTER L. HIXSON
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DAN T. CARTER. *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1995. Pp. 572. \$30.00.

When Alabama Governor George Wallace stood in front of the schoolhouse door in 1963, Martin Luther King, Jr., saw the danger he posed to the future success of the civil rights movement. But King did not foresee that Wallace would soon move beyond the confines of Alabama to a larger political stage. There he would proceed to denounce the social programs of the federal government while voicing the rage and anger already felt by millions of lower middle-class and working-class white Americans who were threatened by the social movements of the day, particularly the civil rights movement.

Dan T. Carter has captured the main elements of George Wallace's life and career in a well-crafted, insightful, and solidly researched biography. His story provides the reader with a fuller understanding as to how and why Wallace went as far as he did in state and national politics. The key, of course, is race, which was the card Wallace played at every turn to advance his political fortunes, especially inside his home state of Alabama. Carter's detailed account of Wallace's racial demagoguery makes for depressing reading, but it is necessary in order to demonstrate how far he and many of his supporters were prepared to go to halt the

advance of the civil rights movement within the heart of Dixie.

Wallace entered the presidential arena for the first time in 1964, and his defense of states' rights and opposition to the 1964 civil rights bill won over many Democratic voters in the Wisconsin, Indiana, and Maryland primaries. After 1964, Wallace's increased national presence was tied to changing political circumstances caused by urban riots, an increase in street crime, and opposition to the Vietnam War. Those developments gave him a fresh opportunity to condemn Washington bureaucrats, who, he claimed, could not park their bicycles straight, let alone quell public disorder. Wallace's assault on the power of the federal government, coupled with his defense of traditional American values, was well received by many people who feared that Washington was seeking to undermine local control of schools and neighborhoods. He won nearly fourteen percent of the vote in 1968 and carried a number of southern states. Given those results, it is clear that Wallace's campaign "had kindled the deep discontents of an embittered national political minority" (p. 370).

Carter's study illuminates Wallace's relationship with President Richard Nixon. Nixon, worried that Wallace was still doing well in the polls after 1968, sought to co-opt his supporters in the South and elsewhere by moving to the right on social issues, especially after Wallace had again been elected governor of Alabama in 1970. Hence, the Wallace watch at the White House remained a top priority, while the wily Alabamian continued to play the president "like a marionette" (p. 397). Fortunately for Nixon, who admitted as much, the serious wounds inflicted on Wallace by Arthur Bremer on May 15, 1972, changed entirely the dynamics of the 1972 campaign and ensured his landslide victory over George McGovern in November.

As a result of Wallace's politics of rage, the new social conservatism—a compound of "racial fear, anticommunism, cultural nostalgia, and traditional right-wing economics" (p. 12)—had entered into the mainstream of American political life. Although Wallace himself did not create that conservative groundswell, he prepared the way for the conservative mobilization to come in the 1970s and 1980s. This is why Carter rightly considers George Wallace to be "the most influential loser in twentieth-century American politics" (p. 468).

WILLIAM C. BERMAN
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MICHAEL J. GERHARDT. *The Federal Impeachment Process: A Constitutional and Historical Analysis*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 233. \$29.95.

Michael J. Gerhardt has written a detailed study of the impeachment process that is largely concerned with the problems raised by the conviction, in the 1980s, of

federal judges Harry Claiborne, Alcee Hastings, and Walter Nixon, all of whom were impeached after having been found guilty of felonies in previous trials. Carefully examining the constitutional questions involved in these cases and not neglecting their political and legislative implications, Gerhardt gives us a thorough overview of the most recent exercises of the congressional power of impeachment.

Part one of the book is devoted to "The Historical Origins of the Federal Impeachment Process." Covering the debates on the subject in the constitutional convention and especially those in the ratifying bodies, Gerhardt outlines the background of this peculiarly Anglo-American process. He then continues with a consideration of trends and problems connected with it in both House and Senate, a clarification of its constitutional aspects, and, finally, a discussion of possible legislative and constitutional reforms. All in all, he feels that the impeachment provisions of the Constitution have worked well and that few if any changes are needed.

Although the book's subtitle is *A Constitutional and Historical Analysis*, the author tends to emphasize recent events. Readers will look in vain for a detailed analysis of the most famous historical examples of impeachment, those of Justice Samuel Chase, President Andrew Johnson, and the attempted indictment of President Richard M. Nixon. This omission is a pity, for the cases cited furnished precedents that can hardly be overlooked. The failure to convict Andrew Johnson, for example, established the principle that a chief executive cannot be impeached for differing with Congress, certainly a factor worth mentioning. Because of Gerhardt's preoccupation with constitutional and legal interpretation, moreover, the three cases with which he is most concerned are not traced in detail. There is no reference to the racial factors involved, and the crimes of which the three judges were accused are not specifically elucidated. Thus the book falls somewhat short of a complete historical analysis.

What remains, however, is most revealing. Gerhardt carefully presents the various arguments in favor and against the propositions he discusses, and he is so impartial that it is sometimes difficult to see exactly where he stands. He does, however, make it quite clear that he is convinced that members of Congress are definitely not "officers of the United States" within the meaning of the impeachment clause, particularly because the Constitution provides that the president shall commission all officers of the United States, and members of Congress are not so commissioned. He also believes that resignation is no bar to impeachment, as was well recognized in Great Britain and several states prior to the ratification of the Constitution, and that there cannot be any sort of judicial review for impeachment cases. Basing this conclusion largely on the court's opinion in *Nixon (Walter) v. United States*, he shows that impeachment trials differ from ordinary legal proceedings and that their purpose

would be undermined by further litigation. By stating that they are largely political in nature and dependent on the individual case, he also seeks to settle the old question of whether impeachable offenses should be limited to indictable crimes or whether two-thirds of the Senate can determine their applicability. Considering impeachment neither a criminal nor a civil procedure, he argues that rules applicable to both apply. Gerhardt also thinks that the Senate is perfectly justified in appointing small committees to prepare impeachment proceedings, as it did in the case of the three judges cited, and that the House may conceivably impeach for offenses committed prior to a respondent's taking office, if these violations of the law interfere with his or her performance of duty.

Despite Gerhardt's favorable opinion of the working of the impeachment process, he does make a few suggestions for improvement. The Senate, he believes, might set up a permanent committee of those interested in the problem to deal with cases as they arise; communication between the House and other branches of the government in cases likely to lead to impeachment might be improved, and a law might be passed to postpone sentencing of federal judges convicted of felonies until the completion of the impeachment process. Legislative oversight of the Judicial Disability Act of 1980 would also help, but he does not believe that any amendments are necessary, and in spite of the embarrassment caused by the continued office holding of incarcerated felons, he retains his faith in the process.

This book is a valuable summary of the problems raised by recent impeachments of convicted and jailed judges and will prove to be a useful tool for further studies of the history of impeachments.

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JACK F. MATLOCK, JR. *Autopsy on an Empire: The American Ambassador's Account of the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. New York: Random House. 1995. Pp. viii, 836. \$35.00.

This massive volume is an exceptionally well-informed, thorough, thoughtful, and readable account of the last years of the Soviet Union, when Jack F. Matlock served as American ambassador to Moscow. During the years of Mikhail Gorbachev's *perestroika*, Jack Matlock was not only a keen observer of the Soviet scene; he also came to know many of the actors, big and small, he delivered messages to and from them, and he sought to make sense of what he saw and surmised.

Matlock was clearly the right man in the right place at the right time. It does happen. Before entering the Foreign Service, Matlock had pursued graduate studies in Russian literature and culture; he knew not only Russian but a number of other languages of the Soviet Union sufficiently well to speak them on public occa-

sions; and he had a lifelong interest in Russian culture that brought him into contact with leading figures of the Russian intelligentsia. He had seen prior service in Moscow, had served in responsible positions in Washington, and was an ambassador to Prague. Matlock's approach when he returned to Moscow in 1987 is reflected in his remark that, although he agreed with President Ronald Reagan's description of the Soviet Union as an evil empire, he was convinced the people were not evil and that the distribution of good and bad traits among them was much the same as in other countries.

This book is both a chronological account of the final years of the Soviet Union—including the evolution of both the principal actors and their policies—and a scholarly analysis of the causes of the collapse of the system. Although Matlock reveals little about the Soviet political scene that specialists had not already known, he pieces the events together in a superb fashion, and he makes fine use of memoirs and documents with which most American readers will not be familiar. In addition, he returned to the Soviet Union in 1992 and interviewed many of the key figures to help him round out the account. On the whole, Matlock shows remarkable good sense, including a far greater sensitivity to and understanding of ethnic complexities and tensions in the Soviet Union than many American diplomats have displayed.

Matlock does convey some interesting new material about the American side, what Washington thought and believed about the Soviet scene. Some of his implied condemnation of the State Department (and sometimes of the White House and the National Security Council) reflects the generic rivalry between ambassadors (bound to believe that, being on the spot, they understand things better) and the bureaucrats back home (who are confident of their sounder judgment against a broad backdrop of global policies). But, beyond this, he provides a number of specific, candid, and damning details on the mishandling of Soviet affairs by the George Bush–James Baker–Brent Scowcroft team. Somewhat surprisingly, although generally a moderate, Matlock is far more positive on the Reagan years, at least from 1984 on, perhaps because he participated in drafting the basic policy papers that guided U.S. efforts at a rapprochement during those years.

Matlock's general judgment of Gorbachev and his entourage, including Aleksandr Yakovlev, Eduard Shevardnadze, and Egor Ligachev as well as Boris Yeltsin, does not differ markedly from that of other informed observers, but their behavior is recounted here against an exceptionally rich canvas. We understand better the interactions of their personalities, including their animosities, hesitations, resentments, and reversals. Matlock correctly sees Gorbachev's failure to adopt a clear and firm economic reform program as both symptomatic of and a major cause for his general loss of authority and support. He is also right in seeing Gorbachev's failure to take the "nation-

ality question" seriously, indeed to grasp it fully until it was too late, as one of his critical errors. He makes a convincing case for the (implicit) argument that, time and again in 1991, Gorbachev lost all sense of reality and operated in a world of wishful thinking. It is also interesting to see how many warnings Gorbachev received—and disregarded—about his betrayal by many of his closest associates and appointees prior to the failed coup of August 1991. Matlock makes an interesting case that Vladimir Kryuchkov, the head of the KGB, played the key role in bringing down Gorbachev.

Although many of Matlock's judgments are sound and well documented, some of his broader conclusions are apt to be contested by other analysts of the Soviet scene. He endorses the view that the Cold War was inevitable as long as the Soviet leadership was committed to its ideology, but this is a view that was operationally meaningless and is contradicted by his generally supportive view of the whole *perestroika* effort. In my view, he also exaggerates Washington's role in the collapse of the Soviet regime. Likewise, I hope that he is right in his belief that Russia cannot again be an imperial power because it cannot afford to be. Leaving aside the question of the various ways of achieving imperial goals, the argument assumes a rationality in policy making that precedent suggests can by no means be taken for granted. But, here and elsewhere, Matlock is well aware of counter-arguments and fairly spells them out.

Not surprisingly, Matlock's own record looks very good in his account, in large part no doubt because it was. In what ways he differs with others (for example, on the Reykjavik summit) and whether his judgments have changed with the benefit of hindsight, future records and memoirs may help clarify. In any event, this book is bound to remain a solid and valuable contribution to the recent history of the Soviet Union and Soviet-American relations.

ALEXANDER DALLIN
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CANADA

PETER WAY. *Common Labour: Workers and the Digging of North American Canals, 1780–1860*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 304.

This book explores, for the first time in an extended analysis, the story of the "canallers" who built the canals of North America. The book is unique both in its choice of topics and its focus on canal building on both sides of the Great Lakes. Peter Way is a gifted writer who presents here an enormous amount of new information about the canal workers and their families, the totality of which he sees as elements in the process of class formation. This process differs from the traditional view of skilled artisans gradually declining from craftsmen to workers in the world of industrial capitalism, for the canallers were unskilled, ruth-

lessly exploited, and emerged from the "Canal Era," if at all, battered and broken.

The early canal laborers, including slaves and indentured servants, were at times literally stigmatized (via ear cropping or branding); a half century later, in Canada, troops fired into striking canal workers, killing five. These episodes underscore Way's basic argument that in both times and places the laborers were "relatively powerless," their resistance ("by flight or strike") was futile, and they were "unable fundamentally to alter their condition" (p. 3). As industrial capitalism in the canal industry spread across the continent, it ushered in the modern industrial class system.

In his study of this alternative labor experience of canal workers, Way has utilized generally untapped sources regarding the labor forces on approximately three dozen United States canal systems, and about one dozen Canadian canals. As he notes almost in passing, the extant histories of canals and canal companies have been written in a "surprisingly bloodless fashion" (p. 50), generally concerning themselves with company leadership and the construction managers—engineers and contractors. Little information was readily available and thus little attention was paid to the actual canal builders. But Way is powerful and eloquent in his descriptions of the conditions under which these men—and women and children—had to work. Forced to accept unconscionably long hours (when work was available) and a near-subsistence level of existence while continuing to use the traditional tools of heavy manual labor (pick, shovel, cart), their shanty towns were often the setting for "much drinking, criminality, and bloody violence" (p. 10).

Both topical and chronological chapters and a number of informative tables in the two appendixes deal with the ethnicity of the laborers—slaves, French-Canadians, American farmers, Irish immigrants—their pay, the nature and danger of their work, and their periodic resistance to exploitation in the form of riots and strikes, a surprisingly large number of which Way has discovered. Indeed, one of the more important contributions of this study is its notice of some 160 riots and strikes, many of which, especially in the 1840s, occurred in Canada and were suppressed by British troops. Various state militia groups suppressed labor flare-ups in the United States, with federal troops used only once (in Maryland in 1834).

This work is not without its flaws. In addition to cryptic chapter titles and occasional factual slips about the canals themselves, there is a disdain or carelessness in regard to chronology that inhibits clarity and weakens comparative statements. The lack of a bibliography, despite the fullness of footnote citations, is unfortunate. Furthermore, Way does not attempt much in the matter of following the lives of canallers after their waterways employment ended, discounting the persistent story that many laborers settled along the banks of the projects they had helped to build, for Way believes that wages did not permit this to happen.

The book is, nonetheless, a veritable storehouse of

information, with scattered data on individual canal projects and considerable detail on the demographics of the laborers, pay rates, hours, and the omnipresent riots and strikes. Its thesis about class formation is clear and persuasive, and Way is not bashful about challenging interpretations by others. He takes issue, for example, with Alfred D. Chandler's familiar argument (*The Railroads: The Nation's First Big Business* [1965]; *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* [1977]) that railroads were "the first modern business enterprises" by suggesting that canals, in terms of the "scale of capitalization, business organization[,] and labour mobilization . . . provided an important model for later railroads" (p. 51 n). In Way's view, the "invisible hand" of Adam Smith's market place was in fact a "closed fist" (p. 264).

RALPH D. GRAY

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FRANK LEONARD. *A Thousand Blunders: The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and Northern British Columbia*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 344.

The history of transcontinental railways in North America is filled with financial disasters. Constructed across largely unpopulated lands incapable of generating traffic for decades, the railways suffered from heavy debts, high fixed charges, poor management, and the unwarranted enthusiasm of their promoters and builders. The history of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway (GTP) is a textbook example of this all-too-familiar saga. A subsidiary of Canada's Grand Trunk Railway Company, the GTP was conceived as an extension of the rail line westward from Winnipeg through Prince George and Yellowhead Pass to the port of Prince Rupert in northern British Columbia. The parent carrier sought to compete head-on with the rival Canadian Pacific, which dominated traffic at the port of Vancouver. Charles M. Hays directed the fortunes of the GTP from its inception in 1902 until his death on the *Titanic* in 1912. Seven years later, the government of Canada placed the GTP into receivership. The company had operated the newest transcontinental for five years, having completed construction in 1914, but the absence of traffic, the failure to develop the port at Prince Rupert, and heavy financial obligations doomed it.

In a thoroughly researched and well-written volume, Frank Leonard analyzes the failure of the railway, the consequence, he argues, of "a thousand blunders" (p. 5). Much of the blame can be placed on the shoulders of Hays, whose optimistic traffic projections and high construction standards exacerbated the carrier's plight. But, as Leonard shows, management at all levels committed mistakes that cost the GTP dearly. The problem was neither questionable ethics nor avarice. Rather, entrepreneurial errors piled up, one leading to another. Hays insisted on a maximum gradient of 0.4

percent across the mountains, a remarkable engineering achievement that increased construction costs by one-third. The widely touted trade with the Pacific Rim never materialized because shipping concerns refused to call at Prince Rupert without a heavy subsidy. A huge and expensive drydock at the port rarely saw use. From its conception, the carrier was economically unjustifiable.

Hays was not the only culprit. Junior executives alienated local residents by establishing and controlling townsites to maximize immediate financial returns. Virtually all community initiatives at Prince George, Prince Rupert, and elsewhere were squelched. The need for cash drove GTP officials to take actions that undermined provincial fishing and lumbering operations. A fight over the location of a townsite in the Hazelton district virtually killed nearby mining efforts. Managerial decisions were largely made in Ottawa or Winnipeg, with little delegation of authority to officers along the line. Leonard's evidence shows that GTP leaders had access to data that not only argued strongly against the company's structure but also demonstrated that crucial decisions were not in the railway's interest either immediately or in the future.

In this dense, fact-filled study, Leonard contends that the refusal of the Canadian government to raise freight rates during World War I did not cause the failure of the GTP. Revenues declined because there were simply no cargoes to haul. Whether provoking a fight with labor, which produced a strike led by the Industrial Workers of the World in 1912, or seeking naval contracts for the drydock at Prince Rupert, where no skilled labor was available, management erred repeatedly. The failure of GTP mirrors the collapse of the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific (Milwaukee Road) railroad after it reached Tacoma, Washington, and the misfortunes of the Western Pacific after it opened a line from Salt Lake City to Oakland. Tens of millions of English pounds and American dollars were paid for the construction of unnecessary transcontinental lines. What were the investors thinking about when they purchased securities issued by these incipient failures? The answer to that question goes beyond Leonard's significant contribution to the history of western Canada.

KEITH L. BRYANT, JR.
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JOHN W. BENNETT and SEENA B. KOHL. *Settling the Canadian-American West, 1890-1915: Pioneer Adaptation and Community Building; An Anthropological History*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 295. \$50.00.

John W. Bennett and Seena B. Kohl, two American anthropologists, have tackled an important and intriguing theme in this study: how were experiences of settlement in the Canadian and American West encoded in memories? This is an important theme because both countries tap into a deep nostalgia for

bygone frontier days of pioneering virtue; it is an intriguing theme because the selection of meanings from this experience may provide a bridge to broader ideological formations of North American expansion, households, and politics.

Bennett's and Kohl's primary database is a survey of letters, memoirs, and local histories from both sides of the border. There is not much discussion of the method of sampling (except concerning the geographical boundaries), so I suspect that they followed a rule historians often subscribe to by default: rely on the sources you can find. This poses a difficult problem for settlement regions—as Bennett and Kohl sometimes acknowledge—because so many settlers failed at the homesteading venture and were thus not around to bequeath their memoirs or be interviewed in later decades. The sample is thus by definition biased. Because the issue at hand is memory, however, Bennett and Kohl are more concerned with how certain recollections were conjured than with their accuracy.

The book surveys a variety of themes, including decisions to migrate, arrival, families, childhood, community formation, and political involvement. Some of these subjects are more effectively rendered than others. The chapter on women and households reinforces the growing scholarship showing that women were more than helpers, that they were instrumental to farm survival, and that this role is reproduced in individual and collective memories. Likewise, the chapter on children shows the extent to which they contributed to household welfare and coped with parental anxieties, even as these first-born westerners forged new identities of their own.

Other chapters are less successful. In their treatment of community formation, Bennett and Kohl seek to show how settlers forged links with neighbors, a survival strategy that transcended the common impression of rugged individualism, but the chapter does not really expose the gulf between practice and image. The study of political engagement is especially troublesome: it adds nothing to what we already know, and Bennett and Kohl ignore large differences between Canadian and American political expressions in order to ascribe to both areas a generic regional populism. Although the region was in many ways the construct of public policy, the state remains an unstudied force in this book.

Some Canadians will wince at Bennett's and Kohl's refusal to think through the differences the border made, in spite of important similarities. Although they make an occasional nod to stylistic differences (the Canadians had Mounties to bring peace and act as protosocial workers; Ontario Tories injected different political sensibilities), the authors are not really interested in exploring these comparisons systematically. Nor are they especially interested in the roles of ethnicity and class, strange oversights in light of twenty years of historical scholarship on both sides of the border. This book contributes little to social history.

Bennett's and Kohl's main argument, however, is

that testimonial scripts (they include private letters in this genre) betray a sense of disillusion. People expected greater things from settling even if they would not forsake it, and they found pioneering more arduous than the propaganda they read had led them to believe. If there is a forceful memory, it is of struggle against great odds. Although Bennett and Kohl frequently slip back and forth between writing a social history of experience and appraising peoples' memories (a blurring that will sometimes confuse readers), this book is at least valuable for reminding us that what people recalled may not fit squarely with idealized myths.

JEREMY ADELMAN
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LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

CHERYL ENGLISH MARTIN. *Governance and Society in Colonial Mexico: Chihuahua in the Eighteenth Century*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 264. \$39.50.

This well-crafted monograph examines society and politics in eighteenth-century San Felipe el Real de Chihuahua, the present-day city of Chihuahua. Cheryl English Martin aspires to provide not only a case study of a frontier mining community but also "an interpretative essay on the workings of late colonial society" (p. 3). Martin largely accomplishes this goal in her well-written social history.

After a brief chapter outlining the economic and population history of San Felipe, Martin offers a comprehensive portrait of the town's ethnic and social diversity. Silver was discovered in 1702, and the settlement that grew up overnight drew white, *mestizo*, Indian, and mulatto migrants from central and southern Mexico, Spain, and other corners of the Spanish empire. This varied group was further enriched by Indians from northern Mexico captured by Spanish arms or attracted by Spanish wages.

Martin examines labor relations in depth. Mine owners first attracted workers by granting them a share of the ore extracted. In the 1730s, owners' efforts to end this practice led to dramatic but ultimately unsuccessful strikes. Credit became the most important incentive for workers, and they ran up enormous debts. Yet these debts did not effectively bind workers to their employers.

Municipal government was dominated by a very small group of Spanish-born mine owners and merchants who struggled to replicate on the frontier the institutions of Spanish and central Mexican cities. Both in governmental practice and in civic ritual, the elite strove to create a sharply hierarchical society in which all fulfilled the obligations of their station without questioning the right of their betters to rule in the name of the king. Civic rituals in Chihuahua were largely spectacles of power in which the poor were only observers, and the relatively new mining community

never developed the rituals of temporary social inversion so common in both early modern Latin America and Europe.

Martin's most unusual and innovative chapter is titled "The Social Etiquette of Everyday Life." She outlines attitudes on honor and race before showing how both peninsular and American-born Spaniards strove, often unsuccessfully, to demand the deference of their ethnic and social inferiors in face-to-face encounters. Subordinate social and ethnic groups rejected claims to superiority based on racial ideology but adapted the logic of honor based on behavior to claim a measure of dignity.

The following chapter explains the importance of patriarchy in the governing ideology and social interactions of the mining town. Patriarchy gave men of all social ranks authority within their homes akin to the authority of their betters in public life. Self-supporting women who challenged patriarchy faced scrutiny and punishment. Gender rules were less flexible in their interpretation than other aspects of the dominant ideology.

The conclusion examines the usefulness of the Chihuahua example for understanding other parts of New Spain. Martin carefully explains how the frontier case differs from others and what aspects of her findings are likely to be useful elsewhere. Martin also speculates about how changes in the late colonial period and early national periods might have altered face-to-face social relations in New Spain. Generally she emphasizes the resilience and probable continuity of the principles of honor, hierarchy, and patriarchy that underpinned the social order. This last section is more effective as a call for further research than it is as an argument about events after 1750.

Martin's book is modest in length, but it is packed with insights and observations that will be useful both to scholars interested in other Mexican regions and to those who study early modern social relations in other settings. Nevertheless, she could have been more ambitious in engaging the theoretical literature on hegemony. Her relatively brief and uncritical discussions of some of the formulations of E. P. Thompson and James C. Scott pale beside her subtle analysis of social relations in San Felipe. Martin also might have included more discussion of the 1730s strikes and particularly the rhetoric and cultural symbols deployed by workers and their adversaries. Still, these are minor criticisms of an immensely informative and interesting book. This rich volume will undoubtedly be influential for years to come.

PETER GUARDINO
Indiana University

PETER F. GUARDINO. *Peasants, Politics, and the Formation of Mexico's National State: Guerrero, 1800-1857*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. viii, 319. \$55.00.

Guerrero, the Pacific coast state south of Mexico City, is back in the news. Now, as in the 1970s when country people and some of their schoolteachers made guerrilla war on state and national politicians and succeeded in kidnapping the governor, a masked force of *campesinos* is in revolt. The reporters' Guerrero is a desperately poor and lawless land convulsed by personalist struggles of regional bosses and the depredations of bandits and drug traffickers. Historians have often described a tradition of anarchic political violence and manipulation of rural discontent by regional bosses that reaches back into the period discussed in Peter F. Guardino's book: the bloody insurgency of the 1810s, uprisings in the 1840s, and the "Revolution of Ayutla" in the 1850s.

Guardino explodes this vision of an anomic Guerrero spasmodically moved by grinding poverty and *caudillo* politics. His intriguing, well-researched reflections on Guerrero's rural politics and guerrilla warfare may also change the way we think about the early decades of Mexico's national history. This book puts the state back into the history of rural Mexico in a way that highlights the initiatives and influence of Indian villagers and mulatto sharecroppers and the connections between "the dominant political culture and rural values and beliefs" (p. 15). Guardino sees Guerrero's peasants as important players in the destruction of the Spanish colonial state and the formation of a national state in the nineteenth century, promoting an ideology of "popular federalism" that some state and national politicians shared and tried to lead.

Guardino's focus on the ways that peasants actively influenced the formation of the Mexican national state after 1810 is more surprising than it may seem to historians of Europe or South Asia. Latin Americanists are accustomed to think of 1810-1855 as a time of state collapse, not state formation; a time when politics was practiced by a privileged few in Mexico City and state capitals without any sustained relationship to the vast majority of Mexicans who lived in rural villages and *rancherías* or on private estates. Peasants, in this standard view, were either passive spectators of the initiatives of elite families and generals or a blind and savage force that was mobilized occasionally to topple feeble governments and lay waste to the works of Europeanizing culture. This interpretation fits with the dichotomized metaphor favored by many nineteenth-century Latin Americans who wrote national histories and held high office: *civilización* (of high-minded urban nationalists) or *barbarie* (barbarity in the countryside). This and related dichotomies of elite or the poor, modernity or tradition, and national or local are replaced by Guardino with a dialectic between apparent opposites, a dialectic in which peasants and elites "shared concrete interests as well as basic notions of politics, justice, and legitimacy" (p. 46).

The subject is pursued in a detailed chronological discussion that maintains a fine counterpoint between national-level politics and developments in Guerrero. Arresting hypotheses appear in every chapter, from

the late colonial period to the rise of Liberal ideology in the 1850s. Nearly all of them revolve around the importance of rural municipalities to Mexico's political and social history. They include: (1) the Independence period (1810–1821) was a more decisive time in Guerrero's history than recent interpretations allow; (2) "the most prominent of these [local agencies and institutions to which state-makers deferred] was the municipality, which paradoxically became the most important executive agent of the central state and the most important bearer of the demands that peasants and other rural people made on the state" (p. 108); (3) Juan Alvarez was less the *caudillo* of Guerrero than an astute intermediary and political beneficiary of the strength of the region's municipalities; (4) the Revolution of Ayutla "was not a barracks revolt but a guerrilla war" (p. 186); and (5) the land issue has been overemphasized in studies of rural conflict in this period (there was always a broader vision of politics and society at the local level). The book also charts a striking change in rural rebellion from the late colonial period to the 1850s in which protests centering on individual villages or small clusters of rural communities gave way to larger-scale regional uprisings as Mexico's political elite attempted to transform the land system and control local governments. In discussing these patterns and hypotheses, Guardino offers a satisfying alternative to the teleology of an early national history leading directly to the triumph of Liberalism.

But such a vigorous pursuit of the idea of peasants as active, resourceful, and effective participants in the politics of Guerrero and the nation has its problems. Two of the key terms of the discussion, Guerrero and peasant, are not fully resolved as historical categories or processes. Was there an entity and identity we should call Guerrero before the state was created from parts of the Estado de México, Michoacán, and Puebla in 1849? Market networks may help to explain the new state boundaries (this possibility is mentioned but not developed), but how important was Juan Alvarez to the creation of the state and the tracing of its borders? Was the state of Guerrero more a product of his ambition than a validation of natural frontiers and compelling local affinities? And who are "peasants"? Factions within municipalities are mentioned, as is the intermittent role of the poor in politics (pp. 30, 31, 49, 111), but these complications are not important parts of the story of local politics and society told here. "Peasant" becomes whole "villages" (or groups of sharecroppers, or another word for "local society") acting in concert. Did single villages or municipalities generally speak and act as one? Whose utterances do we find in the written record of and about villages, and whom do they represent? In what sense were villages (more than individuals or families or associates in the labor market and commerce) connected in political movements? Is it appropriate to place such an emphasis on villages for this part of Mexico? Who, finally, were Guerrero's active popular federalists?

There is also an implicit integral/isolated dichotomy running through this thesis that deserves the same close scrutiny that Guardino brings to elite/impoverished and modernity/tradition separations. Integration may be the great forgotten tendency of the time, but the difficulties of communication through rural Guerrero in the early nineteenth century (not to mention today), tensions within local political communities, and late colonial reports of antagonism toward parish priests, district governors, and tax collectors in remote places that were rarely visited by these state officials suggest that a historical dialectic between integration and separation (and perhaps opposition to the idea of Mexican citizenship) was operating at this level, too, and that guerrilla warfare could be more than another form of negotiation and accommodation with the state. Moving beyond this dichotomy toward a more synoptic vision will not be easy. It requires evidence of the ways in which members of what we regard as a community (because they are treated as such in written records) were divided, isolated, and in conflict within and beyond their visible and imagined borders, as well as collective voices integrated into "systems centered around Mexico City, Spain, and the Atlantic industrializing powers" (p. 15).

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WILLIAM E. FRENCH. *A Peaceful and Working People: Manners, Morals, and Class Formation in Northern Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 262. \$40.00.

William E. French examines the process of class formation in an area of accelerated dependent economic development—specifically, the Hidalgo District, Chihuahua, during the Porfirian and revolutionary eras and the post-revolutionary 1920s. French details how members of the professional, managerial, and business-owning classes saw themselves, how they saw workers, and how they attempted to change the workers' behavior both in the workplace and in society. He contends that manners and morals as much as material conditions defined class boundaries. The middle class attempted to impose "civilized morality" both to control workers and to express its own members' aspirations, highlighting the ongoing struggle between workers and the middle class in the cultural domain.

As mining became capital intensive in northern Mexico, aggressive, mechanized economies of scale introduced a boom or bust economy dependent on foreign capital and world metal prices. Mechanization slowly replaced skilled with unskilled labor. This new, wage-dependent, "floating population" included rural agriculturists forced off the land by expanding agribusiness; smallholders, who alternated seasonal mine work with subsistence agriculture; and others, who migrated to the United States or worked on local railroads and collected in small towns.

It was the appearance and growth of these "danger-

ous classes" that made middle-class owners fear idleness, vagrancy, and rising crime and prompted them to seek new means of control. Managers attempted to impose greater work discipline through incentives such as health care, housing, and education. Mining companies funded local police to curtail prostitution, gambling, and popular celebrations, while middle-class reformers campaigned to change the morals and manners of workers by inculcating thrift and "family values." Working-class women and their families became the principal objects of their efforts.

French finds that workers and their families resisted managerial and reform efforts by stressing their own moral economy, which asserted their rights to a living wage, job stability, and fair bosses. He details how the working class advanced this popular folk liberalism against middle-class attempts at order and control as well as similar demands from the centralizing modern state.

While the revolution raised expectations among miners for reform of hours, wages, and conditions, it also increased frustration when it failed to deliver. *Maderista* reformers continued the campaign against the workers' social vices. French sees skilled artisans as key to understanding this process, because they responded more like "*gente decente*" than workers. Given the problems with primary sources, French successfully accomplishes the difficult task of tracing and analyzing the shifting allegiances of different popular groups; workers could alternately support middle-class, anti-re-electionist organizations and then join popular rebel forces.

Throughout, French remains mindful of the problems of applying theories of advanced industrial capitalism to a developing, mixed agricultural and mining economy. He addresses the theoretical literature on class formation from James C. Scott and E.P. Thompson to the comparative studies of workers in the United States and Europe. He is also careful to place his work within the larger historiographical debate on the role of labor in Latin America. His documentation is extensive, mixing both government and private sources in English and Spanish that deal with the foreign-dominated mining sector, and he supports his study of the middle and working classes through local records in Hidalgo del Parral, the Labor Collection at the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City, and a variety of Mexican newspapers and printed primary sources.

For Mexicanists, French's book provides an important new contribution to understanding the dynamics of labor and class during the Porfiriato, the Mexican Revolution, and the decade that followed. His work is critical in helping to fill the gap that exists in our comprehension of the role that middle-class influence played in defining and explaining the behavior of this largely new and faceless, wage-dependent, and floating population of workers that emerged in northern Mexico a hundred years ago. French's book is essential reading for students of modern Mexican history and of

the development and expression of class consciousness among workers in Latin America and other areas undergoing similar processes of development.

WILLIAM K. MEYERS
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AVIVA CHOMSKY. *West Indian Workers and the United Fruit Company in Costa Rica 1870-1940*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 302. \$35.00.

From the eighteenth century, West Indian blacks spread out along the coast of Central America, usually voluntarily but occasionally forced there by island authorities. Their numbers grew in the nineteenth century as emancipation and economic decline swept the Caribbean. These migrations reached a crescendo in the early twentieth century with the huge levies of workers for the Panama Canal. In all, perhaps half a million islanders came to the Isthmus by World War I.

The early West Indian migrants intermixed with natives (producing the Garifuna and Mosquito, for example) but remained apart from Hispanic peoples, who inhabited cooler, drier uplands. Clustered together in enclaves along the tropical coast, the immigrants worked in every imaginable enterprise, from construction to petty commerce. In the late nineteenth century, they were drawn into banana production as that fruit caught on with U.S. consumers. We have a few studies that trace the experiences of West Indians in the banana industry.

Aviva Chomsky's new book adds to this literature. She focuses on West Indians in Costa Rica and their interaction with the United Fruit Company (UFCO) and the larger society. She describes their early arrival, recruitment for railroad construction, and eventual engagement in banana production near Puerto Limón. Most of the narrative concerns the period between the incorporation of UFCO in 1899 and its shift of operations to the Pacific coast in the 1930s.

Three overall subjects dominate the book: the organization of banana production; UFCO's health and sanitation programs; and the cultural and political evolution of the workers' communities. The final chapters serve as epilogue and analysis.

Chomsky carefully links the West Indians' lives to Costa Rica's national history, something most historians have failed to do. Her book fits a growing revisionist trend that contradicts the myth of a peaceful society made up of middle-class yeoman farmers with a natural inclination toward democracy. Rather, she and others show that the country has experienced considerable class tension and conflict. Chomsky helps to debunk the myth by revealing the Hispanic elite's bias against the West Indians for racial, cultural, economic, and ideological reasons. The immigrants and their children were not an oppressed minority, to be sure, but neither were they accepted as citizens and equals. Their experiences mirrored a larger pattern of discrimination throughout the region.

Chomsky embraces certain analytic strategies. At the outset, she vows to tell the story from the workers' point of view. She finds intuitive inspiration in the literature of the Caribbean slave and post-emancipation societies, especially in Jamaica. She believes that the workers' creole and African heritages shaped their behavior at work and play, in associations, in illness, and in religious worship. She portrays West Indians as agents of their own destinies, able to survive and to avoid proletarianization and oppression. She regards the strikes of 1910 and 1934 as pivotal. In these and other ways, she provides a sensitive and sophisticated labor history of the area.

The book, while compelling for the Costa Rican setting, misses opportunities to fit Limon's blacks into the broader West Indian diaspora. For example, more treatment of the analogous communities of West Indians in Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, Cuba, and Central America would have made the Costa Rican story seem less exceptional. A fuller account of UFCO's overall operations (Limon contributed only a fraction of its banana shipments) would have explained certain company actions better than local factors. For example, the success of shifting production to private growers led to the large-scale adoption of that strategy in Ecuador after World War II, under the auspices of President Galo Plaza Lasso. These and other perspectives are often slighted, perhaps because of the bottom-up approach. Some detail could have been sacrificed to address wider questions.

The book draws heavily and expertly on documentation in Costa Rican archives, Limon newspapers, and secondary works. The British Foreign Office records provide usually sympathetic views of the workers. Oddly, neither personal interviews nor the U.S. National Archives are cited—both would seem appropriate, the former for labor's side, the other for UFCO's.

Part four looks at labor and national politics in the 1930s and 1940s, a time when the West Indians had faded from view as workers and activists. Hispanic unions, the Communist Party, and national politicians took over the stage, leading to the 1948 revolution led by Pepe Figueres. The connections with the West Indians grow tenuous in this section as national issues predominate. The losers in 1948 are not so much West Indians as radical anti-imperialists. That would seem to be someone else's struggle, not the West Indians'. Their voice is only heard in the stories of Quince Duncan, a descendant of that community, who only writes in Spanish. This part of the book does not flow from the earlier ones.

In sum, this book portrays the lives of West Indians in the banana industry around Limon, Costa Rica, at a time when crude, racist, coercive, imperialist impulses prevailed in the tropics. Most West Indians survived and maintained their culture, at least for another generation. Chomsky deserves praise for recreating

the lives of these forgotten people who lived in another, less humane era.

MICHAEL L. CONNIFF
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RONN F. PINEO. *Social and Economic Reform in Ecuador: Life and Work in Guayaquil*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1996. Pp. xviii, 227. \$49.95.

Ronn F. Pineo has written a brief and engaging history of the city of Guayaquil, Ecuador, during the cacao export boom (1870–1920) that transformed this Pacific port from a sleepy town of 20,000 to a metropolis of over 100,000. Most Latin American urban historiography has focused on national capitals or industrial cities. Coastal Guayaquil, however, which dominated the country's trade during this period of export-led growth, was larger and economically more important than Ecuador's highland capital, Quito. The book is enriched by numerous photographs and dozens of tables giving quantitative information on economic, social, and health indicators.

Introductory chapters place Guayaquil's growth in national and international context. Pineo documents the late nineteenth-century pattern of European investment in primary exports and infrastructure in Latin America, tensions between the colonial traditions of the highlands and the more fluid coastal population in Ecuador, and the growth and character of the cacao export economy. The social and demographic make-up of Guayaquil was determined by its place in the world economy: elites controlled the export of cacao and the import of consumer goods while the majority of the population worked in the informal or service economy, often in temporary or insecure positions. Guayaquil's distance from the center of national political power, in both geographic and social terms, meant that the city was overtaxed and underfunded. Thus social services were chronically deficient.

The most provocative sections of the book are chapter seven, on health and sanitation, and chapter eight, on collective organizing. Guayaquil "earned and richly deserved its foul reputation" as "one of the most disease-infested ports of the Pacific" (pp. 137, 100). "Unlike other Latin American cities that had some or many of the conditions that spawned deadly diseases, Guayaquil had nearly all of them, and many in the extreme" (p. 127). These conditions included tropical climate, rapid population growth, immigrant highland populations particularly susceptible to tropical disease, war, and lack of funding for health and sanitation due to the drain of tax revenues to the politically dominant highlands (pp. 127–29).

Chapter eight details the development of artisans' societies and later labor unions, mostly in sectors connected to the export industry, such as railroad workers, dock laborers, and cacao handlers. The collapse of cacao prices in the early 1920s led to currency devaluations and rising prices for imports, making wage earners' survival increasingly precarious and

leading to a general strike in Guayaquil in 1922. Workers demanded not only wage increases but also a radical program of economic reform: "a moratorium on foreign currency exchange, an end to regressive salt and tobacco taxes, abolition of the government sugar monopoly, protection for nascent domestic industry, creation of a program for turning over unused farm land to landless peasants, and opposition to the proposed trolley fare hikes," as well as the creation of a government committee with worker representation to carry out economic reform (pp. 151–52). On the seventh day of the strike, the government appeared poised to compromise. 20,000 workers gathered in downtown Guayaquil to demonstrate, but police fired on the crowd, turning the demonstration into a four-hour massacre that killed at least 300 people. Members of the elite cheered the police and even joined in the shooting from their balconies (p. 154).

These two chapters provide rich material for social analysis. Overall, however, Pineo's study is stronger on description than it is on interpretation. Sanitation and social reform are presented as transparently positive developments, with little attention to approaches that problematize these phenomena as arenas for social control and negotiation of power on many levels. Like elites at the time, Pineo focuses his lens on tropical disease, even though "respiratory and digestive diseases [were] Guayaquil's leading killers" (p. 103). When he remarks that "residents tended to view their [respiratory and digestive diseases] presence as almost inevitable" and that "Guayaquileños expressed much more concern over the periodic epidemics" (p. 103), Pineo perhaps unconsciously privileges the perspective of elites who did not have to concern themselves with diseases of poverty.

The chapter on collective organizing contains little discussion of ethnicity, gender, or even class identities, despite Pineo's implicit acknowledgment of ethnic divisions between highland and coast, among Indians, creoles, and (presumably) *mestizos* and those of African origin, and between native Ecuadoreans and immigrants of European and Asian origin. These absences are perhaps connected to the preponderance of older works in the bibliography; recent works that attend to popular culture, consciousness, and more complex notions of power and resistance are not included.

AVIVA CHOMSKY
Bates College

PAMELA LOWDEN. *Moral Opposition to Authoritarian Rule in Chile, 1973–90*. (St. Antony's Series.) New York: St. Martin's. 1996. Pp. xii, 216. \$59.95.

This is a welcome addition to the literature on the recent period of military rule in Chile (1973–1990). It focuses on the role of the *Vicaría de la Solidaridad* (Vicariate of Solidarity), a branch of the Catholic church that concentrated on human rights and achieved significant stature and support both internally

and internationally. This emphasis on human rights put the church at odds with the military government headed by General Augusto Pinochet, and made the Vicaría the center of political tensions confronting church and state. Ultimately, the Vicaría succeeded in providing needed services to the victims of repression, documenting the abuses of the military regime, and helping the previously scattered and divided opposition to military rule to work together for the restoration of democracy.

In the aftermath of the military coup of 1973, the defense of human rights was taken up by the Committee for Peace, a human rights organization sponsored by an ecumenical council of churches. It was soon overwhelmed by the magnitude of the task, and by its vulnerability to government pressure. The committee was forced to disband in late 1975, but on January 1, 1976, the Catholic church created the Vicaría to assume the work of the beleaguered organization, in effect giving the full institutional support of the church to the cause of human rights. With considerable detail but succinct prose, Pamela Lowden documents the Vicaría's evolution. At the height of its activities, it employed 200 staff members; published its own bulletin, *Solidaridad*; and managed an annual budget of \$2 million U.S. that was provided by several international organizations, including the Ford Foundation. The most sensitive activities of the Vicaría resided in the legal department, which submitted thousands of writs of *habeas corpus* during the period and advised families on legal steps in cases of arbitrary arrest, abductions, and other fundamental rights violations. The Vicaría provided various other services, from support for unemployment cooperatives to lunch for children.

Because repression was intrinsic to the nature of the regime, the history of the Vicaría reads like the history of military rule. The institution was most active during the worst period of repression in the 1970s, and thus the book pays comparatively more attention to that time. But its role in the 1980s was just as important for the emergence of the opposition to military rule. Due to its ubiquitous presence in such sensitive social and political areas, the Vicaría became the target of government repression, including the assassination of one of its leading members. The government and its supporters made various attempts to associate the Vicaría with partisan political activities, and even with support for terrorist groups. While not oblivious to these allegations, the Vicaría continued to deliver services to the victims of repression. In the process, it secured the unequivocal support of the Vatican. In contrast to other Latin American cases, in Chile the church hierarchy was solidly committed to human rights. Over the years, the office produced the extensive documentation (over 40,000 files in the legal department alone) that served as the basis for the human rights policy of the Patricio Aylwin administration (1990–1994). In the 1980s, when political parties and other organizations of civil society reemerged, the Vicaría's role receded.

With the restoration of civilian rule, the Vicaría disbanded in November 1992.

The well-chosen subject of this book is important not only because of the Vicaría's contribution to the defense of human rights in Chile but also because it raises important questions about both the role of the church in politics, and the role of what the author terms "moral opposition" to authoritarian regimes. By making human rights a central objective and by creating an institutional space for the activities of the Vicaría, the church was thrust into a political notoriety that it did not relish. To attack the root causes of repression meant assuming a political role, confronting the regime directly (using, in some cases, excommunication), and aiding the opposition to unite. But while openly maneuvering in a difficult political terrain, the church insisted on the doctrinal and moral foundations of its defense of human rights. The message was consistent, and it proved to be a formidable force in the restoration of democracy.

Lowden has written a most useful and, despite the grim nature of the subject, readable account of a central issue in the history of military rule in Chile. Her study is based on a wide array of sources, including interviews with clerical and lay leaders, Vicaría archives and church documents, press articles, and a good selection of secondary literature. It should prove particularly useful for classroom adoption.

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DEBORAH L. NORDEN. *Military Rebellion in Argentina: Between Coups and Consolidation*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1996. Pp. 242. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$17.50.

This book, a study of the military rebellions in Argentina between 1987 and 1990, raises some broader and long-discussed questions concerning the political role of the Latin American armed forces, particularly the armies. Deborah L. Norden examines the education of military officers and its effects on their loyalties and ideologies. She asks about the extent of the military's power or influence and the conditions under which they are exercised. She debates the "instrumental" and "functional" interpretations of military intervention: whether, on the one hand, intervention reflects the military's standing as an independent corporate power group or as a component of other power groups such as the conservative right; or, on the other hand, whether military intervention should be analyzed as an expression or consequence of weaknesses and breakdowns in the broader political system.

These questions emerge from Norden's study of the four military rebellions in Argentina between April 1987 and December 1990, of which the first and last are best known. During the first rebellion, known as the Easter ("*Semana Santa*") movement, President Raúl Alfonsín intervened to end the uprising by flying into the rebels' camp to confront them personally. The

last of the rebellions won some attention outside Argentina for the bloodshed it produced, and because it occurred on the eve of the visit to Argentina by President George Bush. The two intermediate rebellions, by contrast, remained very obscure affairs, closer to verbal protests than armed action. All four episodes lasted only a few days or even less, and their achievements and consequences remained fairly small by comparison with similar episodes in Argentina's past. Norden's subtitle captures the significance of the revolts, all of which fell short of full-fledged attempts to seize power by coup d'état, and all of whose principal concerns lay with the military's standing during the era of democratic "consolidation."

The chief shortcoming of this work stems from its limited subject matter; it is difficult to make a book from episodes of such brevity and limited objectives. Norden devotes about a quarter of her text to summarizing the historical background to the revolts, using well-known secondary sources. Her concluding section includes similarly familiar comparisons of democratic "consolidation" in Argentina and other South American nations. Certain themes and issues that appeared during the rebellions require broader discussion. For example, Norden emphasizes the strong ideological motivations of the rebellions, but she provides only a brief sketch of their content.

Despite such objections, the book contains several positive features. Norden provides a lucid description of the human rights groups that appeared in Argentina following the military coup of 1976. She expertly describes the military reforms carried out after the democratic restoration of 1983, illustrating their bearing on the rebellions later in the decade. She provides an informative analysis of the internal structure of the Argentine army, the social backgrounds of military officers, and cleavages within the army. Following this analysis, a much clearer picture emerges of the military rebels, the *carapintadas* ("painted faces") so-called because of the face camouflage they displayed during their actions. The quality of this part of the book derives in part from the extensive interviews Norden conducted with some of the rebels and their adversaries among serving and retired military officers.

Norden does not produce arresting conclusions on the much broader topics she raises: the role of military education, the issues of military power, and the debate over the "instrumental" and "functional" interpretations of military intervention. She succeeds, however, in providing a convincing explanation of the four rebellions themselves. These movements are better understood as a military version of the industrial strike than as attempts to overthrow the newly established democratic order. They remained protests against attempts under Alfonsín to trim the military's privileges and budgetary resources as opposed to efforts to seize control of the state. The restricted goals of the rebels reflected conditions in which military power was declining following the collapse of the dictatorship of 1976–1983. The disintegration of the dictatorship pro-

vided Alfonsín with the opportunity both to reform the military and to try military leaders for human rights abuses. As Norden shows, these conflicts gradually disappeared during the government of Carlos Menem, who succeeded Alfonsín in 1989. Menem adroitly succeeded in restoring the military's self-esteem and thereby isolating the rebels, while avoiding any increase in the military budget.

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PAUL W. DRAKE. *Labor Movements and Dictatorships: The Southern Cone in Comparative Perspective*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 253.

Paul W. Drake's study of labor movements under the Southern Cone military dictatorships in the 1970s and 1980s is a valuable contribution for historians interested in the darkest chapter in the twentieth-century histories of those countries. The comparative method he employs arguably offers the most illuminating approach for studying the period—for labor as well as other actors—and for unraveling the exceptional authoritarianism and state terrorism practiced by the murderous regimes in power in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay during those years. Similarities in the policies and methods of those governments were not mere coincidences, although the differences, among them the character of violence and the relationship of torture and terror to political authority and ends, were meaningful. Drake's purpose, however, is not to examine these regimes' ideological and cultural configurations as revealed in their policies toward the working class and their unions but a more temporal one no less important: presumably with a political-science readership in mind, he seeks to explain the dynamics between organized labor, military rule, and the transitions to democracy. In the process, he has written an admirable study that clarifies what strategies and tactics the various trade-union movements pursued and, at least generally, answers the question of why the labor movements adopted the policies they did. Drake draws interesting conclusions about the implications of the behavior of the labor movements under military dictatorship for the successful transition to civilian rule.

Drake makes a persuasive case for the importance and influence of labor movements of the Southern Cone in the precoup period and therefore the pivotal role the unions played in these countries under military rulers and their civilian successors. He demonstrates the importance of organized labor as an economic, social, and especially political force in these countries, the region that historically has had the most important labor movements, working-class parties, and populist movements in Latin America. The military

takeovers and the policies adopted by military governments, he convincingly argues, can only be understood as a response to labor mobilizations.

Drake's best pages are in the chapters where he analyzes the individual labor movements in the three countries and offers an intricate, nuanced analysis of trade-union histories in distinct national settings. Uruguay's clientilistic system, the direction exercised over unions by Chile's powerful leftwing parties, and the independent power wielded by the Peronist labor movement in Argentina are all carefully examined. But he reveals broad similarities as well. Under the dictatorships, constrained both by adverse economic conditions and the fear instilled by regimes practicing state terrorism, unions in all three countries adopted pragmatic strategies to survive. As time went by, however, they also served as leading sources of opposition to the military regimes and played a significant role, in alliance with other institutions and social movements, in forcing these governments to relinquish power. Perhaps the most surprising part of the history was the restraint unions exercised in the democratic transitions, a pragmatism that in some cases also led, ironically, to a decline in their influence relative to greatly strengthened and increasingly autonomous political parties. The collective memory of dictatorship, international demonstration effects, and economic constraints, Drake argues, account for such moderation.

For the historian, there are some problems with the book that need to be mentioned. The decision to include so many other countries—Brazil and Southern Europe (Greece, Portugal, and Spain)—does not always serve to sharpen Drake's analysis and sometimes undermines the value of his comparative framework. For those familiar with the history of labor movements of the Southern Cone, he also does not offer any startling reinterpretation, although the book succeeds quite well in making a coherent whole of a complex reality. This is a work of synthesis rather than original scholarship, and Drake also has an overpowering urge to order and classify, to describe rather than explain. As a result, little of the quotidian reality of organized labor and working people—shop-floor politics, the cultural dimensions of ideology, even power struggles in the trade-union leaderships—is revealed. By reducing labor movements to a strictly institutional and political logic, the tensions and contradictions in them rarely appear. Despite these limitations, some of them obviously of a disciplinary nature, Drake's study is an important book to read for historians of Latin American labor, the Southern Cone, and the military dictatorships of the period.

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Film Reviews

RIDICULE. Produced by Gilles Legrand, Frederic Brillion, and Philippe Carcassonne; directed by Patrice Leconte; written by Remi Waterhouse. 1996; color; 102 minutes. French with English subtitles. Distributor: Polygram/Miramax Zoë.

In *The Age of the Democratic Revolution* (1959), R. R. Palmer describes a visit by a young Philadelphian, Thomas Shippen, to the French court at Versailles. Shippen believed the court worth seeing, but he was "mortified at the . . . base complaisance of [the king's] attendants" (Palmer, 1: 3). Perhaps something of this blend of curiosity and uneasiness persists, helping to explain why the French film *Ridicule* has been so popular in the United States. For the film seems to confirm American preconceptions about France and the French court as it draws on stock characters to promote an interpretation of Old Regime politics that has a decidedly Anglo-Saxon flavor.

Ridicule takes place only six years before the revolution, at a court in which "Louis XVI still ruled, but wit was king." Here, all power is personal, and the courtier's political credit rises and falls with each *bon mot*. Rather than being left to flounder in this world of knowing jokes, however, the viewer is introduced alongside the film's hero, the idealistic Ponceludon de Malavoy. Ponceludon is an enlightened, provincial noble, come to Versailles in search of royal patronage to drain the swamps that bring fever and death to the peasants of his homeland. He is taken in by the aging and benevolent marquis de Bellegarde, whose pretty daughter, Mathilde, raised "in the age of Rousseau," is willful, rational, and without artifice. Upon arriving at court, Ponceludon meets a marvelous, if familiar, cast of characters: parsimonious ministers, petty administrators, ruined and importuning nobles, and powerful dukes. And there are, of course, scheming courtiers, the most prominent of whom are the beautiful and corrupt Mme. de Blayac and her lover, the preening, duplicitous, and viciously clever abbé de Vilecourt. The plot is driven by Ponceludon's efforts to negotiate the treacherous minefield of court politics and accomplish his goals: Can our hero obtain the king's favor and rescue the peasants without being corrupted by the likes of Mme. de Blayac?

If the characters are easily recognizable, the film's

theme should be as well, at least to readers of Edmund Burke and Alexis de Tocqueville. *Ridicule* implies that the Old Regime collapsed because liberal, paternalistic nobles like Ponceludon were prevented from allying themselves with the monarchy (represented here by an elusive and dim-witted Louis XVI). Instead, arbitrary ministerial power and the sinister machinations of courtiers combined to thwart the last opportunities for reform before revolution swept France. The film deftly highlights the corruption of French aristocrats, contrasting them with their healthy English counterparts, who prefer humor—which amuses—to wit, which humiliates. In short, the collapse of the Old Regime is blamed on the deadly use of wit, which strangles the virtues of the Enlightenment and of the good-hearted provincial nobles.

For all its familiarity, however, *Ridicule* does not caricature the culture of the Old Regime. On the contrary, director Patrice Leconte has taken what is essentially a genre film and invested it with subtlety and nuance, to paint a vibrant portrait of a society in which ideas and social practices are fluid and contingent. Even wit is an instrument of great flexibility. In the hands of a Voltaire, whom Ponceludon much admires, wit was the sword of humanitarianism; in the hands of the courtiers who superficially style themselves after Voltaire, wit only reinforces the injustice of the Old Regime. Indeed, the courtiers constantly flirt with Enlightenment ideas, even if not always certain of their meaning. Thus, when the abbé de Vilecourt jokes that purgatory does not exist, we see confusion and a trace of shock cross a young courtier's face before she forces a laugh. These "aristocrats" (the film's label) play with all kinds of ideas. They bring in the abbé de l'Épée to show off his work in developing sign language for the deaf; his presentation is at first taken for entertainment and then, when a few voices have made themselves heard, as a sign of progress. And the courtiers partake of a fashionable piety, enjoying as an afternoon's entertainment a sermon on God as principal cause.

Nor is the Enlightenment itself monolithic. Ponceludon and Mathilde are its chief representatives, and they progress toward their union at the film's end through a process of argument and experimentation. The philosophy that shapes their method is as much an

object of debate as are the means by which they will accomplish their goals. Mathilde, for example, may have been raised according to Rousseauian pedagogy, but she does not accept the philosopher's views on female domesticity; she answers Ponceludon's assertion that women by nature belong at home by reminding him that nature is also responsible for the swamps that plague his province. Similarly, we see a king who "delights in all things technical" yet is offended by a joke that makes light of a proof for God's existence. For Ponceludon, Mathilde, and Louis XVI alike, the philosophy of the century is not a coherent entity to be accepted or rejected outright; it is composed of sets of ideas that are appropriated according to need.

More than a fine introduction to court society and the Enlightenment, *Ridicule* evokes a rich cultural world that will reward the most active of viewers. Although the film's depiction of politics and social structure is simplistic, its main characters are not fossilized stand-ins from history. They live and breathe their century, fashioning themselves in a way that reflects the broadening and often contradictory impulses of the age. Only such a textured approach could allow viewers, at the end of the film, to feel sympathy for the marquis de Bellegarde, who has fled his country's revolution for the fresh air of England, at the same time that they identify with Ponceludon and Mathilde, who have stayed behind to drain the swamps of France and help to build a new nation.

MICHAEL KWASS

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CARLOTA JOAQUINA: PRINCESA DO BRASIL. Produced by Carla Camurati and Bianca de Felippes; directed by Carla Camurati; written by Carla Camurati, Melanie Dimantas, and Angus Mitchell. 1994; color; 101 minutes. Distributor: Luso-Brazilian Books, P.O. Box 170286, Brooklyn, NY 11217, phone (718) 624-4000 or 1-800-727-LUSO.

Faced with an imminent Napoleonic invasion in 1808, the Portuguese royal family, led by Prince João VI, pretender to the throne, and his young Spanish wife, Carlota Joaquina, fled to Brazil, where the court would remain for thirteen years. The crown's sudden appearance in Brazil had a dramatic impact on the country's economic, social, and cultural life. The move guaranteed Brazil's elevation from the status of colony to that of kingdom and earned the country a new capital (Rio de Janeiro), as well as a number of important national institutions, including the Bank of Brazil and the National Library. But the royal family's idiosyncratic behavior in their newly adopted land shook up the Brazilian social structure and gave birth to a series of legends that have been passed on from generation to generation.

The memory of Princess Carlota, in particular, has also inspired historical monographs (Marcus Cheke,

Carlota Joaquina, Queen of Portugal, 1947), drama (Roberto Athayde, *Carlota Rainha*, 1994), and fiction (João Felício dos Santos, *Carlota Joaquina—A rainha devassa*, 1968). The daughter of King Charles IV of Spain and Queen Maria Louisa of Parma, Carlota was betrothed to the eighteen-year-old Prince João of Portugal when she was only ten. Although an extremely intelligent child, Carlota was also, according to her contemporaries, "perhaps the ugliest royal personage that has ever existed" (Cheke, 8). Despite her physical shortcomings, Carlota became a passionate, artful woman who contrived to wield power on both sides of the Atlantic.

Attracted to this enigmatic and unusual Iberian monarch who lived in Brazil at a crucial period in its modern history, director Carla Camurati has chosen to recreate the Portuguese crown's residence in Brazil (1808–1821) from a comical if not farcical perspective. Although the film takes its name from the Spanish infanta who eventually became queen, it is not a traditional film biography. Rather, Carlota's life becomes the prism through which Camurati explores the social and cultural life of Brazil in general, and Rio de Janeiro in particular, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Camurati reconstructs Carlota's life with the help of a Scottish narrator, who relates the story to his young cousin with all the drama and exoticism of a tropical fairy tale. His embellishments are not without historical foundation, however, as the film manages to create a pathetic yet believable portrait of the royal family based closely on historical data.

A visual feast, the film is divided into three main chronological stages: Infanta Carlota's preparation to travel to Lisbon to meet her future husband (Spain, 1785), the life of the royal family in Lisbon prior to the Napoleonic invasion (Portugal, 1789–1807), and the trials and tribulations of the royal family in Brazil (1808–1821)—the major focus of the film. In accordance with the views of several historians (in addition to Cheke, see Luiz Edmundo, *A Corte de Dom João no Rio de Janeiro 1808–1821*, 1939–1940, and Bertita Harding, *The Amazon Throne: The Story of the Braganças of Brazil*, 1941), the film portrays Carlota as a rather homely woman with an insatiable sexual appetite and a lust for power who was surprised to see so many blacks and Indians in Brazil. Her aggressive manner, use of obscene language, and the informality with which she treated her servants provide ample material for satire. The film likewise ridicules Prince João as a kindhearted buffoon and describes the Brazilian aristocracy as indolent and pretentious.

Nineteenth-century Brazilian history might also inspire tragedy: a disgraced Portuguese crown fleeing to its colony, a Brazilian society deeply divided by race and class but dependent on African slavery. In this film, however, viewers will detect a Brazilian tendency to downplay racial and sexual conflict and a refusal to take oppression too seriously, the latter manifested in other films such as Carlos Diegues's *Xica da Silva*

(1975) and Pedro de Andrade's *Macunaíma* (1968). As with most secondary works, the film says as much about the present as it does about the past. It depicts, for example, modern Brazilian attitudes toward the Portuguese, who are often stereotypically celebrated for their tolerance but ridiculed for their foolishness and lack of intelligence. However, the film has no villains or heroes; it overflows with historical personalities who are as pathetic as they are endearing. Its sarcasm and mocking tone, which invoked the anger of the modern descendants of the Portuguese monarchy, nonetheless helped make this a popular film with Brazilian audiences.

Despite several gratuitous stereotypes (Carlota almost always dressed in red, and references to unbridled sexuality and racial mixture in Brazil, for example) and a few historical blunders (the gross simplification of the foundation of the Bank of Brazil, and Carlota's sexuality as a driving force of João's foreign policy), Camurati succeeds in recreating the atmosphere of nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro and provides piercing insights into the social and cultural dynamics of the period. Although Carlota found refuge from war in Brazil, she ultimately rejected the land, its people, and its customs. When she left Rio's shores in 1821, she reportedly exclaimed, "from this land I do not want to take a grain of sand." In staging this and other historical scenes, Camurati employs satire to forge an irreverent dialogue with the past while encouraging her audiences to laugh.

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Middlebury College

FORGOTTEN SILVER. Produced by Sue Rogers; written and directed by Peter Jackson and Costa Botes. 1995; color; 52 minutes. Distributor: First Run Features, 153 Waverly Place, New York, NY 10014, phone (212) 243-0600, fax 212-989-7649.

According to its promoters, when *Forgotten Silver* first aired on New Zealand television, many viewers believed that they had found in Colin McKenzie—a forgotten film pioneer and the subject of Peter Jackson and Costa Botes's mockumentary—a new national hero. A variety of devices such as vintage photographs, yellowed newspaper clippings, film stills, and—what is the film's most striking special effect—grainy and damaged black-and-white "archival footage" culled from McKenzie's *oeuvre* all serve to authenticate him as a historical personage. But *Forgotten Silver* actually presents a dual narrative, balancing the reconstruction of McKenzie's life with the story of his rescue from obscurity by Jackson. The recovery of McKenzie's life and work gains a sense of urgency from the use of recognizable documentary techniques such as hand-held filming, voice-over narration (by Jeffrey Thomas), and the inclusion of interviews with known film personae (actor Sam Neill, film historian Leonard Maltin, and Miramax co-chairman Harvey Weinstein). These

techniques create the impression that we are not so much witnesses to history itself as to its remaking.

Beginning with McKenzie's early technological experiments—he invents the first tracking shot by rigging a hand-held camera to a bicycle—and ending with the gala premier of his restored four-hour epic *Salome* (edited to a scant three hours), *Forgotten Silver* rewrites film history as McKenzie's biography and, to a large extent, a history that belongs to New Zealand. Not only is McKenzie credited with the invention of the first feature-length film (*Warrior Season*, 1908, also the first talkie) and color processing (test shot, Tahiti, 1911), but computer-enhanced imaging of his footage reveals that Richard Pierce, a fellow New Zealander, actually beat the Wright Brothers' flight at Kitty Hawk by nine months.

At first glance, *Forgotten Silver* appears merely to present history as the product of accident: Jackson's chance discovery of McKenzie's work gives the lie to conventional film history. Yet the plethora of "firsts" claimed by McKenzie argues that much of history actually occurs "elsewhere" and that this "elsewhereness" itself is hardly accidental. To begin with, McKenzie's nationality overtly contests Hollywood's centrality to the evolution of cinema. The film thus gleefully engages in the kind of revisionist claims made by various minority groups that prominent historical figures were actually gay, black, or otherwise "different."

The issue of contemporary identity politics combines with New Zealand's awkward position on the cultural map to raise two questions: "When is difference different enough?" and "When is difference too different?" On the one hand, New Zealand is not Hollywood, and this makes it possible to read the recovery of McKenzie as historical revision. In this context, New Zealand is different enough. But *Warrior Season* falls into obscurity—and with it, McKenzie's claim to the first talkie—on account of its extreme difference: its dialogue is entirely in Chinese.

In a second dismissal of otherness, McKenzie is jailed for screening color test footage of bare-breasted Tahitian women (which the all-male commission views repeatedly during its thirty-seven-hour deliberation). But the scandalous footage recalls the travel shorts produced by the Lumières, the photography of *National Geographic*, and, to a lesser extent, the films of Robert Flaherty (such as *Nanook of the North*, 1922). Its difference, in other words, is all too familiar. By revealing the pervasiveness of Western exoticism and by exposing the historical specificity of its objects, *Forgotten Silver* turns the viewers' attention to the subject of spectatorship: laying bare its cultural contingency and the politics of its desires.

Despite *Forgotten Silver*'s apparent challenge to conventional film history, it inevitably depends on landmark films and film legends to validate its own authority. McKenzie's *Salome* echoes D. W. Griffith's *Intolerance* (1916) and Cecil B. De Mille's *The Ten Commandments* (1924); Colin is at once Orson Welles

and Francis Ford Coppola; and *Salome's* costume recalls Theda Bara's vamp and Elizabeth Taylor's Cleopatra. The overdetermined nature of McKenzie and his works thus reinforces the very mechanisms by which individual and national identities are constituted and by which, ironically, McKenzie had been erased. (That McKenzie is the invention of Jackson and Botes is, perhaps, beside the point.)

By fetishistically insisting on technological "firsts" as a prevailing trope, *Forgotten Silver* ultimately suggests that, while one might manipulate the details of history, one must maintain its paradigms. For all their brashness, Jackson and Botes are unable, or simply unwilling, to imagine a documentary subject who—cloistered in a remote corner of the British empire—blithely invents sound and color several years after their development elsewhere. To do so would be to pose a completely different set of questions, more about the hows than the whats of history. In the end, Jackson and Botes claim no "firsts" of their own, but the dazzling bricolage that is *Forgotten Silver* implicitly laments the loss of an era in which one could actually make history and not merely rewrite it or artfully deploy its remains.

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BOLSHE VITA. Produced by Istvan Darday; written and directed by Ibolya Fekete. 1995; color; 101 minutes. Hungarian, Russian and English dialogue. Distributor: Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF), Germany; MIT Studio, Hungary.

Writer-director Ibolya Fekete's vibrant, award-winning debut feature film set in Eastern Europe's tumultuous period of transition (1989–1991) succeeds in capturing the heady, albeit fleeting, sense of freedom of those years and the progressive embitterment that was to follow. Deftly inserting archival material from her earlier documentary films, *Passing Through* and *Children of the Apocalypse* (1992)—a composite of reportage, sociology, and portraiture of the period—Fekete here creates a powerful historical contextualization that combines the dramaturgy of feature filmmaking with the authenticity of documentary. Frequent montage sequences intersperse video clips of euphoric East Germans swarming across Hungary's newly opened Austrian border, riot police and water cannon unleashed on demonstrators in Prague, Romanian street riots in Tîrgu-Mureş/Maros-Vásárhely, and crowds fleeing sniper fire in the bombed-out streets of Sarajevo.

With a strong script highlighting a cast of mostly nonprofessional actors, *Bolshe Vita* focuses on three young Russians en route to Belgrade: a guitarist, Yura (Yuri Fomichov), a saxophone player, Vadim (Igor Chernievich), and a mechanical engineer, Sergei (Alexei Serebriakov). Traveling through western Hungary, Yura is moved by the contrasting beauty of two

cemeteries, one for Hungarians, the other for Russian soldiers killed in World War II, and decides to leave his companions to remain in Hungary with Vadim. Another Russian, Sergei, finds work in one of the "comecon markets" along the southern border, where blue jeans and toiletries were bought from Yugoslavia in the late 1960s, where Poles under martial law after 1981 bartered for food, and where, since 1989, Chinese, Vietnamese, Romanian, and ex-Soviet traders have gathered.

The women they encounter—Maggie from the U.K. (Helen Baxendale), Susan from Texas (Caroline Loncq), and the Russian-speaking Erzsi from Budapest—provide shelter in an atmosphere of growing threats of extortion and protectionism from a new mafia overtaking the once-cosmopolitan markets. They spend evenings at the eponymous Bolshe Vita, a rock club operated by a couple from West Berlin in an inner-city tenement basement. There, anti-Russian violence and the increasingly grim reality of post-communism overtakes the "short but memorable period when East Europe was happy." For these Russians, Hungary is "the West" and Yugoslavia the promised land. Yet Sergei finds himself unable to move on, Vadim longs for the wider Russian landscape, Maggie marries Yura and moves to Brighton with their child, and Susan settles down with a Ukrainian.

Through its portrayal of avidly curious and adventurous young Westerners flocking to Central Europe (some staying in Prague or Budapest, others traveling as far as Siberia or China), *Bolshe Vita* evokes a new age of migration from East to West across the bridge of Hungary, from the repainting of street names in Budapest to the end of Nicolae Ceausescu's regime in Bucharest, suggesting that the disillusionment of these youthful émigrés, exiles, and sojourners with consumer society is as great as the desire of those in the East for the status and power of the West. Fearful of the authorities, ill-informed, cut off from their own roots, from the rest of the world and the future, these protagonists are displaced in a world of transient identities.

Although the film is about foreigners, it has much to say about Hungary and Hungarians, and Fekete slyly challenges national and cultural stereotypes: Russians speak of Hungarians in much the same way that Hungarians speak of the West, alluding to Budapest's reputation under state socialism as the "Paris of the East": "people here are pleasant, cheerful, not aggressive or tense as in Russia. You can lead a normal life in Hungary, with choices and financial security; women look like women, men have cash in their pockets, the shops are filled with sausages, and there is beer on tap." The issue of shifting Russian identity is addressed through repeated references to Russia as misinterpreted and unappreciated, its image at odds with the reality of modern Russian life. Yura and his friends thus become symbolic of the desire to escape from the violence—at once physical and cultural—that

has become a part of that reality, concluding that it is preferable to be a foreigner surviving on the kindness of strangers than to be at home.

Making the most of a modest budget under the constraints of post-communist filmmaking, *Bolshe Vita*'s tightly woven cinematography unfolds in images that maximize faces, seascapes, and urban settings. It comes to life through subtle gestures and moments, such as when a refugee gets a moonlighting job washing dishes, only to discover that a co-worker, another refugee like himself, used to be a nursery

school teacher before becoming a dishwasher. The film overcomes occasional awkward writing and superfluous voice-over narration to become an affecting and engaging piece worthy of international attention, one that captures the initial euphoria and subsequent disillusionment of the time, and is a testament to the radical cultural and historical shifts that accompany political turmoil in the region.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

GENERAL

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MEDIEVAL

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CANADA

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Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."

ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

It was an honor to have my article, "U.S. Tax Policy and the Shopping-Center Boom of the 1950s and 1960s," included in the October 1996 *AHR Forum* along with work by Elizabeth Cohen and commentary by Kenneth Jackson. I particularly appreciated the thoughtful critique by Jackson, whose book *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of America* (1985) has been an inspiration to scholars to look seriously at the history of the everyday world that shapes all our lives. I would like to take this opportunity to respond to some of the issues that Jackson's critique raised.

On a relatively minor point, I certainly agree that the general rise in auto ownership set the stage for the appearance of the shopping center in the United States. My analysis, though, showed that auto statistics cannot explain the timing of the centers' arrival in specific places—whether a city had many cars or few, centers blossomed shortly after the 1954 Tax Act. Scranton-Wilkes Barre had more auto-owning consumers by the mid-1920s than tiny Cortland County had even in the 1980s, for instance, yet both areas built their first shopping centers at almost the same moment, circa 1960.

Likewise, I do not wish to suggest that American shopping centers sprang up solely for tax reasons. Many factors indeed contributed, including zoning, the general suburbanization of society, and federal aid to home building and highway construction.

However, I stand by my contention that the 1954 accelerated depreciation tax law powerfully aided suburban commercial construction. While it was possible to use accelerated depreciation downtown, the law's

logic favored "greenfield" projects. The favoritism lay in the way the tax regulations treated investment in land, versus investment in bricks and mortar. Land could NOT be depreciated and thus produced no tax shelter. This made investors leery of downtown sites, where land cost was a big component of the total project. The best investments were those with the lowest land costs, investment manuals advised: "In the downtown areas of most major metropolitan cities the ratio of cost of improvements to land is not very high, rarely in excess of 4 or 5 to 1, especially in buildings of 16 stories or less. Because of the low ratio and very long useful life, there is very little tax shelter in the development of a new and modern office building in downtown locations . . . The ratio of cost of improvements to land is relatively higher in suburban office buildings" (Maury Seldin and Richard H. Swesnik, *Real Estate Investment Strategy* [1970]). Similar calculations applied to downtown versus suburban retail.

This desire to invest little in land and relatively much in buildings may help explain the demise of drive-in movie theaters, which Jackson notes began declining after the mid-1950s. A drive-in uses much land, with minimal investment in construction—thus producing a smaller tax shelter than would a similar amount of money invested in a strip of shops.

I strongly agree with Jackson's point that the impetus for new construction was not limited to shopping centers. The last section of my *AHR* article offers evidence pointing to a boom in most types of income-producing buildings. Data gathered since the article show major jumps in motel, apartment, and office construction, particularly in the suburbs. For example, apartment starts rose sharply after 1954, with some urban action such as New York's Lefrak City but much more in suburbia (*Fortune* [April 1963]). Builders' magazines urged contractors to shift away from single-family housing and instead build tax-assisted apartment complexes. "The key to the profit in apartments is accelerated depreciation by the 'double-declining balance' method" (*House & Home* [July 1961], italics in original). "However strong the demand for [apartments] may be, this year's upturn owes more to FHA policy and Internal Revenue Law than to the market itself," agreed *Architectural Forum* (September 1958). Indeed, "the annual increase in the total number of

renters fell during the latter third of the [1950s] decade while apartment construction was rising rapidly" (Wallace Smith, *The Low-Rise Speculative Apartment* [1964]). I hope to publish articles in the near future documenting the effects of tax policy on these other building types.

The underlying question in my work is the same one that Kenneth Jackson raised so eloquently in his research into Federal Housing Authority mortgage policies and Home Owners Loan Corporation redlining: to what extent is today's suburban sprawl really *not* the product of pure market demand? Federal tax policy surely affected developers' financial calculations and thus had an impact on the shape of America's cities. Historians concerned about the wastefulness of sprawl need to fully understand that impact.

THOMAS W. HANCHETT
Youngstown State University

KENNETH JACKSON REPLIES:

As I indicated in my review, I admire Thomas W. Hanchett's impressively researched article "U.S. Tax Policy and the Shopping-Center Boom of the 1950s and 1960s," and I agree both that accelerated depreciation affected developers' financial calculations and that suburban sprawl is as much the result of Washington policies as of pure market demand. Our difference is in emphasis—where I point to a range of political, cultural, and economic forces that have resulted in the malling of the nation, Hanchett assigns more importance to a single piece of legislation.

Since these essays first appeared in the October 1996 issue of the *AHR*, several readers have written reactions that I wish to share. First, Benjamine Filene of the Outagamie County Historical Society in Wisconsin has demonstrated that the first enclosed mall in the United States was not Southdale, as I suggested, but the Valley Fair Mall in Appleton, Wisconsin. It had its grand opening on March 10, 1955, when it advertised itself as "the first weather protected shopping center in the nation."

Second, E. H. McKinley of Asbury College has pointed out that the ability to petition or protest among urban crowds has not been the only casualty of the replacement of downtown shopping by the enclosed mall. Rather, the traditional means of recruitment and evangelism of the Salvation Army, the Saturday night streetcorner service, seems also to be a victim of the demise of Main Street. According to his figures, the number of open-air or streetcorner gatherings fell from 98,417 in 1950, to 23,000 in 1970, to 9,190 in 1980, to 3,560 in 1995, and he correlates the decline to the proliferation of malls. Indeed, as McKinley notes, the Salvation Army has essentially been forced to abandon its traditional streetcorner means of communication, which once figured so prominently in

the public's image of the organization. The mall, it seems, has changed more than just the way we shop.

KENNETH T. JACKSON
Columbia University

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of Andrzej Garlicki's biography of Piłsudski [*AHR* 102 (February 1997): 138], Robert E. Blobaum seems to show a predilection for black and white colors, mostly black. While I have no major objection to his general criticism of the Garlicki volume, I find it hard to accept some expressions used in the review. I for one do not belong to the "professional historians [who] have long been dissatisfied with the hagiographic biographies of Piłsudski" such as those by "Wacław Jędrzejewicz." Jędrzejewicz, whose three-volume chronicle of Piłsudski's life was a breakthrough in the studies of the marshal, can hardly be said to have written a "hagiographic" biography. I can only marvel that someone who had been a close collaborator and admirer of Piłsudski made such an effort toward objectivity and was able to write such a valuable work. Blobaum states that a "definitive, scholarly biography of Piłsudski" "has yet to be written." While I wonder if "definitive" biographies really exist—the term is a bit of a cliché—a recent scholarly and insightful biography of Piłsudski did come out in Poland in 1995. Its author is a prominent young Polish historian, Włodzimierz Suleja, and the volume was published by Ossolineum in Wrocław.

PIOTR S. WANDYCZ
Yale University

ROBERT BLOBAUM REPLIES:

I am honored that Piotr Wandycz has taken the time to read my review of Garlicki's biography and pleased that he generally agrees with my critical assessment of it. He, in turn, will be pleased to note that I generally agree with his positive evaluation of the volume by Włodzimierz Suleja, which unfortunately appeared shortly after I had submitted my review of Garlicki to the *AHR*. I am therefore puzzled that he finds my stated preference for a nonpartisan, scholarly biography of Piłsudski "mostly black." Moreover, his impassioned defense of the work of Jędrzejewicz is quite out of proportion to the passing reference made to it in my review. I suspect, indeed hope, that there are larger issues at stake here. If so, I would suggest to Wandycz that we engage in an open debate of these issues rather than an exchange of coded messages.

ROBERT E. BLOBAUM
West Virginia University

FILM REVIEWS

TO THE EDITOR:

I was very disappointed to read Joan Hoff's review of Oliver Stone's *Nixon* [*AHR* 101 (October 1996): 1173–74]. It is one thing to give a bad review; it's quite another to mount so blatantly personal an attack. But what is particularly disturbing is what can only be described as a gross lapse of judgment by the editor in printing a review that violated almost every standard that the *AHR* ostensibly requires of its pieces. In fact, it probably would have been killed by most of the H-Net editors as a "flame." I will not address Hoff's egregious misrepresentations of Stone's film but instead refer readers to the excellent and balanced critical treatment of *Nixon* by George McGovern and Ron Briley in *Perspectives* of March 1996. It is enough to say that Hoff's review is a disgrace to her and to the *AHR*. I only hope that, in the future, reviews of films will be held to professional standards.

WILLIAM SCHELL, JR.
Murray State University

TO THE EDITOR:

Joan Hoff's dissection of the abuse of fact by Oliver Stone in his *Nixon* film is surely justified, but it is incomplete without an acknowledgment of the role that the historical profession has played in legitimating Stone's historical fantasies. I refer specifically to the reception accorded Stone's prior exercise in myth-making, *JFK* (1992), which was accorded page after page of respectful, if not indeed, fawning, attention in the *AHR* [April 1992], with scant concern for the issues of accuracy and faithfulness to the record that should be the historian's prime concern in evaluating such a work. If Stone feels free to trash history in the manner rightfully decried by Hoff, he can plead—with some justice—that he holds a license to do so, issued on no less authority than that of the historical profession's official journal.

HENRY D. FETTER
Los Angeles, California

JOAN HOFF REPLIES:

Anyone who thinks the George McGovern review of Oliver Stone's movie in *Perspectives* for March 1996 was an "excellent and balanced critical treatment" must also think there was a UFO hiding behind the Hale-Bopp comet and that the plenary session arranged for Stone at the last annual meeting of the AHA was also "excellent and balanced." Stone is well known for not appearing at events where there is going to be any serious evaluation of his paranoid movies about U.S. presidents, yet he is only too willing to attack his critics and pontificate about history where

no give and take is possible. See, for example, his self-serving interview in *Cineaste* 22, no. 4 (1997).

I couldn't agree more with Henry Fetter that the *AHR* fed Stone's egomaniacal view of the world and his role as history myth-maker with an earlier sycophantic review of his *JFK* movie and that the AHA did so with the two reviews in the March 1996 issue of *Perspectives*. At an April 1997 presentation I gave on the Nixon presidency at a Columbia University American Civilization Seminar, where criticism of the former president abounded, there was general agreement that Stone's distortion of history in both his *JFK* and *Nixon* films had not been effectively countered by responsible political historians in public, and that it was next to impossible to do so in classrooms without expending unnecessary time and effort.

We do not need more cultural apologists for Stone's "history" and his conflation of fact with fiction or of good acting with the total lack of any semblance of an accurate historical plot line. Stone does an excellent job of that all by himself. His defense of his own definition of dramatic license says it all: "I think of dramatic license as a restaging of any reported action—reported, not necessarily factual—using actors, costumes, make-up, the condensation of events, and the invention of dialog which occurred behind closed doors . . . [Dramatic license] comes from the discipline of going to school and studying history and current affairs. I take it in, I absorb it, and I interpret it. I may be wrong in some of the details—you can't get it all right, that's for sure—because the details are very shifty" (*Cineaste*, p. 38).

Shifty indeed. Facts are so shifty for Stone it is OK for him to invent conspiracies and complain about politicians keeping government files from the public. But when asked to produce memoranda he had received from John Dean, which were written during the filming of the *Nixon* movie, he persuaded a federal court to seal these records in a case in which Dean is suing two authors for not adhering to the conventional interpretation of Dean's benign role as Watergate whistleblower. Freedom of speech and information only applies to everyone else apparently, not to Stone's documents, even when they might shed new light on one *bete noir* of Stone's existence: Watergate.

Any review that does not grant him this total license as a director of his version of historical events is automatically criticized as being a "hatchet job." Fortunately, the "hatchet jobs" on *Nixon* helped prevent it from becoming a blockbuster hit—the first time, perhaps, that reviews have succeeded in protecting the public, and particularly the young, from another one of his ahistorical paranoid fantasies.

I deliberately did not go into all of the historical inaccuracies in my review because this had already been done by other historians, most notably Stephen E. Ambrose in the March 1996 issue of the *Journal of American History*, and he concluded that the film was "sophomoric," "puerile," and "not history." However, the wide-ranging criticisms of this movie from the left

and right remained well within the male mainstream of film criticism. In contrast, I wanted to convey how the "decay of cinema," to quote Susan Sontag in the *New York Times Magazine* for February 25, 1966, was manifested in this (and most other of Stone's pseudo-sensitive macho films about the 1960s). I deliberately chose to compare this film to the silencing of audiences in pornographic film representations of rape to force readers (and viewers of *Nixon*) to see, as Sontag has written, how far contemporary cinema has been reduced "to assaultive images, and the unprincipled manipulation of images (faster and faster cutting) to make them more attention-grabbing . . . [in order to] make a lot of money right away, in the first month of its release" (pp. 60–61).

Disney spent \$43 million on this one film. No wonder Stone's major lament about it at the end of his interview in *Cineaste* was: "I would love to make another ['historical' film], I don't want to give them up, but certainly my ability to make another one has been damaged by the box-office failure of *Nixon* . . . but maybe somewhere along the line I can make another

one." Let's hope not—for the sake of history, if not Disney's bottom line.

JOAN HOFF
Indiana University,
Bloomington

ERRATA

In the October 1996 film review of *Carmen Miranda: Bananas Is My Business* (*AHR* 101, p. 1163), the reference to a 1950 film, *Nancy Goes to Hollywood*, should have been *Nancy Goes to Rio*. The other error involves the description of the character in parody. In *Nancy*, Carmen Miranda plays "Miriam," not Nancy, and is cast as a Carmen type. It was the film *Doll Face* (1945) that had Carmen rebelling against her stereotype. The *AHR* regrets the confusion.

THE EDITORS

In the April 1997 issue, p. 458, an article by Mary Coombs, "Agency and Partnership: A Study of Breach of Promise Plaintiffs," was wrongly attributed to the *York Journal of Law and Feminism*. It actually appeared in the *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* (1989). The editors regret the error.

THE EDITORS



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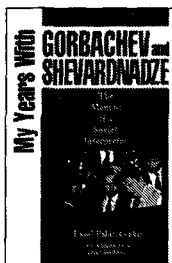
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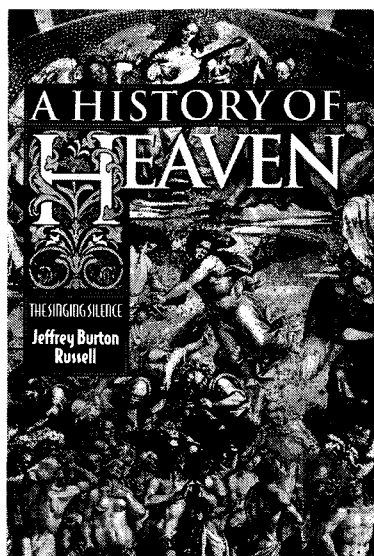
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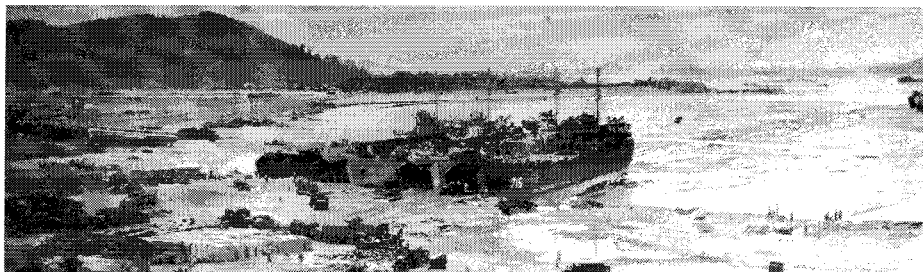
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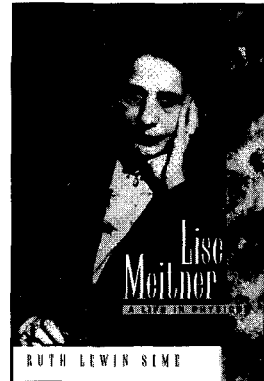
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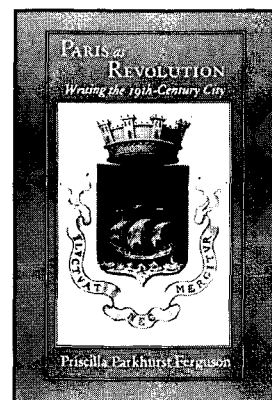
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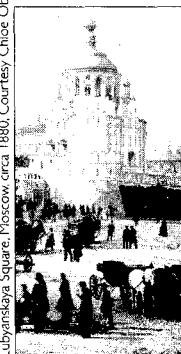
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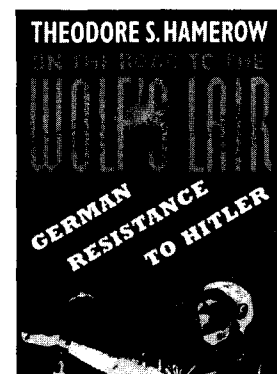
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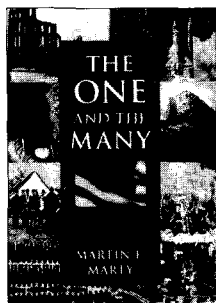
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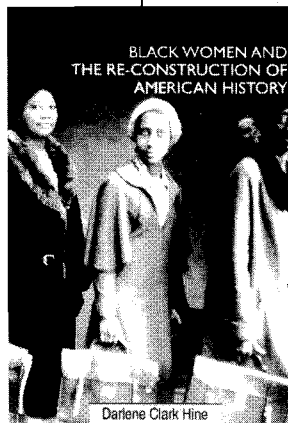
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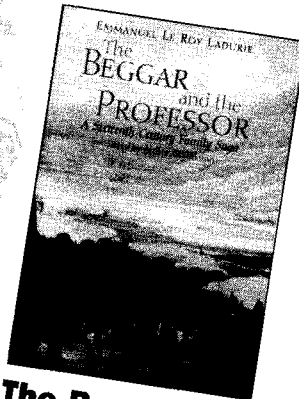
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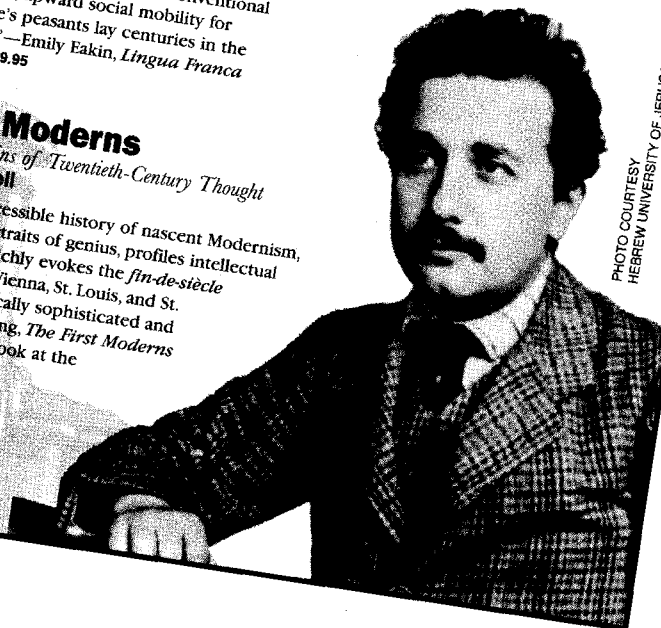
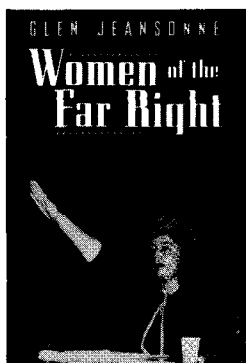


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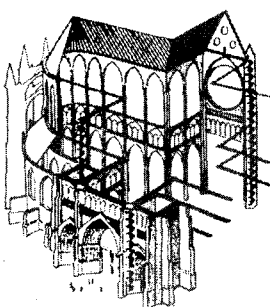
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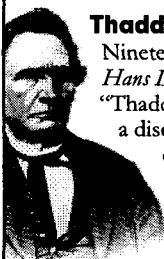
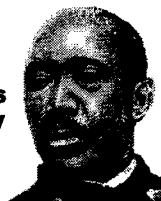
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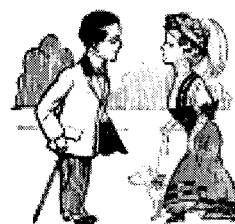
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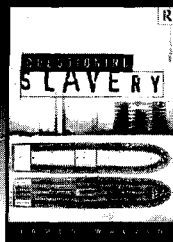


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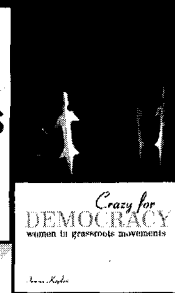
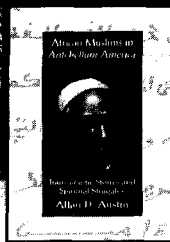
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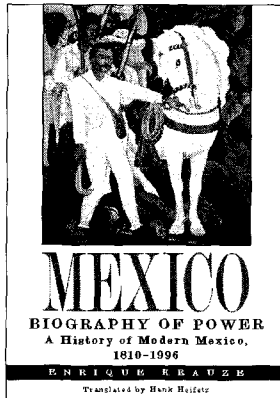
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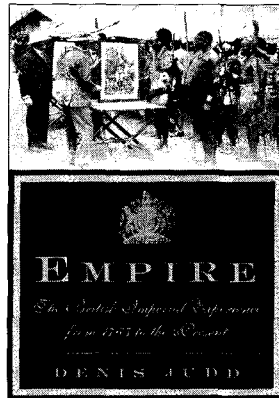
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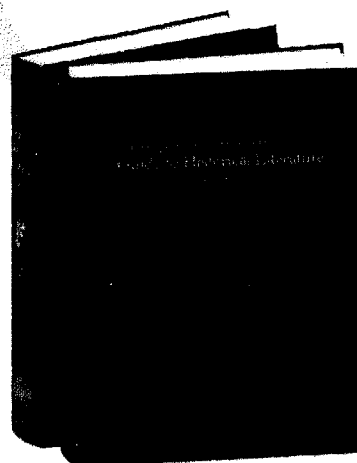
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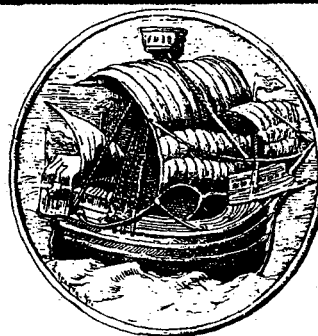


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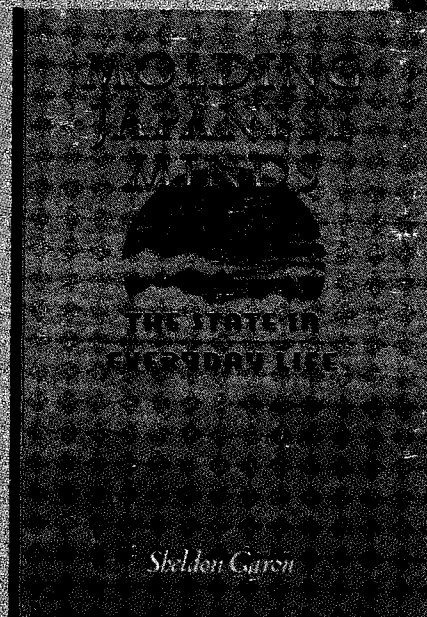
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